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ON
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON
PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC
NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE
ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF
CHAUCER AND GOWER, AND REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY
ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521.

BY

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PART III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIVTH AND
XVTH CENTURIES.

CHAUCER, GOWER, WYCLIFFE, SPENSER, SHAKSPERE.
SALESBURY, BARCLEY, HART, BULLOKAR, GILL.
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

In Part I.

- pp. 270-297. In addition to the arguments there adduced to shew that the ancient sound of long *i* was (ii) or (ii), and not (ei, ai, oi), Mr. James A. H. Murray has communicated to me some striking proofs from the Gaelic forms of English words and names, and English forms of Gaelic names, which will be given in Part IV.
- p. 302, l. 14, *blue* is erroneously treated as a French word, but in the ALPHABETICAL LIST on the same page it is correctly given as anglosaxon. The corrections which this oversight renders necessary will be given in Part IV., in the shape of a cancel for this page, which could not be prepared in time for this Part.

In Part II.

- p. 442, *Paternoster*, col. 2, vv. 4 and 8, for *don*, *miis'doon* read *doon*, *mis'doon*.
- p. 443, *Credo* 1, col. 2, ll. 4 and 7, for *lav'erd*, *ded*, read *laa-verd*, *deed*; *Credo* 2, col. 2, line 4, for *loverd* read *loo-verd*.
- p. 462, *verses*, l. 2, for *Riehard* read *Richard*.
- pp. 464-5. On the use of *f* for *j*, and the possibility of *j* having been occasionally confused with (s) in speech, Mr. W. W. Skeat calls attention to the remarks of Sir F. Madden, in his edition of *Lajamon*, 3, 437.
- p. 468, *Translation*, col. 2, l. 4, for *hil* read *hill*.
- p. 473, note, col. 2, l. 1, for 446 read 447; l. 17, for (mee, dee, swee, pee) read (mee, dee, swee, pee); l. 18, for *may* read *May*; l. 24-5 for (eintmynt) read (eintment).
- p. 503, l. 8, *pronunciation*, for *dead-litshe* read *dead-liitshe*.
- p. 540, l. 6, for *hafödi* read *haföi*.
- p. 549, l. 5 from bottom of text, for *mansaugur* (*maan'sœœiq'gør*), read *man-saungur* (*maan'sœœiq'gør*).
- p. 550, Mr. H. Sweet has communicated to me the sounds of Icelandic letters as noted by Mr. Melville Bell from the pronunciation of Mr. Hjaltalin, which will be given in Part IV.
- p. 553, verse 30, col. 1, l. 4, for *alíkálfi* read *aíkálfi*; col. 2, l. 4, for *aalikaaulvi* read *aal'ikaaulvi*.
- p. 559, in the *Haustlóng*; l. 1, for *er* read *es*, l. 2, for *ex* read *es*; l. 4, for *bauge* read *baugi*; l. 5, for *Hel'lesbror* . . . *bauge* read *Hel'lesbror* . . . *baug'e*; line 7, for *isarnleiki* read *isarnleiki*.
- p. 560, note 1, l. 2, for *lóngr* read *lángtr*.
- p. 599, col. 2, l. 14, for *demesne* read *demesne*.
- p. 600, col. 1, l. 6, for *Eugene* read *Eugene*.
- p. 614, Glossotype as a system of writing is superseded by Glossic, explained in the appendix to the notice prefixed to Part III.
- p. 617, col. 2, under *n*, l. 4, for *lpand* read *pland*.

In Part III.

- p. 639, note 2 for (*spii'seli*, *spes'vli*) read (*spii'sheli*, *spesh'vli*).
- p. 651. The numbers in the Table on this page are corrected on p. 725.
- p. 653, note 1. The memoir on Pennsylvania German by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, was read before the Philological Society on 3 June, 1870, and will be published separately; Dr. Mombert, having gone to Europe, has not furnished any additions to that memoir, which is rich in philological interest.
- p. 680 to p. 725. Some trifling errors in printing the Critical Text and Pronunciation of Chaucer's Prologue are corrected on p. 724, note.
- p. 754, note 1, for (*abitee'shun*) read (*abitaas'shun*).
- p. 789, col. 1, the reference after *†amat* should be 759⁴.
- p. 791, col. 2, under *much good do it you*, for *mychgoditio* read *mychgoditio*; and to the references add, p. 938, note 1.
- pp. 919-996. All the references to the Globe Shakspeare relate to the issue of 1864, with which text every one has been verified at press. For later issues, the number of the *page* (and *page only*) here given, when it exceeds 1000, must be diminished by 3, thus VA 8 (1003), must be read as VA 8 (1000), and PT 42 (1057), must be read as PT 42 (1054). The cause of this difference is that pages 1000, 1001, 1002, in the issue of 1864, containing only the single word *POEMS*, have been cancelled in subsequent issues.

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NOTICE.

Indisposition, arising from overwork, has greatly delayed the appearance of this third part of my work, and a recent relapse, rendering the revision of the last seventy pages and the preparation of this notice extremely difficult, has compelled me to postpone to the next part the illustrations for the xviith and xviiith centuries, which were announced to be included in the present. Three years or more will probably elapse before the remainder of the book can be published.

The fourth and concluding part of this treatise is intended to consist of four chapters, two of which, devoted to the xviith and xviiith centuries respectively, are now completely ready for press, and will therefore certainly appear either under my own or some other superintendence. In chapter XI., I am desirous of giving some account of Existing Varieties of English Pronunciation, dialectic, antiquated, American, colonial, and vulgar, for the purpose of illustrating the results of the preceding investigation. This cannot be properly accomplished without the extensive co-operation of persons familiar with each individual dialect and form of speech. I invite all those into whose hands these pages may fall to give me their assistance, or procure me the assistance of others, in collecting materials for this novel and interesting research, which promises to be of great philological value, if properly executed. Many hundred communications are desirable. There cannot be too many, even from the same district, for the purpose of comparison and control. As I hope to commence this examination early in 1872, it will be an additional favour if the communications are sent as soon as possible, and not later than the close of 1871. They should be written on small-sized paper, not larger than one of these pages, and *only on one side*, leaving a margin of about an inch at the top for reference notes, with the lines wide apart for insertions, and all the phonetic part written in characters which cannot be misread. Correspondents would much add to the value of their communications by giving their full names and addresses, and stating the opportunities they have had for collecting the information sent. For the purpose of writing all English dialects in one alphabet on an English basis, I have improved the Glossotype of Chapter VI., and append its new form under the name of *Glossic*, with specimens which will shew the reader how to employ it, (pp. xiii-xx.) For the sake of uniformity and general intelligibility, I should feel obliged if those who favour me with communications on this subject would represent all peculiarities of pronunciation in the Glossic characters only, without any addition or alteration whatever. The little arrangements here suggested will, if carried

out, save an immense amount of labour in making use of any communications.

The following table will shew the kind of work wanted. All the varieties of sound there named are known to exist at present, and there are probably many more. It is wished to *localize them accurately*, for the purpose of understanding the unmixed dialectic English of the xiith and xiiith centuries, and to find traces of the pronunciations prevalent in the more mixed forms of the xivth, xvth, and xviith centuries. Many of the latter will be found in Ireland and America, and in the 'vulgar' English everywhere. No pronunciation should be recorded which has not been actually heard from some speaker who uses it naturally and habitually. The older peasantry and children who have not been at school preserve the dialectic sounds most purely. But the present facilities of communication are rapidly destroying all traces of our older dialectic English. Market women, who attend large towns, have generally a mixed style of speech. The daughters of peasants and small farmers, on becoming domestic servants, learn a new language, and corrupt the genuine Doric of their parents. Peasants do not speak naturally to strangers. The ear must also have been long familiar with a dialectic utterance to appreciate it thoroughly, and, in order to compare that utterance with the Southern, and render it correctly into Glossic, long familiarity with the educated London speech is also necessary. Resident Clergymen, Nonconformist Ministers, National and British Schoolmasters, and Country Gentlemen with literary tastes, are in the best position to give the required information, and to these, including all members of the three Societies for whom this work has been prepared, I especially appeal. But the number of persons more or less interested in our language, who have opportunities of observing, is so great, that scarcely any one who reads these lines will be unable to furnish at least a few observations, and it should be borne in mind that even one or two casual remarks lose their isolated character and acquire a new value when forwarded for comparison with many others. It is very desirable to determine the systems of pronunciation prevalent in the Northern, West and East and Central Midland, South Western, South Eastern, and purely Eastern dialects. The Salopian, Lincolnshire, and Kent Dialects are peculiarly interesting. Mr. James A. H. Murray's learned and interesting work on *Lowland Scotch* (London, Asher, 1871) will shew what is really wanted for each of our dialectic systems.

In the following, unfortunately very imperfect, Table a few suggestive words are added to each combination of letters, and the presumed varieties of pronunciation are indicated both in Glossic and Palaeotype, but only in reference to the particular combinations of letters which head the paragraph. The symbols placed after the sign =, shew the various sounds which that combination of letters is known to have in some one or other of the exemplificative words, in some locality or other where English is the native language of the speaker. In giving information, however, the whole

word should be written in Glossic, as considerable doubt may attach to local pronunciations of the other letters, and the name of the locality, and of the class of speakers, should be annexed. The quantity of the vowel and place of the accent should be given in every word, according to one of the two systems explained in the Key to Universal Glossic, p. xvi, and exhibited on pp. xix and xx. In writing single words, the accentual system, used on p. xx, is preferable. Great attention should be paid to the analysis of diphthongs, and the Glossic *ei*, *oi*, *ou*, *eu*, should only be employed where the writer, being unable to analyse the sound accurately, confines himself to marking vaguely the class to which it belongs. The trilled *r* when occurring without a vowel following should always be carefully marked, and the untrilled *r* should never be marked unless it is distinctly heard. Each new word, or item of information, should commence on a new line. Thus:

cord *kaa'd* or *káad* Bath, workmen, petty traders, etc.

card *ka'd* or *kád* Bath, as before.

beacon *ba'kn* or *báikn* Bath, as before.

key *kai'* or *kái* Bath, as before.

fair *feir* or *fay'er* *fáy'er* *fáy'u'* Bath, country farming man.

TABLE OF PRESUMED VARIETIES OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION.

Vowels.

A short in: tap cap bad cat mad sack bag; doubtful in: staff calf half calve halve aftermath path father pass east fast mash wash hand land plant ant want hang=*ae*, *a*, *a'*, *aa*, *ah*, *au*, *o*, *ao*, *oa*=(*E*, *æ*, *ah*, *a*, *a*, *Λ*, *o*, *oo*, *oo*).

A long in: gape grape babe gaby late skate trade made ache cake ague plague safe save swathe bathe patience occasion ale pale rare name same lane wane=*ee*, *ai*, *e*, *ae*, *a*, *a'*, *aa*; *aiy*, *aih'*, *aiu*, *ey*, *eeh'*, *eeu*=(*ii*, *ee*, *ee*, *EE*, *æ*, *aah*, *aa*; *eei*, *ee'*, *eeo*, *eei*, *ii'*, *iiæ*).

AI, AY in: way hay pay play bray day clay gray say lay may nay, bait wait aid maid waif waive ail pail trail fair hair chair pair stair=*ee*, *ai*, *e*, *ae*, *aa*; *aiy*, *aay'*, *aay*=(*ii*, *ee*, *ee*, *EE*, *aa*; *eei*, *ai*, *aai*).

AU, AW in: paw daw thaw saw law raw maw gnaw, bawl maul maunder, aunt haunt gaunt daughter=*aa*, *ah*, *au*, *ao*, *oa*; *aaw*, *auw*=(*aa*, *aa*, *ΛΛ*, *oo*, *oo*; *au*, *au*).

E short in: kept swept neb pretty wet wed feckless keg Seth mess guess very hell hem hen yes yet=*i*, *e*, *ai*, *ae*, *a*=(*i*, *e*, *e*, *E*, *æ*).

E long in: glade complete decent extreme here there where me he she we be=*ee*, *ai*, *e*, *ae*, *a*?=(*ii*, *ee*, *ee*, *EE*, *ææ*?)

EA in: leap eat seat meat knead mead read speak squeak league leaf leave wreath heath breathe crease ease leash weal ear, a tear, seam wean; yea great break bear wear, to tear; leapt sweat instead head thread spread heavy heaven weapon leather weather measure health wealth=*ee*, *ai*, *e*, *ae*; *eeh'*, *aih'*; *yaa*=(*ii*, *ee*, *ee*, *EE*, *E*; *ii'*, *ee'*, *ja*).

EE in: sheep weed heed seek beef beeves teeth seethe fleece trees heel seem seen=*ee*, *ai*; *aiy*, *ey*=(*ii*, *ee*; *ei*, *ei*).

EI, EY in: either neither height sleight Leigh Leighton conceive neive seize convey key prey hey grey=*ee*, *ai*; *aay*, *uuy*, *uy*=(*ii*, *ee*; *ai*, *ai*, *oi*).

EO in: people leopard Leominster Leopold Theobald=*ee*, *e*, *i*, *eeoa*, *eeu*=(*ii*, *e*, *i*, *iiio*, *iiæ*).

EU, EW in: pew few hew yew ewe knew, to mew, the mews, chew Jew new shew shrew Shrewsbury stew threw sew grew brew=*eeu*, *iu*, *aiw*, *ew*, *aeu*, *aw*, *ui*, *ue*, *uew*, *eo*, *euw*, *oo*, *oa*, *oaw*, *uwu*; *aa*, *ah*, *au*; *yoa*=(*iu*, *iu*, *eu*, *eu*, *eu*, *æu*, *ii*, *yy*, *yu*, *æ*, *zu*, *uu*, *oo*, *oow*, *eu*; *aa*, *aa*, *ΛΛ*, *ioo*).

I short in: hip erib pit bid sick gig stiff, to live, smith smithy withy hiss his fish fill swin sin first possible charity furniture=*ee*, *i*, *e*, *æ*, *a*, *u*, *u'*=(*i*, *i*, *e*, *E*, *æ*, *a*, *u*).

I long in: wipe gibe kite hide strike
knife knives wife wives scythe blithe
ice twice thrice wise pile bile rime
pine fire shire; sight right might
light night fright fight pight; sight
rye my lie nigh fry fye pie=*i, ee, ai, au; iy, aiy, ey, aay, ahy any, uy, uuy*=(*ii, ii, ee, AA; ii, ei, ei, ai, ai, ai, ai, ai*).

IE in: believe grieve sieve friend fiend
field yield=*ee, i, e, ae*=(*ii, i, i, e, e*).

O short, and doubtful, in: mop knob
knot nod knock fog dog off office
moth broth brother mother pother
other moss cross frost pollard Tom
ton son done gone morning song
long=*o, oa, ao, au, aa, u, uo*=(*o oo, o, o, AA, a, a, u*).

O long, OA, and OE in: hope rope soap
note goat oats rode road oak stroke
joke rogue oaf loaf loaves oath loth
loathe goes foes shoes lose roll hold
gold fold sold home roam hone groan
=*oo, oa, ao, au, ah, aa; ee, ai; eeh', aih', oah', aoh', oau, aaw, unc, uwv; ye, ya, yaa; woa*=(*uu, o oo, o oo, AA, aa, aa; ii, ee; ii', ee', oo', oo', ooa, au, au, au, je, ja, ja; woo*).

OI, OY in: join loin groin point joint
joist hoist foist boil oil soil poison
ointment; joy hoy toy moil noise
boisterous foison=*oy, any, aay, oay, aoy, uy, uuy, ooy, u; waay, wuuy, woy*=(*oi, ai, ai, oi, oi, ai, ai, ui, e; wai, wai, wai*).

OO in: hoop hoot soot hood food aloof
groove sooth soothe ooze tool groom
room soon moon; cook look shook
brook; loose goose=*oo, uo, ui, ue, eo; eoh', oeh', unw*=(*uu u, u, ii, yy, ee; ee', oe', au*).

OU, OW in: down town now how
flower sow cow, to bow *flectere*,
a bow *arcus*, a bowl of soup
cyathus, a bowling green; plough
round sound mound bound thou out
house flour; found bound ground;
our; brought sought fought bought
thought ought nought soul four;
blow snow below, a low bough, the
cow lows, a row of barrows, a great
row *tumultus*, crow, know; owe,
own=*oo, uo, uo', oa, oa', aa, ah, au, ai; aaw, uo, unw, oaw, aow, uio, uow, cow, eo, w, oe, w*=(*uu u, uu u, uh, oo o, oh, aa, aa, AA, ee; au, au, ouu, ouu, ru, yu, eu, sy, oy*).

U short in: pup cub but put bud cud
pudding much judge suck lug sugar
stuff bluff busy business hush bush
crush push rush blush bushel cushion

bull pull bull hulk bulk bury burial
church rum run punish sung=*u, uu, uo, oa', i, e, ue, eo*=(*a, a, u, oh, i, e, y, e*).

U long and UI, UY in: mute fruit
bruise cruise, the use, to use, the
refuse, to refuse, mule true sue fury
sure union=*yoo, eew, ue, uew, ui'w, eo, eow, eou*=(*juu, iu, yy, yu, uu, oo, ou, oo*).

Consonants.

B mute or =*p, f, v, v', w*=(*p, f, v, bh, w*).

C hard and K in: cat card cart sky etc.
=*k, ky', g, gy'*=(*k, kj, g, gj*).

C soft =*s, sh*=(*s, sh*).

CH in: beseech church cheese such
much etc. =*ch, k, kh, kyh, sh*=(*tsh, k, kh, kh, sh*).

D =*d, dh, t, th*=(*d, dh, t, th*).

F =*f, v*=(*f, v*).

G hard in: guard garden, etc. =*g, gy', y*=(*g, gj, j*), ever heard before *n* as
in: gnaw, gnat?

G soft, and J in: bridge ridge fidget
fudge budge=*j, g*=(*dzh, g*).

GH in: neigh weigh high thigh nigh
burgh laugh daughter slaughter
bough cough hiccough dough chough
shough though lough clough plough
furlough, slough of a snake, a deep
slough, enough through borough
thorough trough sough tough =*mute*
or *g, gh, gyh, kh, kyh, f, f', wh, w, oo, p*=(*g, gh, gh, kh, kh, f, ph, wh, w, u, p*).

H regularly pronounced? regularly
mute? often both, in the wrong
places? custom in: honest habitation
humble habit honour exhibition
prohibition hour hospital host
hostler hostage hostile shepherd
cowherd Hebrew hedge herb hermit
homage Hughes hue humility (h)it
(h)us ab(h)ominably?

J see G soft.

K see C hard; ever heard before *n* in:
know knit knave knob?

L mute in: talk walk balk falcon fault
vault, alms? syllabic in: stabl-ing
juggl-er? sounded *uol, ul, h'l*=(*ul, el, 'l*) after *o* long? voiceless as *lh*?
M any varieties? syllabic in: el-m,
whel-m, fil-m, wor-m, war-m?

N nasalizing preceding vowel? ever=
ng? not syllabic in: fall'n, stol'n,
swoll'n?

NG in: long longer hanger danger
stranger linger finger singer, strength

length = *ng*, *ngg*, *nj*, *n* = (*q*, *qg*, *ndzh*, *n*); ever *ngg* or *ngk* = (*qg*, *qk*) when final in: sing thing nothing?
 P ever confused with *b*? ever post-aspirated as *p.h* = (*ph*)?
 QU = *kw*, *kwo*, *kwh*? = (*kw*, *kw*, *kwh*?).
 R not preceding a vowel; vocal = *r* = (*i*), or trilled = *r'* = (*r*), or guttural = *r*, *r'h* = (*r*, *rh*), or mute? How does it affect the preceding vowel in: far cart wart pert dirt shirt short hurt fair care fear shore oar court poor? ever transposed in: grass bird etc.? trilled, and developing an additional vowel in: wor-ld cur-l wor-m wor-k ar-m?
 R preceding a vowel; always trilled = *r'* = (*r*), or guttural = *r* = (*r*) ever labial = *w*, *br* = (*w*, *brh*)? Inserted in: draw(r)ing, saw(r)ing, law(r) of land, etc.?
 R between vowels: a single trilled *r'*, or a vocal *r* followed by a trilled *r'* = *rr'*, *h'r'* = (*hr*, *r*)?
 S = *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*? = (*s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*); regularly *z*? regularly lisped = *t'h*? = (*c*)?
 SH = *s*, *sh*, *zh* = (*s*, *sh*, *zh*), or, regularly *zh* = (*zh*)?
 T = *t*, *d*, *th*, *s*, *sh*, *t'h* = (*t*, *d*, *th*, *s*, *sh*, *th*).
 TH = *t*, *d*, *th*, *tth*, *dh*, *f* = (*t*, *d*, *th*, *tth*, *dh*, *f*) in: fifth sixth eighth with though whether other nothing etc.
 V = *v*, *v'*, *w* = (*bh*, *w*), or regularly *w*?
 W = *w*, *v'*, *v* = (*w*, *bh*, *v*). Is there a regular interchange of *v*, *w*? inserted before O and OI in: home hot coat point etc.? regularly omitted in: wood wooed would woo wool woman womb, etc.? pronounced at all in: write, wring, wrong, wreak, wrought, wrap, etc.? any instances of *wol* pronounced as in: lisp wlonk lukewarm wlatng loathing wlappe white?
 WH = *w*, *wh*, *f*, *f'*, *kwh* = (*w*, *wh*, *f*, *ph*, *kwh*).
 X = *k*, *ks*, *gz*?
 Y inserted in: ale head, etc.; regularly omitted in *ye*, *yield*, *yes*, *yet*, etc.?
 Z = *z*, *zh* = (*z*, *zh*).

Unaccented Syllables.

Mark, if possible, the obscure sounds which actually replace unaccented vowels before and after the accented syllable, and especially in the unaccented terminations, of which the following words are specimens, and in any other found noteworthy or peculiar.

1) -*and*, husband brigand headland midland, 2) -*end*, dividend legend, 3) -*ond*, diamond almond, 4) -*und*, rubicund jocund, 5) -*ard*, haggard niggard sluggish renard leopard, 6) -*erd*, halberd shepherd, 7) -*ance*, guidance dependance abundance clearance temperance ignorance resistance, 8) -*ence*, licence confidence dependence patience, 9) -*age*, village image manage cabbage marriage, 10) -*ege*, privilege college, 11) -*some*, meddlesome irksome quarrelsome, 12) -*sure*, pleasure measure leisure closure fissure, 13) -*ture*, creature furniture vulture venture, 14) -*ate*, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurate, 15) *al*, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial lineal, 16) -*el*, camel pannel apparel, 17) -*ol*, carol wittol, 18) -*am*, madam quondam Clapham, 19) -*om*, freedom seldom fathom venom, 20) -*an*, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of *man*, as: woman, etc., 21) -*en*, garden children linen woollen, 22) -*on*, deacon pardon fashion legion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon, 23) -*ern*, eastern cavern, 24) -*ar*, vicar cedar vinegar scholar secular, 25) -*er*, robber chamber member render, 26) -*or*, splendor superior tenor error actor victor, 27) -*our*, labour neighbour colour favour, 28) -*ant*, pendant sergeant infant quadrant assistant truant, 29) -*ent*, innocent quiescent president, 30) -*acy*, fallacy primacy obstinacy, 31) -*ancy*, infancy tenancy constancy, 32) -*ency*, decency tendency currency, 33) -*ary*, beggary summary granary literary notary, 34) -*ery*, robbery bribery gunnery, 35) -*ory*, priory cursory oratory victory history, 36) -*ury*, usury luxury.

Also the terminations separated by a hyphen, in the following words: sof-a ide-a, sirr-ah, her-o stuce-o potat-o tobacc-o, wid-ow yell-ow fell-ow shad-ow sort-ow sparr-ow, val-ue neph-ew sher-iff, bann-ock hadd-ock padd-ock = frog, poss-ible poss-ibility, stom-ach lil-ach, no-tice poul-tice, prel-acy pol-icy, cer-tain, Lat-in, a sing-ing, a be-ing, pulp-it vom-it rabb-it, mouth-ful sorrow-ful, terri-fy signi-fy, child-hood, maiden-head, rap-id viv-id tep-id, un-ion commun-ion, par-ish per-ish, ol-ive rest-ive, bapt-ize civil-ize, ev-il dev-il, tru-ly sure-ly, har-mony matri-mony, hind-most ut-most better-most fore-most, sweet-

-ness, right-eous pit-eous plent-eous, friend-ship, tire-some whole-some, nation na-tional, pre-cious prodi-gious, offi-cial par-tial par-tiality, spe-cial spe-cialty spe-cialty, ver-dure or-dure, fi-gure, in-jure con-jure per-jure, plea-sure mea-sure trea-sure lei-sure cock-sure cen-sure pres-sure fis-sure, fea-ture crea-ture minia-ture na-ture na-tural litera-ture sta-ture frac-ture con-jec-ture lec-ture architec-ture pic-ture stric-ture junc-ture punc-ture struc-ture cul-ture vul-ture ven-ture cap-ture rap-ture scrip-ture depar-ture tor-ture pas-ture ves-ture fu-ture fix-ture seiz-ure, for-ward back-ward up-ward down-ward, like-wise side-wise, mid-wife house-wife good-wife.

All inflexional terminations, as in: speak-eth speak-sadd-s spok-en pierc-ed breath-ed princ-es prince-'s church-es church-'s path-s path-'s woly-es ox-en vix-en, etc. Forms of participle and verbal noun in -ing.

Note also the vowel in unaccented prefixes, such as those separated by a hyphen in the following words: a-mong a-stride a-las, ab-use, a-vert, ad-vance, ad-apt ad-mire ac-cept af-fix' an-nounce ap-pend, a-l-ert', al-cove a-byss, auth-entic, be-set be-gin, bin-ocular, con-ceal con-cur con-tract' con-trol, de-pend de-spite de-bate de-destroy de-feat, de-fer', dia-meter, di-rect dis-cuss, e-lope, en-close in-close, ex-cept e-vent e-mit ec-lipse, for-bid, fore-tell, gain-say, mis-deed mis-guide, ob-ject' ob-lige oc-casion op-pose, per-vert, pre-cede pre-fer', pro-mote pro-duce' pro-pose, pur-sue, re-pose, sub-ject' suf-fice, sur-vey sur-pass, sus-pend, to-morrow to-gether, trans-fer trans-scribe, un-fit, un-till.

Position of Accent.

Mark any words in which unusual, peculiar, or variable positions of accent have been observed, as: illustrate il-lustrate, demon-strate dem-onstrate, applicable applic'able, despic'able despic'able, as'pect aspect', or'deal (two syllables) or'de'al (three syllables), etc.

Words.

Names of numerals 1, 2, by units to 20, and by tens to 100, with thousand and million. Peculiar names of numbers as: pair, couple, leash, half dozen, dozen, long dozen, gross, long gross, half score, score, long score, long hundred, etc., with interpretation. Peculiar

methods of counting peculiar classes of objects. Ordinals, first, second, etc., to twentieth, thirtieth, etc., to hundredth, then thousandth and millionth. Numeral adverbs: once, twice, thrice, four times, some times, many times, often, seldom, never, etc., Single, simple, double, treble, quadruple, etc., fourfold, mani-fold, etc., three-some, etc. Each, either, neither, both, some, several, any, many, enough, enow, every. Names of peculiar weights and measures or quantities of any kind by which particular kinds of goods are bought and sold or hired, with their equivalents in imperial weights and measures. Names of division of time: minute, hour, day, night, week, days of week, sevennight, fortnight, month, names of months, quarter, half-quarter, half, twelvemonth, year, century, age, etc., Christmas, Michaelmas, Martinmas, Candlemas, Lammass, Lady Day, Midsummer, yule, any special festivals or days of settlement. Any Church ceremonies, as christening, burying, etc.

Articles; the, th', t', e', a, an, etc. Demonstratives: this, that, 'at, thick, thack, thuck, they=pe, them=jam, thir thor thors these. Personal pronouns in all cases, especially peculiar forms and remnants of old forms, as: I me ich 'ch, we us, hus huz, thou thee, ye you, he him 'en=hine, she hoo=heo her, it hit, its his, they them 'em=hem, etc.

Auxiliary verbs: to be, to have, in all their forms. Use of shall and will, should and would. All irregular or peculiar forms of verbs.

Adverbs and conjunctions: no, yes, and, but, yet, how, perhaps, etc. Prepositions: in, to, at, till, from, etc.

Peculiar syntax and idioms: I are, we is, thee loves, thou beest, thou ist, he do, they does, I see it=saw it, etc.

Negative and other contracted forms: don't doesn't aint aren't ha'nt isn't wouldn't couldn't shouldn't musn't can't canna won't wunna dinna didn't, etc., I'm thou'rt he's we're you're I've I'd I'd I'll, etc.

Sentences.

The above illustrated in connected forms, accented and unaccented, by short sentences, introducing the commonest verbs: take, do, pray, beg, stand, lie down, come, think, find, love, believe, shew, stop, sew, sow, must, ought, to

use, need, lay, please, suffer, live, to load, doubt, eat, drink, taste, mean, care, etc., and the nouns and verbs relating to: bodily parts, food, clothing, shelter, family and social relations, agriculture and manufacture, processes and implements, domestic animals, birds, fish, house vermin, heavenly bodies, weather, etc.

Sentences constructed like those of French, German, and Teviotdale in Glossic, p. xix, to accumulate all the peculiarities of dialectic utterances in a district.

Every peculiar sentence and word should be written fully in Glossic, and have its interpretation in ordinary language and spelling, as literal as possible, and peculiar constructions should be explained.

Comparative Specimen.

In order to compare different dialects, it is advisable to have one passage written in the idiom and pronunciation of all. Passages from the Bible are highly objectionable. Our next most familiar book is, perhaps, Shakspeare. The following extracts from the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act 3, sc. 1, sp. 69-133, have been selected for their rustic tone, several portions having been omitted as inappropriate or for brevity. Translations into the proper words, idiom, and pronunciation of every English dialect would be very valuable.

The Milkmaid, her Virtues and Vices.

Launce. He lives not now that knows me to be in love. Yet I am in love. But a team of horse shall not pluck that from me, nor who 'tis I love—and yet 'tis a woman. But what woman, I will not tell myself—and yet 'tis a milkmaid. Here is a cate-log of her condition. 'Imprimis: She can fetch and carry.' Why a horse can do no more; nay, a horse cannot fetch, but only carry; therefore is she better than a jade. 'Item: She can milk;' look you, a sweet virtue in a maid with clean hands.

[Enter Speed.

Speed. How now! what news in your paper?

Launce. The blackest news that ever thou heardest.

Speed. Why, man, how black?

Launce. Why, as black as ink.

Speed. Let me read them.

Launce. Fie on thee, jolt-head! thou canst not read.

Speed. Thou liest; I can. Come, fool, come; try me in thy paper.

Launce. There; and Saint Nicholas be thy speed!

Speed. [reads] 'Imprimis: she can milk.'

Launce. Ay, that she can.

Speed. 'Item: she brews good ale.'

Launce. And thereof comes the proverb: 'Blessing of your heart, you brew good ale.'

Speed. 'Item: she can sew.'

Launce. That's as much as to say, Can she so?

Speed. 'Item: She can wash and scour.'

Launce. A special virtue; for then she need not be washed and scoured.

Speed. 'Item: she can spin.'

Launce. Then may I set the world on wheels, when she can spin for her living.

Speed. 'Here follow her vices.'

Launce. Close at the heels of her virtues.

Speed. 'Item: she doth talk in her sleep.'

Launce. It's no matter for that, so she sleep not in her talk.

Speed. 'Item: she is slow in words.'

Launce. O villain, that set down among her vices! To be slow in words is a woman's only virtue: I pray thee, out with't, and place it for her chief virtue.

Speed. 'Item: she is proud.'

Launce. Out with that too; it was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her.

Speed. 'Item: she will often praise her liquor.'

Launce. If her liquor be good, she shall; if she will not, I will; for good things should be praised.

Speed. 'Item: she hath more hair than wit, and more faults than hairs, and more wealth than faults.'

Launce. Stop there; I'll have her; she was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that last article. Rehearse that once more.

Speed. 'Item: She hath more hair than wit.'

Launce. More hair than wit? It may be; I'll prove it. The cover of the salt hides the salt, and therefore it is more than the salt: the hair that covers the wit is more than the wit, for the greater hides the less. What's next?

Speed. 'And more faults than hairs.'
Launce. That's monstrous: O, that that were out!

Speed. 'And more wealth than faults.'

Launce. Why, that word makes the faults gracious. Well, I'll have her: and if it be a match, as nothing is impossible,—

Speed. What then?

Launce. Why, then will I tell thee—that thy master stays for thee at the North-gate.

Speed. For me?

Launce. For thee! ay, who art thou?

he hath stayed for a better man than thee.

Speed. And must I go to him?

Launce. Thou must run to him, for thou hast stayed so long, that going will scarce serve the turn.

Speed. Why didst thou not tell me sooner? pox of your love-letters!

[Exit.

Launce. Now will he be swung for reading my letter—an unmannerly slave, that will thrust himself into secrets! I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction.

[Exit.

Of course it would be impossible to enter upon the subject at great length in Chapter XI. The results will have to be given almost in a tabular form. But it is highly desirable that a complete account of our existing English language should occupy the attention of an ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY, and I solicit all correspondents to favour me with their views on this subject, and to state whether they would be willing to join such a body. At the same time I must request permission, owing to the necessity of mental repose on this subject, to abstain from more than simply acknowledging the receipt of their communications during 1871.

In Chap. XII. I hope to consider the various important papers which have recently appeared, bearing upon the present investigations, especially those by Dr. Weymouth, Mr. Payne, Mr. Murray, Mr. Furnivall, and Herr Ten Brink, together with such criticisms on my work as may have appeared before that chapter is printed. Any reader who can point out apparent errors and doubtful conclusions, or who can draw my attention to any points requiring revision, or supply omissions, or indicate sources of information which have been overlooked, will confer a great favour upon me by communicating their observations or criticisms within the year 1871, written in the manner already suggested. The object of these considerations, as of my whole work, is, not to establish a theory, but to approximate as closely as possible to a recovery of Early English Pronunciation.

Those who have read any portion of my book will feel assured that no kind assistance that may thus be given to me will be left unacknowledged when published. And as the work is not one for private profit, but an entirely gratuitous contribution to the history of our language, produced at great cost to the three Societies which have honoured me by undertaking its publication, I feel no hesitation in thus publicly requesting aid to make it more worthy of the generosity which has rendered its existence possible.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS.

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.

13 February, 1871.

GLOSSIC,

A NEW SYSTEM OF SPELLING, INTENDED TO BE USED CONCURRENTLY WITH THE EXISTING ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY IN ORDER TO REMEDY SOME OF ITS DEFECTS, WITHOUT CHANGING ITS FORM, OR DETRACTING FROM ITS VALUE.

KEY TO ENGLISH GLOSSIC.

Read the large capital letters always in the senses they have in the following words, which are all in the usual spelling except the three underlined, meant for foot, then, rouge.

BEET	BAIT	BAA	CAUL	COAL	COOL
KNIT	NET	GNAT	NOT	NUT	<u>FUOT</u>
	HEIGHT	FOIL	FOUL	FEUD	
	YEA	WAY	WHEY	HAY	
PEA	BEE	TOE	DOE	CHEST	JEST
				KEEP	GAPE
FIE	VIE	THIN	<u>DHEN</u>	SEAL	ZEAL
				<u>RUSH</u>	<u>ROUZH</u>
EAR	RING	<u>EARRING</u>	LAY	MAY	NAY
					SING

R is vocal when no vowel follows, and modifies the preceding vowel forming diphthongs, as in REER, PAIR, BOAR, NOOR, HERB.

Use R for R' and RR for RR', when a vowel follows, except in elementary books, where r' is retained.

Separate *th*, *dh*, *sh*, *zh*, *ng* by a hyphen (-) when necessary.

Read a stress on the first syllable when not otherwise directed.

Mark stress by (˘) after a long vowel or *ei*, *oi*, *ou*, *eu*, and after the first consonant following a short vowel.

Mark emphasis by (˙) before a word.

Pronounce *el*, *em*, *en*, *er*, *ej*, *a*, obscurely, after the stress syllable.

When three or more letters come together of which the two first may form a digraph, read them as such.

Letters retain their usual names, and alphabetical arrangement.

Words in customary or NOMIC spelling occurring among GLOSSIC, and conversely, should be underlined with a wavy line ~~, and printed with spaist letters, or else in a *different type*.

Specimen ov Ingglisch Glosik.

NOM'IK, (dhat iz, kustemeri Ingglisch speling, soa kauld from dhi Greek *nom'os*, kustem,) konvai'z noa intimai'shen ov dhi risee'vd proanunsiai'shen ov eni werd. It iz konsikwentli veri difikelt too lern too reed, and stil moar difikelt too lern too reit.

INGGLISH GLOSIK (soa kauld from dhi Greek *glossa*, tung) konvai'z whotev'er proanunsiai'shen iz intended bei dhi reiter. Glosik buoks kan dhairfoar bee maid too impaar't risee'vd aurthoa'ipi too aul reederz.

Ingglisch Glosik iz veri eezi too reed. With proper training, a cheild ov foar yeez oald kan bee redili taut too giv dhi egzak't sound ov eni glosik werd prizen'ted too him. Aafter hee haz akwei'rd familiar'iti widh glosik reeding hee kan lern nomik reeding aulmoast widhou't instruk'shen. Dhi hoal teim rikwei'rd faur lerning boath glosik and nomik, iz not haaf dhat rikwei'rd faur lerning nomik aloa'n. Dhis iz impoa'rtent, az nomik buoks and paiperz aar dhi oanli egzis'ting soarsez ov infermai'shen.

Glosik reiting iz akwei'rd in dhi proases ov glosik reeding. Eni wun hoo kan reed glosik, kan reit eni werd az wel az hee kan speak it, and dhi proper moad ov speaking iz lern't bei reeding glosik buks. But oaing too its pikeu'lier konstruk'shen, glosik speling iz imee'dietli intel'ijibl, widhou't a kee, too eni nomik reeder. Hens, a glosik reiter kan komeu'nikait widh aul reederz, whedher glosik aur nomik, and haz dhairfoar noa need too bikum a nomik reiter. But hee kan bikum wun, if serkemstensez render it dizei'r'rabl, widh les trubl dhan dhoaz hoo hav not lern't glosik.

Dhi novelti ov dhi prezent skeem faur deeling widh dhi Speling Difkelti iz, that, wheil it maiks noa chainj in dhi habits ov egzis'ting reederz and reiterz, and graitle fasil'itaitz lerning too reed our prezent buks, it ente'rli obviaits dhi nises'iti ov lerning too reit in dhi euzheuel komplikaite fashen.

Dhi abuv aar edeukai'shenel and soashel eusez ov Glosic. It iz heer introadeu'st soalli az a meenz ov reiting Aul Egzisting Vare'itiz ov Ingglish Proanunsiai'shen¹ bei meenz ov Wun Alfabet on a wel noan Ingglish baxis.

¹ Eevn amung heili edeukaite Ingglishmen, maarkt vare'itis ov proanunsiai'shen egzist. If wee inkloo'd proavin'shel deialekts and vulgar'itiz, dhi number ov dheez vare'itiz wil bee inaurmusli inkree'st. Dhi eer rikwei'rz much training, bifoar it iz aibl too apree'shiat mineu't shaidz ov sound, dhoaz it redili diskrim'inaits braud diferensez. Too meet dhis difkelti dhis skeem haz been diveide'd intoo 'too. Dhi ferst, aur Ingglish Glosik, iz adap'ted faur reiting Ingglish az wel az dhi autherz ov proanoun'sing diksheneriz euzheueli kontemplait. Dhi sekend aur Euniver'sel Glosik, aimz at giving simbelz faur dhi moast mineu't foanet'ik anal'isis yet achee'vd. Dhus, in dhi ferst, dhi foar difthongz *ei, oi, ou, eu*, aar strik'tli konven'shenel seinz, and pai noa heed too dhi grait vare'iti ov waiz in which at leest sum ov dhem aar habitueeli proanoun'st. Again, *eer, air, oar, oor*, aar stil ritn widh *ee, ai, oa, oo*, aul dhoaz an aten'tiv lisner wil redili rekogneiz a mineu't aulte'rai'shen in dheir soundz. Too fasil'itait reiting wee mai euz *eh, em, en, ej, a*, when not under dhi stres, faur dhoaz obskeu'r soundz which aar soa prevalent in speech, dhoaz reprobaite'd bei aurthoa'pists, and singk dhi disting'kshen betwe'n *e*, and *ee*, under dhi saim serkemstensez. Aulsoa dhi sounds in defer, occur, deferring, occurring may bee aulwaiz ritn with *er*, dhus *difer', oker', differing, okerring*, dhi dubling ov dhi *r* in dhi 'too laast

werdz sikeu'r'ring dhi voakel karakter ov dhi ferst *r*, and dhi tril ov dhi sekend, and dhus disting'gishing dheez soundz from dhoaz herd in *her'ing, okurens*. Konsider'abl ekspeer'riens sujes'ts dhiz az a konvee'nient praktikel aurthoa'pi. But faur dhi reprizentai'shen ov deialekts, wee rekwei'r jenereli a much strikter noatai'shen, and faur aurthoaep'ikel diskrip'shen, aur seientifik foanet'ik diskush'en, sumthing stil moar painfuoli mineu't. A feu sentensez aar anek'st, az dhaz aar render'd bei Wauker and Melvil Bel, ading dhi Autherz oan koloa'kwiel uterens, az wel az hee kan estimait it.

PRAKTIKEL. Ende'ver faur dhi best, and proave'd agen'st dhi werst. Nises'iti iz dhi mudher ov inven'shen. Hee hoo wons konten't kanot feind an eezi chair.

WAUKER. Ende'u'r faur dhe best, and proavaay'd agen'st dhe wurst. Neesae'teez iz dhe mud'u'r ov inven'shun. Hee hoo wons konten't kanot faay'nd an ee'zee chair.

MELVIL BEL. Endeau'u'r fo'r dhi baest, a'nd pra'ovaay'd a'gaen'h'st dhi' wuurst. Neesaes'iti iz dhi' muudh'u'r o'v invaen'h'shu'n. Hee hoo woun'h's ko'ntaenh't kan o't faay'nd a'n ee'zi che'r.

ELIS. Ende'u' fu'(dhi)best u'n). pr'oa'vuy'd u'gen'st dhi)wurst. Nises'iti)z dhi)mudh'u'r u'v)inven'shu'n. Hee hoo)woun'ts kan o't faay'nd kan ut fuy'nd u'n)ee'zi che'u'.

KEY TO UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC.

Small Capitals throughout indicate English Glossic Characters as on p. xiii. Large capitals point out the most important additional vowel signs.

THE THIRTY-SIX VOWELS OF MR. A. MELVILLE BELL'S "VISIBLE SPEECH."

	Back.	Mixed.	Front.		Back.	Mixed.	Front.
	Primary.				Wide.		
High	uu'	ea	EE		U'	I'	I
Mid	UU	u	AI		AA	A'	E
Low	ua	ua'	AE		AH	E'	A
	Round.				Wide	Round.	
High	oo	ui'	ni		uo	uo'	UE
Mid	oa	oa'	EO		AO	ao'	OE
Low	AU	au'	eo'		o	o'	oe'

BRIEF KEY TO THE VOWELS.

A as in English *gnat*.
 A' (read *ai-huok*) fine southern English *ask*, between *aa* and *e*.
 AA as in English *baa*.
 AE usual provincial English *e*, French *é*, German *ü*.
 AH broad German *ah*, between *aa* & *au*.
 AI as in English *bait*, with no after-sound of *ee*.
 AO open Italian *o*, between *o* and *oa*.
 ao' closer sound of *ao*, not quite *oa*.
 AU as in English *caul*.
 au' closer sound of *au*, as *i* in Irish *sir*.
 E as in southern English *net*.
 E' modification of *e* by vocal *r* in *herb*.
 ea Russian *ѣ*, Polish *y*, variety of *ee*.
 EE as in English *beet*.
 EO close French *eu* in *pou*, *feu*.
 eo' opener sound of *eo*, not quite *oe*.
 I as in English *knit*.
 I' opener sound of *i*, not quite *e*, as *e* in English *houses*, Welsh *u*.
 O as in English *not*, opener than *au*.
 o' a closer sound of *o*.
 OA as in English *coal*, with no after-sound of *oo*.
 oa' closer sound of *oa*; *u* with lips rounded.
 OE open French *eu* in *veuf*, German *ü*.
 oe' opener sound of *oe*.
 oo as in English *cool*.
 U as in English *nut*.
 U' obscure *u*, as *o* in English *mention*.
 ua open provincial variety of *u*.
 ua' slightly closer *u*.
 UE French *u*, German *ü*.
 ui provincial Ger. *ü*, nearly *ee*, Swed. *y*.
 ui' Swedish long *u*.

uo as in English *full*, *woman*, *book*.
 uo' Swedish long *o*.

UU usual provincial variety of *u*.
 uu' Gaelic sound of *ao* in *laogh*; try to pronounce *oo* with open lips.

SPECIAL RULES FOR VOWELS.

Ascertain carefully the received pronunciation of the first 12 key words on p. xiii, (avoiding the after-sounds of *ee* and *oo*, very commonly perceptible after *ai* and *oa*). Observe that the tip of the tongue is depressed and the middle or front of the tongue raised for all of them, except *u*; and that the lips are more or less rounded for *oo*, *uo*, *oa*, *au*, *o*. Observe that for *i*, *e*, *uo*, the parts of the mouth and throat behind the narrowest passage between the tongue and palate, are more widely opened than for *ee*, *ai*, *oo*.

Having *ee* quite clear and distinct, like the Italian, Spanish, French, and German *i* long, practise it before all the English consonants, making it as long and as short as possible, and when short remark the difference between *ee* and *i*, the French *fini*, and English *finny*. Then lengthen *i*, noticing the distinction between *leap lip*, *steal still*, *feet fit*, when the latter words are sung to a long note. Sustaining the sound first of *ee* and then of *i*, bring the lips together and open them alternately, observing the new sounds generated, which will be *ui* and *ue*. A proper appreciation of the vowels, primary *ee*, wide *i*, round *ui*, wide round *ue*, will render all the others easy.

Obtain *oo* quite clear and distinct, like Italian and German *u* long, French *ou* long. Pronounce it long and short before all the English consonants. Observe the distinction between *pool* and *pull*, the former having *oo*, the latter *uo*. The true short *oo* is heard in French *poule*. English *pull* and French *poule*, differ as English *finny* and French *fini*, by widening. Observe that the back of the tongue is decidedly raised as near to the soft palate for *oo*, *uo*, as the front was to the hard palate for *ee*, *i*; and that the lips are rounded. While continuing to pronounce *oo* or *uo*, open the lips without moving the tongue. This will be difficult to do voluntarily at first, and the lips should be mechanically opened by the fingers till the habit is obtained. The results are the peculiar indistinct sounds *uu'*

and *u'*, of which *u'* is one of our commonest obscure and unaccented sounds.

In uttering *ee*, *ai*, *ae*, the narrowing of the passage between the tongue and hard palate is made by the middle or front of the tongue, which is gradually more retracted. The *ai*, *ae*, are the French *é*, *è*, Italian *e chiuso* and *e aperto*. The last *ae* is very common, when short, in many English mouths. The widening of the opening at the back, converts *ee*, *ai*, *ae*, into *i*, *e*, *a*. Now *e* is much finer than *ae*, and replaces it in the South of England. Care must be taken not to confuse English *a* with *aa*. The true *a* seems almost peculiar to the Southern and Western, the refined Northern, and the Irish pronunciation of English. The exact boundaries of the illiterate *a* and *aa* have to be ascertained. Rounding the lips changes *ee*, *ai*, *ae*, into *ui*, *eo*, *eo'*, of which *eo* is very common. Rounding the lips also changes *i*, *e*, *a*, into *ue*, *oe*, *oe'*, of which *oe* is very common.

On uttering *oo*, *oa*, *au*, the back of the tongue descends lower and lower, till for *au* the tongue lies almost entirely in the lower jaw. The widening of these gives *uo*, *ao*, *o*. The distinction between *au*, *o*, is necessarily very slight; as is also that between *ao* and *o*. But *ao* is very common in our dialects, and is known as *o aperto* in Italy. The primary forms of *oo*, *oa*, *au*, produced by opening the lips, are the obscure *uu'*, *uu*, *ua*, of which *uu* is very common in the provinces, being a deeper, thicker, broader sound of *u*. But the wide sounds *uo*, *ao*, *o*, on opening the lips, produce *u'*, *aa*, *ah*. Here *aa* is the true Italian and Spanish *a*, and *ah* is the deeper sound, heard for long *a* in Scotland and Germany, often confused with the rounded form *au*.

Of the mixed vowels, the only important primary vowel is *u*, for which the tongue lies flat, half way between the upper and lower jaw. It is as colourless as possible. It usually replaces *ui* in unaccented syllables, and altogether replaces it in refined Southern speech. Its wide form *a'* is the modern French fine *a*, much used also for *aa* in the South of England. The rounded form *oa'* seems to replace *u* or *uu* in some dialects. The mixed sound resulting from attempting to utter *ah* and *a* together is *e'*, which Mr. Bell considers to be the true vowel in *herd*.

Distinctions to be carefully drawn in

writing dialects. EE and I. AI and E. AE and E. AA, AH and A. OA and AO. AU and AH. OO and UO. UU and U. UI, UE and EEW, IW, YOO. UE and EO. OE and U.

QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

All vowels are to be read short, or medial, except otherwise marked.

The Stress (·) placed immediately after a vowel shews it to be long and accented, as *august*; placed immediately after a consonant, hyphen (-), gap (:), or stop (.), it shews that the preceding vowel is short and accented, as *augus·t*, *aamao·*, *pa'pa'.*

The Holder (¨) placed immediately after a vowel or consonant shews it to be long, as *au¨gust*, *need¨*; the Stress Holder (¨·) shews that the consonant it follows, is held, the preceding vowel being short and accented, compare *hap·i*, *hap¨·i*, *hap·i*, *hap¨·i*; in theoretical writing only. Practically it is more convenient to double a held consonant, as *hap·i*, *hap·pi*, *hap·pi*.

Stop (.) subjoined to any letter indicates a caught-up, imperfect utterance, as *ka..*, *kat..* for *kat*; great abruptness is marked by (..)

Accent marks may also be used when preferred, being placed over the first letter of a combination, thus:

	Very long.	Long.	Medial.	Short.	Very short.
with stress—	āa·	āa	āa	āa	āa
without stress—	āa·	āa	āa	āa	āa

If the first letter is a capital the accent marks may be placed on the second, as *Äugust*, *Äugust*, *kääzāa*.

SYSTEMATIC DIPHTHONGS.

The stressless element of a diphthong is systematically indicated by a preceding turned comma (·) called *hook*, as *m'eeai'ee* It. miei, *La'a'ooraa* It. Laura, *p'aaoor'aa* It. paura, *l'ueee* Fr. lui. But when, as is almost always the case, this element is 'ee 'oo, or 'uc, it may be replaced by its related consonant *y*, *w* or 'io, as *myaiy*, *Laaw'raa*, *l'ueee*. Any obscure final element as 'u, 'e, 'e', is sufficiently expressed by the sign of simple voice *h'*, as provincial *neeh't* night, *streeh'm* stream *wih'kn* waken. In applying the rule for marking stress and quantity, treat the stressless element as a consonant.

The four English Glossic diphthongs EI, OI, OU, EU are unsystematic, and are variously pronounced, thus:

EI is *uy* in the South, sometimes *a'y*, *aay*; and is often broadened to *uuy*, *ahy*, *au'y*, in the provinces.

OI is *oy* in the South, and becomes *auy*, provincially.

OU is *uw* in the South, sometimes *a'w*, *aaw*, and is often broadened to *uaw* *ahw*, *oaw*, *aow*; it becomes *oe.w* in Devonshire, and *aew* in Norfolk.

EU varies as *ew*, *eev*, *yoo*, *yiv*, *yeev*.

The Londoners often mispronounce AI as *ai'y*, *aiy*, *ey* or nearly *uy*, and OA as *oa'w*, *oaw*, *ow* or nearly *uw*.

English vocal R, is essentially the same as H', forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Thus English glossic *peer*, *pair*, *boar*, *boor*, *fer*, *difer-ring*, are systematic *pi'h'*, *pe'h'*, *baa'h'*, *buo'h'*, *fe'h'* or *fu*, *dife'h'-ring* or *difur-ring*. But *r* is used where *r'*, or *rr'*, or *h'r'* may be occasionally heard.

CONSONANTS.

Differences from English Glossic consonants are marked by adding an *h* in the usual way, with *y'* for palatals, and *w'* for labials, by subjoining an apostrophe (') or by prefixing a turned comma (`,`), a turned apostrophe (`,`), or a simple comma (`,`).

Simple consonants, and added G.

Y, W, H; P B, T D, J, K G, F V, S Z, vocal R, L M N, NG.

Added H.

WH, CH, TH DH, SH ZH.
KH, GH German *ch*, *g* in *Daeh*, *Tage*;
YH, R'H, LH, MH, NH, NGH
are the hissed voiceless forms of
y, *r'*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*.

Added Y' and YH.

TY', DY', KY', GY', LY', NY', NGY',
are palatalised or *mouillé* varieties
of *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *l*, *n*, *ng*, as in *virtue*,
verdure, old *cart*, old *guard*, Italian
gl, *gn*, vulgar French, *il n'y a*
pas = *ngy'aa pah*. LYH is the
hissed voiceless form of LY'.

KYH, GYH are palatal varieties of
KH, GH as in German *ich*, *fliege*.

Added W' and WH.

TW', DW', KW', GW', RW', R'W',
LW', NW', &c., are labial varieties

of *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *r*, *r'*, *l*, *n*, &c., pro-
duced by rounding the lips at or
during their utterance, French *toi*,
dois, English *quiet*, *guano*, *our*,
French *roi*, *loi*, *noix*, &c.

KWH, GWH are labial varieties of
KH, GH as in German *auch*, *saugen*,
and Scotch *quh*. HWH is a whistle.

Added apostrophe (') called "Hook."

H' called *aieh-huok*, is the simplest emis-
sion of voice: H'W' is *h'* with round-
ed lips; H'WH a voiced whistle.

T', D', called *teg-huok*, *dee-huok*, dental
t, *d*, with tip of tongue nearly
between teeth as for *th*, *dh*.

F', V', called *ef-huok*, *vee-huok*, tooth-
less *f*, *v*, the lip not touching the
teeth; *v'* is true German *v*.

N', or R before vowels, is trilled *r*.

N' read *en-huok*, French nasal *n*, which
nasalizes the preceding vowel. To
Englishmen the four French words
vent, *vont*, *vin*, *un* sound *von'*, *voan'*,
van', *un'*; but Frenchmen take
them as *vahn'*, *voan'*, *vaen'*, *oen'*.
Sanskrit *unuosvaa ru*.

K', G' peculiar Picard varieties of
ky', *gy'*, nearly approaching *ch*, *j*.

CH', J', TS', DZ' monophthongal
Roman varieties of *ch*, *j*, *ts*, *dz*.

T'H, D'H lisped varieties of *s*, *z*, imi-
tating *th*, *dh*; occasional Spanish
z, *d*.

S' not after *t*, Sanscrit *visu rgu*.

Prefixed comma (`,`), called "Comma."

,H read *koma-aieh*, lax utterance, op-
posed to .H.

,T ,D read *koma-tee*, *koma-dee* peculiar
Sardinian varieties of *t*, *d*, the
tongue being much retracted.

,L Polish barred *l*, with ,LH its voice-
less, ,LW' its labial, and ,LWH
its voiceless labial forms.

; read *hamza*, check of the glottis.

Prefixed turned comma (`,`), called "Hook."

; read *ein*, the Arabic *'aayn* or bleat.
'H, 'T 'D, 'S 'Z, 'K, read *huok-aieh*,
huok-tee, &c.; peculiar Arabic
varieties of *h*, *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *k*; 'G the
voiced form of 'K.

'KH, 'GH, called *huok-kai-aieh*, *huok-
jee-aieh*; the Arabic *kh*, *gh* pro-
nounced with a rattle of the uvula.

- °W, °PR, °BR, read *huok-dubl-eu*, &c.; lip trills, the first with tight and the others with loose lips; the first is the common English defective *w* for *v*, as *ve'voi t'woo*, the last is used for stopping horses in Germany.
- °R read *huok-aar*, the French *r grasseyé*, and Northumberland burr or *k'ruop* = *gh4*; °RH its voiceless form.
- °LH, °L, read *huok-el-aich*, *huok-el*, Welsh *ll*, and its voiced Manx form.
- °F, °V, read *huok-ef* &c.; *f*, *v* with back of tongue raised as for *oo*.

Prefixed turned apostrophe (,), called "Curve."

- °AA, read *kerv-aa*, an *aa* pronounced through the nose, as in many parts of Germany and America, different from *aan*, and so for any vowel, °h, or *h'*.
- °T, °D, °SH, °R, °L, °N read *kerv-tee* &c., Sanscrit "cerebral" *t*, *d*, *sh*, *r*, *l*, *n*; produced by turning the under part of the tongue to the roof of the mouth and attempting to utter *t*, *d*, *sh*, *r*, *l*, *n*.
- °H read *kerv-aich*, a post aspiration, consisting of the emphatic utterance of the following vowel, in one syllable with the consonant, or an emphatically added final aspirate after a consonant. Common in Irish-English, and Hindoostanee.
- °W is the consonant related to *ue*, as *w* is to *oo*.

Clicks,—spoken with suction stopped.

- C, tongue in *t* position, English *tut*!
- Q, tongue in *t* position.
- X, tongue in *ty* position, but unilateral, that is, with the left edge clinging to the palate, and the right free, as in English clicking to a horse. C, q, x, are used in Appleyard's *Caffre*.
- QC, tongue in *ty* position, but not unilateral; from Boyce's *Hottentot*.
- KC, tongue retracted to the *k* position and clinging to the soft palate.

Whispers or Flats.

- °H, called *serkl-aich*, simple whisper; °H' whisper and voice together °H' diphthongal form of °H'.
- °AA, read *serkl-aa*, whispered *aa*, and so for all vowels.
- °B, °D, read *serkl-bee* etc., the sound of *b*, *d*, heard when whispering, as distinct from *p*, *t*, common in Saxony when initial, and sounding to

Englishmen like *p*, *t* when standing for *b*, *d*, and like *b*, *d* when standing for *p*, *t*. °G, whispered *g*, does not occur in Saxony.

- °V, °DH, °Z, °ZH, °L, °M, °N read *serkl-vee* etc., similar theoretical English varieties, final, or interposed between voiced and voiceless letters.

TONES.

The tones should be placed after the Chinese word or the English syllable to which they refer. They are here, for convenience, printed over or under the vowel *o*, but in writing and printing the vowel should be cut out.

ō, *o*, high or low level tone, *p'hing*.

ó, *o*, tone rising from high or low pitch, *shaang*.

ô, *o*, rise and fall, (that is, *foo-kyen shaang*), or fall and rise.

ò, *o*, falling tone to high or low pitch, *kyoo* or *k'hoë*.

ǒ, *o*, sudden catch of the voice at a high or low pitch, *shoo*, *zhée*, *nyip*, or *yaap*.

SIGNS.

Hyphen (-), used to separate combinations, as in *mis-hap*, *in-got*. In *whair-ever*, *r* is vocal; *elm fauln* are monosyllables, *el-m*, *faul-n* are dissyllables; *fider* has two syllables, *fíd-er* three syllables.

Divider), occasionally used to assist the reader by separating to the eye, words not separated to the ear, as *tel'er dhat*) *l doo*.

Omission (.), occasionally used to assist the reader by indicating the omission of some letters usually pronounced, as *hee*.) *l doo*) *t*.

Gap (:) indicates an hiatus.

Closure (.) prefixed to any letter indicates a very emphatic utterance as *mei .hei* for *my eye*.

Emphasis (') prefixed to a word, shews that the whole word is more emphatically uttered, as *ei 'neu dhat* 'dhat dhat 'dhat man sed 'woz rong; 'ei gaiv 'too things too 'too men, and 'hee gaiv 'too, 'too, 'too 'too, 'too.

The following are subjoined to indicate, *l* emission, *l* suction, *l* trill of the organs implicated, *†* inner and *‡* outer position of the organs implicated, *‡* tongue protruded, *§* unilaterality, * linking of the two letters between which it stands to form a third sound, (extreme faintness.

EXAMPLES OF UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC

♦♦ The Reader should pay particular attention to the Rules for marking vowel quantity laid down in the Key, p. xvi.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

French.—Ai p,wee uen vyaïy ka'raony' ai un'n)on'fon' bao'rny' oan' von'due deo moavae van' oa poeplh bæ'tt. Ee aet voo?

German.—Ahkh! aaynu' aayntsee gyhu' ue'blu' foyreegyhu' mucku' koentu' v'oal ahwkw meekyh boe'zu' mahkhu'n! Yahh szoa! Es toot meer' oon:en'dleekyh laayt!

OLD ENGLISH.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Chaucer, transliterated from "Early English Pronunciation," p. 681:

Whaan dhaat Aa'pri:l with)is sho'o:res swao'te
 Dhe droo'kwht aof Maareh haath per'sed tao dhe rao'te,
 Aand baa'dhed ev'ri' vaayn in swich li'koo'r
 Aof which ver'tue' enjen'dred is dhe floo'r;
 Whaan Zefiroos, e-k, with)is swe'te bre'the
 Inspi'red haath in ev'ri' haolt aand he'the
 Dhe tendre kropes, aand dhe yoonge soone
 Haath in dhe Raam is)haalfe koo'r's iroon'e,
 Aand smaa'le foo'les maa'ken melaodi'e,
 Dhaat sle'pen aal dhe nikyht with ao'pen i'e,—
 Sao priketh hem naa'tue'r in her' kao'raa'jes;
 Dhaan laongen faolk tao gao'n aon pil'gri-maa'jes,
 Aand paalmerz faor' tao se'ken straawnje straondes,
 Tao fer'ne haalwes koo'th in soon'dri' laondes;
 Aand spes'iaali' fraom ev'ri' shi'res ende
 Aof Engelaond, tao Kaawn'ter'ber'i' dhaay wende,
 Dhe hao'li' blisfool maar'ti'r faor tao se'ke,
 Dhaat hem haath haolpen, whaan dhaat dhaay we'r se'ke.

DIALECTIC ENGLISH AND SCOTCH.

Received Pronunciation.—Whot d)yoo wont? *Vulgar Cockney.*—

Wau'chi wau'nt? *Devonshire.*—Wat d)yue want? *Fifeshire.*—

Whuu't u'r' yi' waa:n? *Teviotdale.*—Kwhaht er' ee wahntun?

Teviotdale, from the dictation of Mr. Murray of Hawick.—Dhe)r' ti'wkw hahkw hahkw graow'un e dhe Ri'wkw Hi'wkw Hahkw.

—Kwhaht er' ee ah'nd um? U')m ah'nd um naokwht.—Yuuw un mey el gu'ng aowr' dhe deyk e puuw e pey e dhe muunth e Mai'y.—Hey)l bey aowr' dhe 'naow nuuw.

Aberdeen.—Faat foa'r' di'd dhe peer' si'n vreet tl)z mi'dher'?

Glasgow.—Wu)l ait wur' bred n buu;ur' doon dhu waa;ur'.

Lothian.—Mahh' koanshuns! hahng u' Be'yl!—Gaang u'wah', laadi! gai tu dhu hoar's, sai xx! un shoos em 'baak ugi'n'!

Norfolk.—Wuuy dao'nt yu' paa'mi dhaat dhur 'tue paewnd yu' ao'mi, bo? Uuy dao'nt ao'yu' nao 'tue paewnd. Yuuw 'due!

Scoring Sheep in the Yorkshire Dales.—1. yaan, 2 taih'n, 3 tedhuru, 4 medhuru (edhuru), 5 pimp (pip), 6 saa'jis (see'zu), 7 laa'jis (reru), 8 sao'va (koturu), 9 dao'vu (hau'nu), 10 dik, 11 yaan uboo'n, 12 tain uboo'n, 13 tedhur' uboo'n, 14 medhur' uboo'n, 15 jigit, 16 yaan ugeeh'n, 17 tain ugeeh'n, 18 tedhur' ugeeh'n, 19 medhur' ugeeh'n, 20 gin ageeh'n (bumfit).

DIALECTS OF THE PEAK OF DERBYSHIRE FROM THE DICTATION OF
MR. THOMAS HALLAM, OF MANCHESTER, A NATIVE OF THE PEAK.

* * Mr. Hallam considers that he said *a'*, *uo*, *uow*, *vāys*, where I seemed to hear and wrote *aa*, *oa'*, *ui'w*, *va'ys*. Mr. Hallam dictated the quantities.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH VARIETY.

Th)Sò'a'ngg u) Sòlumun, Chàapt'ur th)-
sàekund.

1. *Aú)m th)ròaz u)Shàerun un)th)-*
lilli u)th vāalliz.

2. *Làhyk th)lilli umò'a'ng thàurnz,*
sù'i'w iz màhy lúuv umò'a'ng th)-
dúuw't'uriz.

3. *Làhyk th)àappl t'riy umò'a'ng*
th)t'riyz u)th wò'a'd, sù'i'w iz mahy
bilúuvd umò'a'ng th)sò'a'nz. Aú sit)mi
dàawn wi gràet dily òa'nd'ur'iz
shàadu, un)iz)frù'i'wt wur)swiyt tu)mi
tàist.

4. *Iy brúuw't)mi tu)th)fèeh'stin*
àaws, un)iz)flà'g òar)mi wur lúuv.

5. *S't'ràength)mi wi)sò'a'mut'*
d'ringk, kùumfurt)mi wi)àapplz: fur
à'u)m lúuv-sik.

6. *Iz lift ònt)s òa'nd'ur mi)yáed,*
un)iz riyt ònt tliips)mi.

7. *Aú chàarj)yu, òa dúuw't'uriz u)Ji-*
rù'i'wslum. bi)th)ròaz, un)bi)th)stà'gz
u)th)filyt, uz yòa mun nòadhur stáur,
nur wà'kn mi)lúuv, til)iy)plèh'zuz.

8. *Th)và'ys u)mi)bilúuvd! Lúw'wk,*
iy kùumz lèeh'pin òa'pu)th)màawntinz,
sky'ippin òa'pu)th ilz.

9. *Mi)bilúuvd)z làhyk u)rò'a, ur')u)-*
yò'a'ng stà'g: lù'wk, iy stòndz ut)-
bà'k'u àar)wáu, iy lù'wks àawt ut)-
th)windus, un)shòaz issàel thrù'i'w)-
th)làatiz.

10. *Mi)bilúuvd spáu'k, un)sáed*
tù'i'w)mi, Gy'àet òa'p, mi)lúuv, mi)-
fàer')un, un)kùum uwái.

11. *Fur, lù'wk, th)wint'ur)z pàast,*
un)th)ràin)z òar un)gáun.

12. *Th)flàawurz ur)kùumin òa'pu)-*
th)gràawnd, th)tàhym)z kùumn us)th)-
bridz singn, un)th)và'ys u)th)túurtl)z
èerd i)àar)kò'a'n'tri.

13. *Th)fig t'riyz ur) gy'àetin griyn*
figz òn, un)th)vàhynz gy'in u)nàhys
smàel wi)th)yò'a'ng gràips. Gy'àet
ò'a'p, mi)lúuv, mi)fàer')un, un)kùum
uwái.

14. *Oà màhy dòav, uz)urt)i)th)tliifs*
u)th)ròk, i)th)sàikrit spòts u)th)stàerz,
làe)mi siy dhi)fàis, làe)mi èer dhi)-
và'ys; fur)dhi)và'ys is swiyt, un)dhi)-
fàis iz vàerri pràati.

TADDINGTON VARIETY.

Th)Sò'a'ngg u)Sòlumun, Chàaptur th)-
sàekund.

1. *Aú)m th)ròaz u)Shàerun un)th)-*
lilli u)th vāalliz.

2. *Us th)lilli umò'a'ng thàurnz, sòo*
iz máu lúuv umò'a'ng th)dúuw'turiz.

3. *Us th)àappl tràey umò'a'ng th)-*
tràeyz u)th wò'a'd, sòoz máu bilúuvd
umò'a'ng th)sò'a'nz. Aú sit dàawn wi
grèet dlàey òa'ndur'iz shàadu, un)iz)-
fri'wt wur)swàeyt tu)mi)tàist.

4. *Aèy brúuw't)mi tu)th)fèestín àaws,*
un)iz)flà'g òar)mi wur lúuv.

5. *Ky'àeyp mi)ò'a'p wi' sò'a'mut'*
dringk, kùumfurt)mi wi)àapplz; fur
à'u)m lúuv-sik.

6. *Iz lift ònd)z òa'ndur mi)yáed, un)-*
iz ràeyt ònd tliips)mi.

7. *Aú tàel)yu, òa dúuw'turiz u)Ji-*
rùuwslum, bi)th)ròaz, un)bi)th)stà'gz
u)th)fàeylt, dhut yòa mun nòadhur stáur
nur wà'akn mau lúuv, til aey làhyks.

8. *Th)và'ys u)mi)bilúuvd! Lúuw'k,*
aey kùumz léepin òa'pu)th)màawntinz,
sky'ippin òa'pu)th ilz.

9. *Mi)bilúuvd)z làhyk u)rò'a, ur')u)-*
yò'a'ng stà'g: lúuw'k, aey stòndz ut)-
th)bà'k)n àar)wáu, aey lúuwks àawt
ut)th)windus, un)shòaz issàel thràuw)-
th)làatiz.

10. *Mi)bilúuvd spáu'k, un)sáed*
túuw)mi, Gy'àer')ò'a'p, mi)lúuv, mi)-
fàer')un, un)kùum uwèe.

11. *Fur, lúuw'k, th)wintur)z pàast,*
un)th)rèen)z òar un)gáun.

12. *Th)flàawurz ur)kùumin òa'pu)-*
th)gràawnd, th)tàhym)z kùumn us)th)-
bridz singn, un)th)vàhys u)th)túurtl)z
èerd i)àar)kò'a'n'tri.

13. *Th)fig tràeyz ur)gy'àetin gràeyn*
figz òn, un)th)vàhynz gy'in u)nàhys
smàel wi)th)yò'a'ng gràips. Gy'àer')-
ò'a'p, mi)lúuv, mi)fàer')un, un)kùum
uwèe.

14. *Oà máu dòav, uz)urt)i)th)niks*
u)th)ròk, i)th)sèekrit spòts u)th)stàerz,
làe)mi sàey dhi)fàis, làe)mi èer dhi)-
vàhys; fur)dhi)vàhys is swàeyt, un)-
dhi)fàis iz vàerri pràati.

* * *Separate Copies of this Notice and Appendix on Glossic will be sent on application to the Author.*

CHAPTER VII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *Chaucer.*

CRITICAL TEXT OF PROLOGUE.

IN accordance with the intimation on p. 398, the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* is here given as an illustration of the conclusions arrived at in Chap. IV., for the pronunciation of English in the XIVth century. But it has been necessary to abandon the intention there expressed, of following the Harl. MS. 7334 as closely as possible, for since the passage referred to was printed, the Chaucer Society has issued its magnificent Six-Text Edition of the Prologue and Knight's Tale, and it was therefore necessary to study those MSS. with a view to arriving at a satisfactory text to pronounce, that is, one which satisfied the laws of grammar and the laws of metre better than the reading of any one single MS. which we possess. For this purpose the systematic orthography proposed on p. 401, became of importance. The value of exact diplomatic reprints of the MSS. on which we rely, cannot be overrated. But when we possess these, and endeavour to divine an original text whence they may have all arisen, we ought not to attempt to do so by the patchwork process of fitting together words taken from different MSS., each retaining the peculiar and often provincial orthography of the originals. The result of such a process could not but be more unlike what Chaucer wrote than any systematic orthography. Chaucer no doubt did not spell uniformly. It is very difficult to do so, as I can attest, after making the following attempt, and probably not succeeding. But a modern should not venture to vary his orthography according to his own feelings at the moment, as they would be almost sure to lead him astray. Whenever, therefore, a text is made out of other texts some sort of systematic orthography is inevitable, and hence, notwithstanding the vehemence

ment denunciation of the editor of the Six-Text Edition,¹ I have made trial, of that one proposed on p. 401, in all its strictness. The result is on the whole, better than could have been expected. Notwithstanding the substantial agreement of the Harleian 7334, and the Six New Texts, there is just sufficient discrepancy to assist in removing almost every difficulty of language and metre, so far as the prologue is concerned, and to render conjecture almost unnecessary. The details are briefly given in the footnotes to the following composite text.

PRONUNCIATION OF LONG U AND OF AY, EY AS DEDUCED FROM A COMPARISON
OF THE ORTHOGRAPHIES OF SEVEN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CANTERBURY
TALES.

The investigations in Chap. IV. for the determination of the pronunciation of the xivth century, were avowedly founded upon the single MS. Harl. 7334 (suprà p. 244). Now that large portions of six other MSS. have been diplomatically printed, it is satisfactory to see that this determination is practically unaffected by the new orthographies introduced. The Cambridge and the Lansdowne MSS., indeed, present us at first sight with what appears to be great vagaries, but when we have once recognized these as being, not indeterminate spellings of southern sounds, but sufficiently determinate representations of provincial, northern, or west midland, utterances, mixed with some attempts to give southern pronunciation, they at once corroborate, instead of invalidating, the conclusions already obtained. That this is the proper view has been sufficiently shewn in the Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition, p. 51 and p. 62, and there is no need to discuss it further.

¹ Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part I., by *F. J. Furnivall*, pp. 113-115. A uniform system of spelling did not prevail in the xivth century, and as we have seen, can scarcely be said to prevail in the xixth, but variations were not intentional, and the plan I advocate is, from the varied spellings which prevail, to discover the system aimed at, but missed, by the old writer, and adopt it. All varieties of grammar, dialect, and pronunciation, when belonging to the author, and not his scribe, who was often ignorant, and still oftener careless (p. 249), should be preserved, and autographs, such as Ormin's and Dan Michel's, must be followed implicitly and literatim. In such diplomatic printing, I even object to insertions between brackets. They destroy the appearance of the original, and hence throw the investigator into

the editor's track, and often stand in the way of an independent conjecture. At the same time they do not present the text as the editor would shew it, for the attention is distracted by the brackets. The plan pursued for the Prisoner's Prayer, suprâ pp. 434-437, of giving the original and amended texts in parallel columns, is the only one which fully answers both purposes. Where this is not possible, it appears to me that the best course to pursue is to leave the text pure, and submit the correction in a note. This serves the purpose of the [] or *sic*, much more effectually than such disturbances of the text, which are only indispensable when notes are inconvenient. The division of words and capitals of the original should for the same reason be retained. See the Temp. Pref. p. 88.

These MSS. may be looked upon as authorities for the words, but not for the southern pronunciation of the words, and they shew their writers' own pronunciation by using letters in precisely the same sense as was assigned from the Harl. MS. on p. 398 above. Two points may be particularly noticed because they are both points of difference between Mr. Payne and myself, (*suprà* pp. 582, 583) and in one of them I seem to differ from many of those who have formed an opinion on the subject.

Long *u* after an examination of all the authorities I could find, was stated on p. 171 to have been (*yy*) during the *xvi*th century. There did not appear to be any ground for supposing it to be different in the *xiv*th century, and hence it was assumed on p. 298 to have had that value at that time. This was strengthened by the proof that (*uu*), the only other sound which it could have represented, was written *ou*, p. 305. A further though a negative proof seems to be furnished by the fact that I have not observed any case of long *u* and *ou* rhyming together, or being substituted one for the other in the old or any one of the six newly published texts.¹ I cannot pretend to have carefully examined them for that purpose, but it is not likely that in my frequent references to them for other purposes, such a marked peculiarity should have escaped me. It has however been already pointed out that in the first half of the *xiii*th century (*uu*) was represented by *u*, and not by *ou*, and for about thirty years, including the end of the *xiii*th and beginning of the *xiv*th century, both signs were employed indiscriminately for (*uu*), and that this use of *ou* seemed to have arisen from a growing use of *u* as (*yy*), pp. 424, 470, 471 note 2, etc.² Hence the predominance of *ou* in the be-

¹ Compare *fortune*, *buke* in Hampole (*suprà* p. 410, n. 2). The two orthographies *buke*, *buke*, struggle with each other in Hampole. In the *Towneley Mysteries*, I have also observed the rhyme, *goode infude*, which however, may be simply a bad rhyme, the spelling is Northern and of the latter part of the *xv*th century. On examining the Harl. MS. 2253 for the rhymes: *bur mesaventur*, *bure coverture*, quoted from the Cam. MS. of King Horn on p. 480, I find that the first rhyme disappears. Thus v. 325, Lumby's edition of the Cam. MSS. has

Went ut of my bur
Wij muchel mesaventur
and the Harl. reads fo. 85,
Went out of my boure,
flame þe mott byfloure;
and v. 649, the Cam. MS. has
heo ferde in to bure
to sen aenture,
and the Harl. has, fo. 87,
Horn ne þohte nout him on
ant to boure wes ygon.

Judging however by the collation in F. Michel's edn. the Oxf. MS. agrees with the Cam. The text is clearly doubtful.

But v. 691, which in the Cam. MS. runs

he lip in bure
under couerture
becomes in the Harl. fo. 87,
he byht non in boure,
vnder couertoure,

where the scribe by adopting the orthography *ou* has clearly committed himself to the pronunciation (*uu*) and not (*yy*). It would, however, not be safe to draw a general conclusion from these examples in evidently very untrustworthy texts, which have yet to be properly studied in connection with dialectic and individual pronunciation, *suprà* p. 481.

² On p. 301, note, col. 1, a few instances of the Devonshire substitutes for (*uu*) are given, on the authority of Mr. Shelly's pronunciation of Nathan Hogg's Letters. The new series of

ginning of the xivth century and the subsequent strict severance of long *u* and *ou*, which seem so far as I have observed, to have been never confused, as short *u* and *ou* certainly were (p. 304). The conclusion seems to be inevitable, that long *u* and *ou* represented different sounds, and that the long *u* must have had in the xivth, what Bullokar in the xvith century called its "olde and continued" sound, namely (yy). This, however, is directly opposed to Mr. Payne's opinions given on p. 583.

those letters there named, having an improved orthography, using *u*, *a*, for (y, æ),—not (a), as there misprinted,—has allowed me to make some collections of words, which are curious in connection with the very ancient western confusion of *u*, *e*, *i*, and the pronunciation of long *u* as (yy). It may be stated that the sound is not always exactly (yy). In various mouths, and even in the same mouth, it varies considerably, inclining towards (uu), through (uuʔ), or towards (ʊ) the labialised (ee). The short sound in *did* seemed truly (dɒd). But in *could*, *good*, I heard very distinctly (kyd, gyd) with a clear, but extremely short (y), from South Devon peasants in the neighbourhood of Totnes. Nor is the use of (yy) or (uu, ʊ) for (uu) due to any incapacity on the part of the speaker to say (uu). The same peasant who called *Combs*, (Kyymz) or (Kæmz), [it is difficult to say which, and apparently the sound was not determinate], and even echoed the name thus when put to him as (Kuuzmz), and called *brook* (bryk), with a very short (y), talked ef (muur, stunnz, ruud) for *more, stones, road*. Mr. Murray, in his paper on the Scotch dialect in the Philological Transactions, has some interesting speculations on similar confusions in Scotch, and on the transition of (u) or (u) through (ə) into (ə) and finally (ɪ). On referring to pp. 160-3, *supra*, the close connection of (uu, yy) will be seen to be due to the fact that both are labial, and that in both the tongue is raised, the back for (uu) and front for (yy). The passage from (uu) to (yy) may therefore be made almost imperceptibly, and if the front is slightly lowered, the result becomes (ʊ). The two sounds (yy, ʊ) are consequently greatly confused by speakers in Scotland, Norfolk, and Devonshire. Mr. Murray notes the resemblance between (ə, ə),—which indeed led to the similarity of their nota-

tion in palaeotype—as shewn by Mr. M. Bell's assigning (ə) and my giving (ə) to the French mute *e*, which others again make (əh). If then (u) travels through (y, ə) to (ə), its change to (ɪ) is almost imperceptible, and the slightest labialisation of the latter sound gives (o). Whatever be the reason, there can be no doubt of the fact that (u, y, ə, ɪ, o) do interchange provincially *now*, and hence we must not be surprised at finding that they did so in ancient times, when the circumstances were only more favourable to varieties of speech. These observations will serve in some degree to explain the phenomena alluded to in the text, and also the following lists from Nathan Hogg's second series, in which I retain the orthography of the author (Mr. H. Baird), where we should read *u*, *a* as (y, æ) short or long, and other letters nearly as in glossotype.

EW and long U become (yy), as: blu, buty, cruel, curyiss curious, cut, acute, duce deuce, duty, hu hue yew, humin human, kinklud conclude, muzie, nu new, pur pure, ruin'd, stu stew, stupid, tru, truth, tum, vlut flute, vu view few, vum fume, vutur future, yuz'd used, zuant suant.

Long and short OO, OU, O, U, usually called (uu, u) become (yy, y) or (ʊ, ə), as: balu hullahbaloo, blum bloom, bruk brook, buk book, chuz choose, cruk crook, cud could, curt court, cus course coarse, dru through, drupin drooping, du do, gud good, gulden golden, intu, kushin cushion, luk look, lus nd loosened, minuver manoeuvre, muv move, nnn noon, pul'd pulled, pruv prove, puk pook, rnm room, shu shoe, shud should, skule school, stud stood, trupin trooping, tu too two to [emphatic, unemphatic ta=(ta)], tuk took, tum tomb, u who, vul full fool, vut foot, yu you, zmuthe smooth, zun soon.

Short U, OO, O usually called (ə) become (ɪ), as: blid blood, dist do'st, honjist, unjust, jist just adv., rin run

The second point is extremely difficult, and cannot be so cursorily dismissed. What was the sound attributed to *ai ay*, *ei ey* in Chaucer? The constant confusion of all four spellings shews that it was one and the same.¹ Here again the voice of the xvth century was all but unanimous for (ai), but there is one remarkable exception, Hart, who as early as 1551 (in his MS. cited below Chap. VIII, § 3, note 1), distinctly asserts the identity of the sounds of these combinations with that of *e*, *ea*, that is (ee). For printing this assertion in 1569 he was strictly called to order by Gill in 1621, *suprà* p. 122. All the other writers of the xvth century, especially Salesbury and Smith distinctly assert that (ai) was the sound. Hence on p. 263, (ai) was taken without hesitation to be the sound of *ay*, *ey*, in Chaucer. We are familiar with the change of (ai) into (ee), p. 238, and with the change of (ii) into (ei, ai), p. 295, but the change of (ee) into (ai), although possible, and in actual living English progress (p. 454, n. 1), is not usual. There was no reason at all to suppose that *ay* could have been (ii), and little reason to suppose that it would have been (ee) before it became (ai). On examining the origin of *ay*, *ey*, in English words derived from ags. sources, the *y* or *i* appears as the relic of a former *g* = (gh, gh, r) and then (i), which leads irresistibly to the notion of the diphthong (ai), p. 440, l. 14, p. 489. But it certainly does not always so arise, and we have seen in Orrmin (ib.) that the *ꝛꝛ* = (r) was sometimes as pure an insertion as we occasionally find in romance words derived from the Latin,² and as we now find

[also to urn], rish'd *rushed*, tich'd *touched*, vlid *flood*, wid'n *would not*, winder *wonder*, wisser *worser*, zich *such*, zin *sun son*, zmitch *smutch*.

Short E, I, usually called (e, i) are frequently replaced by (o) or (a), as: bevil *befell*, bul *bell*, bulch'd *beleched*, burry'd *buried*, churish *cherish*, eszul *himself*, etszul *itself*, mezul *myself*, mulkin *milking*, muller *miller*, purish *perish*, shullins *shillings*, spul *spell*, spurrit *spirit* [common even in London, and compare *syrop*, *stirrup*], tullee *tell you*, turrabul *terrible*, ulbaw'd *elbowed*, vuller *fellow* [no *r* pronounced, final or pre-consonantal trilled (*r*) seems unknown in Devonshire], vullidge *village*, vulty *filthy*, vurrit *ferret*, vury *very*, vust *first*, wul *well*, wulvare *welfare*, yul *yell*, yur'd *heard*, zmul *smell*, zulf *self*.

The words *zup'd* *scept*, *indud* *indeed*, *dud* *did done*, *humman* *hummen* *woman* *women*, do not exactly belong to any of these categories.

The above lists, which, being only derived from one small book, are necessarily very incomplete, serve to shew the importance of modern dialectic study in the appreciation of ancient and therefore dialectic English (p. 581).

¹ Not in Scotch, where the spellings *ai*, *ei* seem to have been developed independently in the xvth century, for the Scotch long *a*, *e*, and perhaps meant (av, ev), compare Sir T. Smith, *suprà* p. 121, l. 18. These spellings were accompanied by the similar forms *oi*, *ui*, *oui* for the long *o*, *u*, *ou*, perhaps = (ov, yv, uv), though the first was not much used. We must recollect that in Scotch short *i* was not (i) or (i), but (e), and hence might easily be used for (v) or (o) into which unaccented (e) readily degenerates. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Murray's paper on Scotch (referred to in the last note), which was kindly shewn to me in the MS. The notes there furnished on the development of Scotch orthography are highly interesting, and tend to establish an intentional phonetic reformation at this early period, removing Scotch spelling from the historical affiliation which marks the English.

² "In Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal, Latin *A* remains unaltered. Some deviations into *ai* or *e* must be admitted. . . . The most important and frequent case is when *a* by

in English after the sound of (*ee*) in what many persons recognize as the "standard" pronunciation of our language, for instance (*neem*) for *name*. There are a few straggling instances in even XIIIth century MSS. where *ay* appears to rhyme to *e*, the chief of which turn on apparently a dialectic pronunciation of *sai*de as *se*de, which is also an orthography occasionally employed (p. 484, l. 15, p. 481, l. 33). Dr. Gill, 1621 (*Logonomia* p. 17), cites (*sed*) as a northern pronunciation for (*said*), and classes it with (*saa*) for (*sai*). Mr. Payne has pointed out similar cases in the Owl and Nightingale, v. 349, 707, 835, 1779. The orthography *se*de occurs also, v. 472, 548, 1293, and probably elsewhere.¹ Mr. Payne also notes the less usual rhymes: bigrede upbreide 1411, misrede maide 1061, grede maide 1335. These rhymes are certainly faulty, because in each case the ags. has a *g* in the second word but not in the first, and we cannot suppose them to have rhymed at this early period.² In Floris and

the action of an inserted coalescing *i* or *e*, according to the individual tendency of the language, passes into *ai*, or *ei*, or *e* and *ie*: prov. *air*, sp. *aire* from *aer*: prov. *primairan* (otherwise only *primer primer*), port. *primeiro*, span. *primero*, it. *primiero*, from *primarius*; prov. *esclairar* from *esclariar* which also exists; prov. *bais*, port. *beijo*, span. *beso* from *basium*; prov. *fait*, port. *feito*, span. *hecho* from *factus* *e* being palatalised into *i*. . . . This vowel has suffered most in French, where its pure sound is often obscured into *ai*, *e* and *ie*. We must first put aside the common romance process, just noticed, by which this obscuration is effected by an inserted *i* as in *air*, *premier*, *baiser*, *fait*." Translated from Diez, Gr. der rom. Spr. 2nd. ed. i. 135.

¹ The Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. reads *seyde* in each case.

² The orthography and rhymes of the Owl and Nightingale as exhibited in the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ix., followed by Wright, in his edition for the Percy Society, 1843, are by no means immaculate. The MS. is certainly of the XIIIth century, before the introduction of *ou* for (*uu*), that is, before 1280 or probably before the death of Henry III., 1272. (so that, as has been conjectured on other grounds, Henry II. was the king whose death is alluded to in the poem), and is contained in the same volume with the elder text of Layamon, though it is apparently not by the same scribe. Nor should I be inclined to think that the scribe was a Dorsetshire man, although the poem is usually ascribed to Nicholas de Guildford, of Portisham, Dorsetshire.

The confusions of *e i*, *o e*, *e a*, recall the later scribe of Havelok. Dreim 21, eleine 301, are obvious scribal errors, corrected to *drem elene* in the Oxf. MS., and: *erei* 334, in Oxf. MS. *erey*, although put in to rhyme with *dai*, must be an error for *cri*. We have cases of omitted letters in: rise wse 53, wrste toberste 121, white wte 430, for *wise*, *verste* (f), *wite*. There are many suspicious rhymes, and the following are chiefly assonances: worse mershe 303, hei-sugge stubbe 505, worde forworthe 547, igremet of-chamed 931, wise iro 1027, oreve idorve 1151, flesche ewesse 1385, fliste viest 405, and, in addition to the *ei*, *e* rhymes cited in the text, we have: forbriedeth nawedeth 1381, in Oxf. MS. *ne awedep*. As to the present pronunciation of *ay*, *ey* in Dorsetshire, the presumed home of the poet, Mr. Barnes gives us very precise information: "The diphthongs *ai* or *ay*, and *ei* or *ey*, the third close long sound [that is, which usually have the the sound of *a* in *mate*], as in May, hay, maid, paid, rein, neighbour, prey, are sounded—like the Greek *ai*,—the *a* or *e*, the first open sound, as *a* in father, and the *i* or *y* as *ee*, the first close sound. The author has marked the *a* of diphthongs so sounded with a circumflex: as *mây*, *hây*, *mâid*, *pâid*, *vâin*, *nâighbour*, *prây*." *Poems of Rural Life*, 2nd ed., p. 27.—That is, in Dorsetshire the sound (*ai*), which we have recognized as ancient, is still prevalent. This is a remarkable comment upon the false rhymes of the MSS. Stratmann's edition, 1863, is of no use for the present investigation, on account of its critical orthography.

Blancheffur, Lumby's ed. occurs the rhyme: *muchelhede maide* 51, which is similarly faulty.¹ See also p. 473 and notes there. We have likewise seen in some faulty west midland MSS. belonging to the latter part of the xvth century, (suprà p. 450, n. 2), that *ey* was regarded as equivalent to *e*. In the *Towneley Mysteries* we also find *ay*, *ey*, tending to rhyme either with *a* or *e*. In fact we have a right to suppose that in the xvth century, at least, the pronunciation of *ey*, *ay* as (ee) was gaining ground, for we could not otherwise account for the MSS. mentioned, for the adoption of the spelling in Scotch in 1500, p. 410, n. 3, and for the fact that Hart, —who from various other circumstances appears to have been a West Midland man—seemed to know absolutely no other pronunciation of *ay* than (ee) in 1551.² We have thus direct evidence of the coexistence of (ee, ai) in the xvth century, each perhaps limited in area, just as we have direct evidence of the present coexistence of both sounds in high German (p. 238), and Dyak (p. 474, note, col. 2). Such changes do not generally affect a whole body of words suddenly. They begin with a few of them, concerning which a difference prevails for a very long while, then the area is extended, till perhaps the new sounds prevail. We have an instance of this in the present coexistence of the two sounds (ə, u) for short *u*, p. 175 and notes. It is possible that although Gill in 1621 was highly annoyed at *maids* being called (meedz) in place of (maidz) by gentlewomen of his day (suprà, p. 91, l. 8), this very pronunciation might have been the remnant of an old tradition, preserved by the three rhymes just cited from the xiii th century to the present day, although this hypothesis is not so probable as that of scribal error. And if it were correct, it would by no means

¹ On consulting the Auchinleck MS. text of *Floris et Blancheffur*, the difficulty vanishes. Lumby's edition of the Cam. MS. reads, v. 49:

pu art hire ilich of alle pinge,
Both of femblaunt and of murninge,
Of fairneffe and of muchelhede,
Butepu crt a man and heo a maide;
where the *both* of the second line makes the third line altogether suspiciously like an insertion. The Auchinleck MS., according to the transcription kindly furnished me by Mr. Halkett, the librarian of the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, reads, v. 53:

pou art ilich here of alle pinge
Of semblant and of mourning
But pou art a man and ihe is a maide
pous pe wif to Florice faide.
Another bad rhyme in the Cam. MS. is v. 533.

Hele ihe wulle and noþing wreic
Ower beire cumpaignie
which in the Abbotsford Club edition

of the text in the Auch. MS. runs thus, v. 518:

To the king that þho hem nowt
biwrcie

Where though thai were fiker to
dethe.

The editor suggests *biwreipe*, which would not be a rhyme. The real reading is manifestly to *deye*, arising, as Mr. Murray suggests, from the common MS. confusion of *y*, *p*. *Admiral* is both in the Auch. and Cott. MSS. constantly spelled *-ayl*, and hence we must not be offended with the rhyme, *Admiral* confail 799, for there was evidently an uncertain pronunciation of this strange word.

² This day (9 July, 1869) a workman, who spoke excellent English to me, called *specially* (spii'ssli). Had he any idea that others said (spes'vli)? The facts in the text are perhaps partly accounted for by the influence of the Scotch orthography and pronunciation, referred to on p. 637, n. 1.

prove that the general pronunciation of *ay* in all words from ags. was not distinctly (ai) and that the (ee) pronunciation was not extremely rare.

In a former investigation it was attempted to shew that Norman French *ei*, *ai*, had at least frequently the same sound (ai), *suprà* pp. 453-459. Mr. Payne on the contrary believes that the sound was always pure (ee), and that the Norman words were taken into English, spellings and all, retaining their old sounds. He then seems to conclude that all the English *ay*, *ey*, were also pronounced with pure (ee), and maintains that this view agrees with all the observed facts of the case (p. 582). Prof. Rapp also, as we shall see, lays down that Early English Orthography was Norman, and as he only recognizes (ce) or (ee) as the sound of Norman *ai*, of course he agrees practically with Mr. Payne. Modern habits have induced perhaps most readers to take the same view, which nothing but the positive evidence of the practice of the xvith century could easily shake.¹ But it would seem strange if various scribes, writing by ear, and having the signs *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*, at hand to express the sound (ee), should persist in a certain number of words, in always using *ey*, *ay*, but never one of the four former signs, although the sounds were identical. This is quite opposed to all we know of caecographists of all ages, and seems to be only explicable on the theory of a real difference of sound, more marked than that of (ee, ee). Nay, more, some occasional blunders of *e* for *ey*, etc., would not render this less strange to any one who knows by painful experience (and what author does not know it?) that he does not invariably write the letters he intends, and does not invariably see his error or his printer's or transcriber's errors when he revises the work. The mistake of *e* for *ey* we might expect to be more frequent than that of *ay* for *e*. When the writer is not a caecographist, or common scribe, but a careful theoretical orthographer as Orrmin or Dan Michel, the absolute separation of the spellings *e*, *ey* becomes evidence. We cannot suppose that Dutchmen when they adopted *pais* called it anything but (pais), why then should we suppose Dan Michel, who constantly employs the spelling *pais*,² pronounced

¹ I was glad to learn lately from so distinguished an English scholar as Prof. H. Morley that he was always of opinion that *ay*, *ey*, were (ai) and not (ee).

² Mr. Morris's index to Dan Michel's *Ayenbite* refers to p. 261, as containing *pesc* for *peace*. I looked through that page without discovering any instance of *pesc*, but I found in it 11 instances of *pais*, *pays* and 3 of *paysible*. Thinking Dan Michel's usages important, I have extracted those words given in the index, which of course does not refer to the commonest ags. words of constant occurrence. This is the list, the completeness of which is not guaranteed, though probable: adreynt,

adraynkþ, agraypi, etc., anpayri, aparceyueþ, apayreþ, asayd, asayled, atrayt, bargayn, batayle, baylif, baylyes, bayþ, contraye, cortays, cortaysic, conaitise, dayes, defayled, despayred, eyder *either*, eyr = *air*, eyren = *eggs*, eyse = *case*, faili, fayntise, fornayce, germain, graynes, greynes, longaynes, maines, maine = *retinue*, maister, mayden, maystrie, meseyse, meyster, neþebores, neþen, ordayni ordenliche, oreysonne, paye = *please*, payenes = *pogans*, pays, paysible, plait, playneres, playni, playty, poruayep, porueyonce praysy, quaynte, queayntese, queyntise, raymi, [ags. *reomian hryman*, to cry out,] strait, strayni, tuay, uileynic, uorlay, wayn = *gain*, wayt, weyucrindeinen, yfayled, zaynt.

otherwise? And when we see some French words in Chaucer always or generally spelled with *e* which had an *ai* in French, as: *resoun* 276, *sesoun* 348, *pees* 2929, *plesant* 138, *ese* 223, 2672, why should we not suppose that in these words the (e) sound was general, but that in others, at least in England, the (ai) sound prevailed? Nay more, when we find *ese* occasionally written *eyse* for the rhyme in Chaucer (suprà p. 250 and note 1, and p. 265), as it is in Dan Michel's prose, why should we not suppose that two sounds were prevalent, just as our own (niidh·i, noidh·i) for *neither*, and that the poet took the sound which best suited him? This appears to me to be the theory which best represents all the facts of the case. It is also the theory which best accords with the existing diversities of pronunciation within very narrow limits in the English provinces. It remains to be seen how it is borne out by the orthography of the Ha. Harleian 7334, and the six newly published MS. texts, E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, and L. Lansdowne of the Canterbury Tales. For this purpose I have looked over the prologue and *Knights Tale*, and examined a large number, probably the great majority of the cases, with the following results. The initial italic words, by which the lists are arranged, are in modern spelling, and where they are absent the words are obsolete. Where no initials are put, all the MSS. unnamed agree in the preceding spelling so far as having one of the combinations *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* is concerned, small deviations in other respects are not noted, but if any other letter is used for one of the above four it is named. The numbers refer to the lines of the Six Text edition, and they have frequently to be increased by 2 for Wright's edition of the Harleian MS.

LIST OF WORDS CONTAINING AY, EY IN THE PROLOGUE AND KNIGHTS TALE.

ANGLOSAXON AND SCANDINAVIAN WORDS.	
<i>again</i> , <i>agayn</i> 991	<i>maidens</i> , <i>maydens</i> 2300
<i>against</i> , <i>agens</i> Ca., <i>ageyns</i> 1787	<i>nails</i> , <i>nayles</i> 2141
<i>aileth</i> , <i>eyleth</i> 1081	<i>neighbour</i> , <i>nyhebour</i> Ca., <i>neigheboore</i> 535
<i>ashes</i> , <i>aissches</i> Co., <i>asshen</i> 2957	<i>neither</i> , <i>neither</i> 1135
<i>bewray</i> , <i>bewreye</i> 2229	<i>nigh</i> , <i>neigh</i> H. He., <i>neyh</i> Co., <i>nyghe</i> P., <i>nyhe</i> L., <i>nyh</i> Ca., <i>ny</i> E., 732
<i>day</i> , <i>day</i> , 19 and frequently	<i>said</i> , <i>seyde</i> 219, 1356, and frequently
<i>die</i> , <i>deyen</i> Ca., Co., <i>dye</i> E. He. P.	<i>say</i> , <i>seyn</i> 1463
<i>dyen</i> L. 1109, <i>deyde</i> 2846	<i>seen</i> , <i>seyn</i> E. He. Ca. Co. L., <i>seen</i> Ha., <i>sene</i> P. 2840
<i>dry</i> , <i>dreye</i> Ca., <i>drye</i> 420, 1362, <i>dreye</i> [rh. weye] 3024	<i>slain</i> , <i>slayn</i> 992, 2038, 2552, 2708; <i>slayn</i> P. L., <i>sleen</i> 1556, <i>sle</i> <i>slecn</i> 1859
<i>dye</i> , <i>deyer</i> Ha., <i>dye</i> 362	<i>sleight</i> , <i>sleight</i> 604
<i>eye</i> , <i>eye</i> E. Ca., <i>eyghe</i> P., <i>yhe</i> Ha. L., <i>eye</i> He. 10, <i>eyen</i> E. He., <i>eyghen</i> Ha. P., <i>eyjyn</i> Ca., <i>yghen</i> Co., <i>yhen</i> L. 267 and frequently	<i>spreynd</i> Ha. E. He. Co. P., <i>sprend</i> Ca., <i>sprined</i> L. 2169
<i>fain</i> , <i>fayn</i> 2437	<i>two</i> , <i>tweye</i> 704
<i>fair</i> , <i>faire</i> 1685. 1941	<i>waileth</i> , <i>wayleth</i> 1221
<i>flesh</i> , <i>fleish</i> Ha. Co., <i>flessh</i> 147	<i>way</i> , <i>way</i> 34, 1264, and often.
<i>height</i> , <i>heght</i> P., <i>heighte</i> 1890	<i>weighed</i> , <i>weigheden</i> 454
<i>laid</i> , <i>leyde</i> 1384 and frequently	<i>whether</i> , <i>wheither</i> E. He., <i>whethir</i> Ha., <i>whetser</i> Ca. Co. L., <i>whedere</i> P., 1857
<i>lay</i> , <i>lay</i> 20 and frequently	

FRENCH WORDS.

- acquaintance*, *aqueyntaunce* 245
aiëul, *aiel* E. He. Ca. *ayel* Ha., *ayell*
 Co. L. eile P. 2477
air, *eir* 1246
apayd [rh. ysaid] 1868
apparelling, *apparaillynge* 2913
array, *array* 41 73, and often.
attain, *attheyne* 1243
availeth, *auailleth* 3040
bargains, *bargaynes* 282
barren, *barayne* 1244, *baran* L., *bareyn*
 1977
battle, *bataille* 988, 2540
braided, *breided* P., *broyded* E. He.
 Ca. Co., *browded* Ha. L. 1049
cailiff, *catiff* P., *caytyf* 1552, 1717, 1946
certain, *certeyn* 204 and often.
chain, *cheyne* 2988
châtaigne, *chasteyn* 2922
chieftain, *chevetan* Ha., *chieftayn* 2555
company, *compaignye* E. He. Co. P.,
cumpanye Ca., *companye* Ha. L.
 331, *compaignye* E. He. L., *cum-*
panye Ca. Co. P., *company* Ha.
 2105, 2411
complain, *compleyn* 908
conceyed, *connoyed* E., *conveyed* 2737
counsel, *conseil* Ha. E. He. Co. P.,
counsel L., *cuntre* Ca. 3096
courtesy, *curtesie* E. He. Ca., *curtesie*
 Ha. Co. P. L. 46, 132
daie, *deys* Ha. E. He. Ca. Co. P. dese
 [rh. burgeise] L. 370
darreyne, 1609, 2097
debonnair, *debonnaire* [rh. faire] 2282
despair, *dispeir* 1245
dice, *deys* Ca., *dys* 1238
disdain, *disdeyn* 789
displayeth, *desplayeth* 966
distraineth, *destreyneth* 1455, 1816
dozen, *doseyne* 578
fail, *faill* 1854, 2798
finest, *feynest* Ca., *fyneest* 194
florin, *floreyne* Ca. Co. P., *florin* Ha.
 L., *floryn* E. He. 2088
franklins, *frankeleyns* 216
fresh, *fresshe* Ha. E. He. P. L., *frossche*
 Ca., *freissche* Co., 92, [freisch Ha.]
 2176, 2622
furnace, *forneys* 202, 559
gaineth, *gayneth* 1176, 2755
gay, *gay* 73
golyardeys 560
harnessed, *harneysed* 114, 1006, 1634,
 2140
kerchiefs, *kevercheifs* Ha., *couercheifs*
 Ca. [the proper Norman plural,
 according to Mr. Payne], *couer-*
chiefs E. He. Co. L., *couerchies*
 P. 453
leisure, *leyser* 1188
Magdalen, *Maudclayne* 410
maintain, *maynteyne* H. E., *mayntene*
 He. Ca. Co. P., *maiten* L. 1778
master, *mystir* Ca., *maister* 261
mastery, *maistrie* 165
meyned 2170
money, *moneye* 703
ordained, *ordeyned* 2553
paid, *ypayed* 1802
pain-ed, *peyned* 139, *peyne* 1133
painted, *peyntid* 1934, 1975
palace, *paleys* 2513
palfrey, *palfrey* 207, 2495
plain, *pleyn* 790, 1464
plein, *pleyn* 315
portraiture, *portreiture* Ha. E. He. Ca.
 Co., *pourtrature* P. L. 1968, [pur-
 treture Ha.] 2036
portray, *portray* 96
portraye, *portreyor* Ha., *portreitour*
 E., *putreyour* He., *putreiour*
 Co., *puttraieur* P., *portretour* Ca.,
putreoure L., 1899
portraying, *portraying* Ha., *portreying*
 Ca. Co., *puttraiynge* P., *por-*
treiynge E. He., *puttreinge* L.
 1938
pray, *preyn* 1260
prayer, *prayer* 2226
pureeiance, *purveiance* E. He., *pur-*
ueance Ha. Co. P. L. *puruyance*
 Ca. 1665, *purueiance* E. H., *pur-*
ueance Ha. Co. P. L., *puruyance*
 Ca. 3011
quaint 1531, 2321, 2333, 2334
raineth, *reynith* 1535
reins, *reynes* 904
sovereign, *souereyn* 1974
straight, *streite* 457, *stryt* Ca., *streyt*
 1984
suddenly, *sodanly* L., *sodeynly* 1530,
sodeinliche 1575
sustain, *susteyne* Ca. L., *sustene* 1993
trace, *trays* 2141
turkish, *turkeys* 2895
turneiynge E. He. Co. *turneynge* Ha.,
turnyng Ca. *tornyng* L., *tor-*
namente P. 2557
vain, *veyn* 1094
vasselage Ha. E. He. Co. L., *vassalage*
 P., *wasseyllage* Ca. 3054
vein, *veyne* 3, 2747
verily, *verraily* E. He. Ca. Co. *verrely*
 P. L., *verrily* Ha. 1174.
very, *verray* 422
villany, *vileyne* E. He., *velany* Ca.,
 L., *vilonye* Ha. Co. P. 70, [vilanye
 Ha.] 740
waiting, *waytinge* 929

The general unanimity of these seven MSS. is certainly remarkable. It seems almost enough to lead the reader to suppose that when he finds the usual *ay*, *ey* replaced by *a*, *e*, *i* in any other MSS., the scribe has accidentally omitted one of the letters of the diphthong, which being supplied converts *a*, *e*, *i* into *ay*, *ey*, *ai* or *ei* respectively. Thus when in v. 1530 all but L. use *ey* or *ay*, and in v. 1575 all, including L., use *ey* in *sodeynly*, *sodeynliche*, we cannot but conclude that *sodanly* in L. 1530, is a clerical error for *sodaynly*. We have certainly no right to conclude that the *a* was designed to indicate a peculiar pronunciation of *a* as *ay* or conversely. But it will be best to consider the variants seriatim as they are not many in number.

CONSIDERATION OF VARIANTS IN THE LAST LIST.

ANGLOSAXON AND SCANDINAVIAN WORDS.

Against 1787 has still two sounds (*ageenst*, *egenst*) which seem to correspond to two such original sounds as (*again*, *agen*).

Ashes, *aisses* Co. 2957 represented really a duplicate form, as appears from its having been preserved into the XVI th century, p. 120, l. 6.

Die 1109, see variants on p. 284.

Dry 420, see variants on p. 285.

Dyer, the general orthography *dyer* 362 is curious, for the ags. *deagan* would naturally give *doyer*, which however is only preserved in Ha., the rest giving *dyere*, and the Promptorium having *dyyn*; Ha. has *deye* in 11037. It would almost seem as if habit had confused the two words *dye*, *die*, and hence given the first the same double sound as the second. There is no room for supposing the sound (*dee*) in either case.

Eye 10, see variants on p. 285.

Flesh, 147 is one of the words mentioned on p. 265, as having two spellings in Ha. see also p. 473 note I, for a possible origin of the double pronunciation.

Height, *heght* P. 1890 is of course a clerical error for *heichte*.

Neighbour 535, follows *nigh* in its variants.

Nigh 732, 535. The variants here seem to shew that this word should be added to the list given on pp. 284-6, as having a double pronunciation, especially as we have seen that the (ii) sound is preserved in Devon, p. 291, as it is in Lonsdale.

Seen. The orthography *seyn* 2840 for *seen* is supported by too many MSS. to be an error, it must be a du-

plicate form, retaining in the infinitive the expression of the lost guttural, which crops up so often in different parts of this verb, Gothic *saihwān*, compare the forms on p. 279.

Slay 992, see p. 265; the double sound (*ee*, *ai*) may have arisen from the double ags. form, without and with the guttural, the latter being represented by (*ai*) and the former by (*ee*), which is more common.

Spreind, *ispreind*, *isprind* 2169 must be merely clerical errors for *ispreined*, as in most MSS., because both words rhyme with *gynecnd*, which retains its orthography in each case.

Whether, 1857, has certainly no more title to (*ai*) than *beat* or *them*, but nevertheless we have seen Ormin introduce the (*i*) or (*j*) into these words, p. 489, hence it is not impossible that there may have been some provincials who said *wheider*, but still it is more probable that the *ei* of E. and He. in 1857 are clerical errors. The word is not common and I have not noted another example of it in E. He.

FRENCH WORDS.

Barren, *baran* L. 1977, must be a clerical error for *barayn*.

Braid 1049, seems to have had various sounds, corresponding to the ags. *bregdan*, icel. *bregda*, and to the French *broder*, which would give the forms *breyde*, *browde*. while *broyde* would seem to be an uncertain, or mistaken mixture of the two (*braid*-e, *bruud*-e, *bruid*-e). We do not find *brede* (*breed*-e), but as the *g* was sometimes omitted even in ags. it would have been less curious than *brayde*.

Caitiff. The orthography *catiff* P. 1552, 1717, 1946, being repeated in

three places, although opposed to the other six MSS. which determine *caytif* to be the usual form, may imply a different pronunciation rather than be a clerical error. The French forms of this derivative of the Latin *captivus*, as given by Roquefort are very numerous, but all of them contain *i*, or an *e* derived from *ai*, thus: *caitif*, *caiptif*, *caitieu*, *caitis*, *caitiu*, *caitivié*, *cetif*, *cetis*, *chaitieu*, *chaitif*, *chaitis*, *chaitiu*, *cheitif*, *chetif*, *chety*, *quatif*, *quetif*. Roquefort gives as Provençal and Languedoc forms: *caitiou*, *caitions*, *caitiu*, *caitivo*. The Spanish *cautivo* has introduced the labial instead of the palatal modification, while the Italian only has preserved the *a* pure by assimilating *p*, thus, *cattivo*. If then the *a* in P. was intentional, it was very peculiar.

Chieftain, cheveten Ha. 2555, should according to the general analogy of such terminations be *chevetcyn*, and it will then agree with the other MSS.

Company. In *compaignye* 331, 2105, 2411, the *i* is conceived by M. Francisque Michel to have been merely orthographical in French, introduced to make *gn mouillé*, just as *i* was introduced before *ll* to make it *mouillé*. Compare also p. 309, n. 1, at end. It is very possible that both pronunciations prevailed (*kumpaini'e*, *kumpani'e*) and that the first was considered as French, the latter as English. There is no room for supposing such a pronunciation as (*kumpeeni'e*) with (ee).

Conveyed. Conuoyed E. 2737 is not a variant of the usual *conueyed*, but another word altogether, a correction of the scribes.

Counsel, counsel L. 3096, is probably a clerical error for *counseil* as in the other MSS.

Courtesy. Curteisye 46, vileynye 70, may be considered together. They were common words, and the second syllable was usually unaccented, whereas in *curteis*, *vileyn*, it was frequently accented. Hence we cannot be surprised at finding *ey* strictly preserved in the latter, but occasional deviations into non-diphthongal sounds occurring in the former. Careful scribes or speakers seem, however, to have preserved the *ey* of the primitive in the derivative. The vilenye of Ha. Co. P. 70, which is replaced by vilanye in Ha.

740, serves to corroborate this view, as evidently the scribe did not know how to write the indistinct sound he heard, a difficulty well known to all who have attempted to write down living sounds. See also Mr. Payne's remarks, *suprà* p. 585. To the same category belong the variants of *portraiture*, *purveyance*, *verily*.

Dais, dese L. for *deys* = *dais* 370, in opposition to the six other MS. is probably a clerical error for *deyse* the final *e* being added also to the rhyming word *burgeise* in L. which retains the *i*.

Dice. Deys Ca. 1238 for *dys* is clearly an error as shewn by the rhyming word *paradys*, but *dys* itself seems to have been accommodated to the rhyme for *dees*, which occurs in Ha. 13882, and is the natural representative of the French *dés*.

Finest. The orthography *feynest* Ca. 194, must be a clerical error.

Florin. The floren, florin, foreyn 2088 may be concurrent forms of a strange word, and the last seems more likely to have been erroneous.

Fresh 92, had no doubt regularly (ce), but the older (ai) seems to have been usual to some, the *frosshe* of Ca. is a provincialism of the order noted on p. 476

Kerchiefs. Conercheis Ca. 453, is probably a mere clerical error for *couvercheis*, *i* having been written for *f*, as we can hardly suppose the provincial scribe of Ca. to have selected a Norman form by design.

Maintain. Maynteyne 1778, susteyne 1993, belong to the series of words derived from *tenere*. There is no disagreement respecting the *ay* in the first syllable of *maynteyne*; *sustene* is fully supported by the rhyme, p. 265, l. 1, and hence *mayntene*, *sustene* are probably the proper forms. I have unfortunately no note of the Chaucerian forms of *obtain*, *detain*, *retain*, *contain*, *appertain*, *entertain*, *abstain*, but probably *-tene* would be found the right form. The spelling *ey* and pronunciation (ai) may have crept in through a confusion with the form *-teyne* = Lat. *-tingere*, of which I have also accidentally been guilty p. 265, l. 25, as: *atteync*, *bareyne*, must rhyme, 1243, 8323, and as *-stringere* produces *-streync* 1455, 1816 in all MSS.

Master, mystyr Ca. 261 for *master* is probably a clerical error.

Portraiture 1968, *portray* 1899; the variants may be explained as in *Courtesy*, which see.

Portraying. In *portreyng*, *portreyng* 1938 there is an omission of one *y* on account of the inconvenience of the *yy* in the first form, overcome by changing the first *y* into *i* in P.

Purveyance 1165, the variants may be explained as in *Courtesy*, which see.

Straight. *Stryt* Ca. 1984, must be a clerical error for *streyt*, as the absence of *e* is quite unaccountable.

Suddenly. *Sodanly* L. 1530 must, as we have seen p. 643, be an error for *sodainly*.

Sustain 1993 see *Maintain*.

Turneynge Ha. 2557; the variants are to be explained as those of *portraying*, which see.

Verily 1174, the variants may be explained as in *Courtesy*, which see.

Villany 70, see *Courtesy*.

Wasseyllage Ca. 3054, certainly arose from a confusion in the scribe's mind, *vasselage* valour being unusual, he reverted to the usual *wasseyl* for an explanation, and in *wasseyl* we have an *ey* for an ags. *æ*, which may be compared with *ey* for *ea* in *Ormin*, *suprà* p. 489.

The natural effect of this examination has been to place the variants rather than the constants strongly before the reader's mind. He must therefore recollect that out of the total of 111 words the following 73, many of which occur very frequently, are invariably spelt with one of the phonetically identical forms *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, in each of the seven MSS. every time they occur:—

again, aileth, bewray, day, fain, fair, laid, lay, maidens, nails, neither, said, say, sleight, two *tweye*, waileth, way, weighed.—acquaintance, *aioul*, air, *apayd*, apparelling *apparaillynge*, array, attain, availeth, bargains, battle *bataille*, certain, chain, *châtaigne*, complain, *darreyne*, debonnair, despair, dice, disdain, displayeth, distraineth,

dozen, fail, franklins *frankeleyns*, furnace *forneys*, gaineth, gay, *golyardeys*, harnessed *harneysed*, leisure, Magdalen *Maudelayne*, mastery, *meyned*, money, ordained, paid, pained, painted, palace *paleys*, palfrey, plain, *plein*, portray, pray, prayer, quaint, raineth, reins, sovereign, trace *trays*, turkish *turkeys*, vain, vein, very, wailing.

On the other hand, the variants only affect 38 words, of which few, except those already recognized to have two forms in use, occur more than once, while the variants confined to one or two MSS. display no manner of rule or order, and are far from shewing a decided *e* form as the substitute for *ay*, *ey*. They may be classified as follows:

15 CLERICAL ERRORS: *height* heght, *spreyned* sprend sprined, *whether* wheither,—*barren* baran, *chieftain*, chevetan, *counsel* counsel, *dice* deys, *finest* feynest, *kerchiefs* couercheis, *maintain* maynteyne mayntene, *master* mystir, *straight* stryt, *suddenly* sodanly, *sustain* susteyne, *turneynge* turnyng

bles: *courtesy* courtesie curtesie, *portraiture* portreiture pourtrature, *portray* portreyor purtreoure, *purveyance* purveiance purueance puruyance, *verily* verrailly verrelly verrily, *villany* vileynye velany vilonye.

5 MISCELLANEOUS: *cattiff* may have been occasionally *catiff* as well as *caytif*—*conuoyed* was a different reading, not an error for *conveyed*—*florin* being a foreign coin may have been occasionally mispronounced *storeyn*,—*portreing* was an orthographical abbreviation of *portreiyng*—*wasseyllage* was a manifest error for the unusual *vasselage*, the usual *wasseyl* occurring to the scribe.

12 DOUBLE FORMS: *ashes* aissches asshen, *die* deyen dyen, *dry* dreye drye, *dye* dyere deyer, *eye* eighe yhe, *flesh* fleissch flessch, *neighbour* neigheboore nyheboore, *nigh* neigh nyghe, *seen* seyn seen, *slain* slayn sleen,—*braided* breided browdid, *fresh* fresshe freisshe.

6 INDISTINCT UNACCENTED SYLLA-

The variants, therefore, furnish almost as convincing a proof as the constants, that *ay*, *ey* represented some sound distinct from *e*

(ee). But if there was a distinct sound attachable to these combinations *ay*, *ey*, in Chaucer's time, what could it have possibly been but that (ai) sound, which as we know by direct evidence, subsisted in the pronunciation of learned men and courtiers (Sir T. Smith was secretary of state) during the xvith century, and which the spelling used, and no other, was calculated to express, and was apparently gradually introduced to express. The inference is therefore, that Chaucer's scribes pronounced *ay*, *ey* as (ai) and not as (ee), and where they wished to signify the sound of (ee), in certain well-known and common Norman words, they rejected the Norman orthography and introduced the truly English spelling *e*. The inference again from this result is that there was a traditional English pronunciation of Norman *ai*, *ei*, as (ai), which may have lasted long after the custom had died out in Normandy, on the principle already adduced (p. 20), that emigrants preserve an older pronunciation.

TREATMENT OF FINAL E IN THE CRITICAL TEXT.

As the following text of the Prologue is intended solely for the use of students, it has been accommodated to their wants in various ways. First the question of final *e* demanded strict investigation. The helplessness of scribes during the period that it was dying out of use in the South, and had already died out in the North, makes the new MSS. of little value for its determination, the Cambridge and Lansdowne being evidently written by Northern scribes to whom a final *e* had become little more than a picturesque addition. It was necessary therefore to examine every word in connection with its etymology, constructional use, and metrical value. In every case where theory would require the use of a final *e*, or other elided letter, but the metre requires its elision, it has been replaced by an apostrophe. The results on p. 341 were deduced from the text adopted before it had been revised by help of the Six-Text Edition, and therefore the numbers there given will be slightly erroneous¹, but the reader will by this means understand at a glance the bearing of the rules on p. 342.

The treatment of the verbal termination *-ede*, required particular attention. There are many cases in which, coming before a consonant, it might be *-ed'* or *-'de*, and it was natural to think that the latter should be chosen, because in the contracted forms of two syllables, we practically find this form; thus: *fedde* 146, *bledde* 145, *wente* 255, *wiste* 280, *spente* 300, *coude* 326, 346, 383, *kepte* 442, *dide* 451, *couthe* 467, *tawghte* 497, *cawghte* 498, *kepte* 512, *wolde* 536, *mighte* 585, *scholde* 648, *seyde* 695, *moste* 712 and

¹ The number of elisions of essential *e*, stated at 13 on p. 341, has been reduced. The only important one left is *meer'* 541, and that is doubtful on account of the double form of the rhyming word *millere*. see p. 389. The number of plural *-es* treated as *-s* has been somewhat increased. The fol-

lowing are examples: *palmer's* 13, *servawnt's* 101, *fether's* 107, *finger's* 129, *hunter's* 178, *grayhound's* 190, *sleev's* 193, *tavern's* 240, *haven's* 407, *housbond's* 460, *aventur's* 795. Of course (') is not used as the mark of the genitive cases, but only to shew a real elision.

many others. But even here it is occasionally elided. Mr. Morris observes that in the Cambridge MS. of Boethius, and in the elder Wycliffite Version (see below § 3), the *-ede* is very regularly written. This however does not prove that the final *e* was pronounced, because the orthography *hire, here, oure, youre*, is uniform, and the elision of the final *-e* almost as uniform. The final *e* in *-ede* might therefore have been written, and never or rarely pronounced. It is certain that the first *e* is sometimes elided, when the second also vanishes, as before a vowel or *h* in: *lov'd* 206, 533, *gam'd* 534, etc. But it is also certain that *-ed'* was pronounced in many cases without the *e*, *suprà* p. 355, art. 53, Ex. Throughout the prologue I have not found one instance in which *-ede*, or *-de*, was necessary to the metre,¹ but there are several in which *-ed'*, before a vowel, is necessary. If we add to this, that in point of fact *-ed'* remained in the xvth century, and has scarcely yet died out of our biblical pronunciation, the presumption in favour of *-ed'* is very strong.² On adopting this orthography, I have not found a single case in the prologue where it failed, but possibly such cases occur elsewhere, and if so, they must be compared to the rare use of *hadde*, and still rarer use of *were, here* for the ordinary *hadd', wer', her'*.

The infinitive *-e* is perhaps occasionally lost. It is only saved by a trisyllabic measure in: *yeve penawnee* 223. If it is not elided in *help'* 259, then we must read *whelp'e* 258, with most MSS. but unhistorically. On the other hand the subjunctive *-e* remains as: *ruste* 500, *take* 503, *were* 582, *spede* 769, *quyte* 770.

Medial elisions must have been common, and are fully borne out by the Cuckoo Song, p. 423. Such elisions are: *ev'ry* 15, 327, *ev'ne* 83, *ov'ral* 249, *ov'rest* 290, *rem'nawnt* 724, and: *mon'th* 92, *tak'th* 789, *com'th* 839. The terminations *-er, -el, -en*, when run on to the following vowel, should also probably be treated as elisions. As respects *-er, -re*, I have sometimes hesitated whether to consider the termination as French *-re*, or as assimilated into English, under the form *-er*, but I believe the last is the right view, and in that case such elisions as: *ord'r he* 214, are precisely similar to: *ev'ry* 15, and occasion no difficulty. Similarly, *-el, -le*, are both found in MSS., but I have adopted *-el*, as more consonant with the treatment of strictly English words, and regarded the cases in which the *l* is run on to the following word, as elisions, thus: *simp'l* and 119. Such elisions are common in modern English, and in the case of *-le*, they form the rule when syllables are added, *suprà* p. 52. In: *to fest'n' his hood* 195, we have an elision of *e* in *en*, and a final *e* elided, the full gerundial form being *to festene*, as it would be written in prose.

¹ The plural *weygheden* 454, is not in point.

² Mr. Murray observes that *lorde* would be an older form than *loved* for *lovede*, and grounds his observation on the fact of the similar suppression of the *y* before *l* in *tabyll, sadyll, fadyr, modyr*, in the old Scotch plurals

tabyls, sadyls, fadrys, modrys, but its subsequent restoration, accompanied by a suppression of the *y* before the *e*, in the more recent forms *tabylls, sadylls, fadyrs, modyrs*. These analogies are valuable. All that is implied in the text is that the form *-ed* seems to have prevailed in Chaucer.

As the text now stands there is no instance of an open *e*, that is, of final *e* preserved before a vowel (suprà p. 341, l. 2. p. 363, art. 82, and infrà note on v. 429), but there is one instance of final *e* preserved before *he*, (infrà note on v. 386).

METRICAL PECULIARITIES OF CHAUCER.

The second point to which particular attention is paid in this text is the metre. Pains have been taken to choose such a text as would preserve the rhythm without violating the laws of final *e*, and without having recourse to modern conjecture. For this purpose a considerable number of trisyllabic measures (suprà p. 334) have been admitted, and their occurrence is pointed out by the sign *iii* in the margin. The 69 examples noted may be classified thus:

<i>i-</i> , arising from the running on of <i>i</i> to a following vowel, either in two words as: many a 60, 212, 229, etc., bisy a 321, cari' a 130, studi' and 184, or in the same word, as: luvieer 80, curious 196, bisier 321, which may be considered the rule in modern poetry, see 60, 80, 130, 184, 196, 212, 229, 303, 321, 322, 349, 350, 396, 438, 464, 530, 560, 764, 782, 840, instances	20
<i>-er</i> , arising from running this unaccented syllable on to a following vowel, in cases where the assumption and pronunciation of <i>-r</i> would be harsh, as: deliver, and 84, sommer hadd' 394, water he 400; and in the middle of a word, as: colerik 587, lecherous 626; instances	5
<i>-el</i> , not before a preceding vowel, as: mesurabel was 435, mawncipel was 567, mawncipel sett' 586, instances	3
<i>-en</i> , not before a preceding vowel, as: ycomen from 77; or before a preceding vowel or <i>h</i> , where the elision ' <i>n</i> ' would be harsh, as: writen a 161, geten him 291, instances	3
<i>-e</i> , arising from the pronunciation of final <i>e</i> , where it seems unnecessary, or harsh, to assume its suppression, as 88, 123, 132, 136, 197, 208, 223, 224, 276, 320, 341, 343, 451, 454, 475, 507, 510, 524, 537, 550, 630, 643, 650, 706, 777, 792, 806, 834, 853, instances.	29
<i>Miscellaneous</i> , in the following lines, where the trisyllabic measures are italicised for convenience.	
Of Engelond', to Cawnterbery <i>they wende</i> .	16
To Cawnterbery <i>with ful</i> devout corage.	22
His heed was balled, <i>and schoon</i> as any glas.	198
And thryes hadd' <i>she been</i> at Jerusalem.	463
Wyd was his <i>parisch</i> and houses fer asonder.	491
He was a <i>schepperd</i> , and not a mercenarie.	514
He waited after <i>no pomp</i> ' and reverence.	525
Ther coude no man bring' <i>him in</i> arrerage.	602
And also war' <i>him of</i> a significavit.	662
instances	9
Total	69

It would have been easy in many cases by elisions or slight changes to have avoided these trisyllabic measures, but after considering each case carefully, and comparing the different manuscripts, there did not appear to be any sufficient ground for so doing.

Allied to trisyllabic measures are the lines containing a superfluous unaccented syllable at the end, but to this point, which was a matter of importance in old Italian and Spanish versification, and has become a matter of stringent rule in classical French poetry, no attention seems to have been paid by older writers, whether French or English, and Chaucer is in this respect as free as Shakspeare.

There are a few cases of two superfluous unaccented syllables, comparable to the Italian *versi sdruccioli*, and these have been indicated by (+) in the margin. There are only 6 instances: *berye merye* 207, 208, *apotecaryes letuaryes* 425, 426, *miscarye mercenarye* 513, 514, all of which belong to the class *i-*, so that the two syllables practically strike the ear as one.

But there are also real Alexandrines, or lines of six measures, which do not appear to have been previously noticed, and which I have been very loth to admit. These are marked vi in the margin. There are four instances. In:

But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed. 148

the perfect unanimity of the MSS., and the harsh and unusual elision of the adverbial *-e* in *sore*, and the not common elision of the imperfect *e* in *wepte*, which would be necessary to reduce the line to one of five measures, render the acceptance of an Alexandrine imperative, and certainly it is effective in expressing the feeling of the Prioress. In:

Men mote yeve silver to the pore freres. 232

the Alexandrine is not pure because the cæsura does not fall after the third measure. But the MSS. are unanimous, the elisions *mot' yev'* undesirable, and the lengthening out of the line with the tag of "the pore freres," seems to indicate the very whine of the begging friar. In

With a thredbare cop', as a pore scoleer. 260

the pore which lengthens the line out in all MSS., seems introduced for a similar purpose. The last instance

I ne sawgh not this yeer so mery a companye. 764

is conjectural, since no MS. gives the reading complete, but: I ne sawgh, or: I sawgh not, are both unmetrical, and by using both we obtain a passable Alexandrine, which may be taken for what it is worth, because no MS. reading can be accepted.

The defective first measures to which attention was directed by Mr. Skeat, *suprà* p. 333, have been noted by (—), and a careful consideration of the MSS. induces me to accept 13 instances, 1, 76, 131, 170, 247, 271, 294, 371, 391, 417, 429, 733, 778, though they are not all satisfactory, as several of them (131, 247, 271, 391, 778) offend against the principle of having a strong accent on the first syllable, and two (417, 429) throw the emphasis in rather an unusual manner, as: *weel coud' he*, *weel knew he*, where: *weel coud' he*, *weel knew he*, would have rather been expected, but there is no MS. authority for improving them.

Three instances have been noted of *saynt* forming a dissyllable, as already suggested, (*suprà* pp. 264, 476), one of which (697), might be escaped by assuming a bad instance of a defective first measure, but the other two (120, 509,) seem clearly indicated by MS. authority. See the notes on these passages. They are indicated by *ai* in the margin.¹

¹ Mr. Murray has observed cases in Scotch in which *ai* was dissyllabic, but then it had its Scotch value (*ae*), *suprà* p. 637, n. 1. He cites from Wyn-

CHAUCER'S TREATMENT OF FRENCH WORDS.

The third point to which attention is directed in printing the text of the prologue, is linguistic rather than phonetic, but seemed of sufficient interest to introduce in a work intended for the use of the Chaucer Society, namely, the amount of French which Chaucer admitted into his English. "Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant!" exclaims Moore's Irish Gentleman on the evening of 16th April, 1829, when the news of the royal assent to the Catholic Relief Bill reached Dublin.¹ And in the same way it would appear that the removal of the blockade on the English language, when after "*þe furste moreyn*," 1348, "*John Cornwal, a maystere of grammere, chaungede þe lore in gramere scole*,"² and Edward III. enacted in the 36th year of his reign, 1362-3, that all pleas should be pleaded and judged in the English tongue, the jealous exclusion of French terms from English works, which marks the former period, seemed to cease, and English having become the victor did not disdain to make free use of the more "gentle" tongue, in which so many treasures of literature were locked up. Even our older poems are more or less translations from the French, though couched in unmistakable English. But in the XIVth century we have Gower writing long poems in both languages, and Chaucer familiar with both, and often seeking his originals in French. The people for whom he principally wrote must have been also more or less familiar with the tongue of the nobles, and large numbers of French words must have passed into common use among Englishmen, before they could have assumed English inflectional terminations. We have numerous instances of this in Chaucer. Whenever a French verb was employed, the French termination was rejected, and an English inflectional system substituted. Thus using italics for the French part, we have in the prologue: *perced* 2, *engend'red* 4, 421, *inspired* 6, *esed* 29, *honour'd* 50, *embrouded* 89, *harneysed* 114, *entuned* 123, *peyned* 139, *rosted* 147, *ypinched* 151, *gauded* 159, *crowned* 161, *purfyled* 193, *farsed* 233, *accorded* 244, *envyned* 342, *chaunged* 348, *passed* 464, *encombred* 508, *spyced* 526, *ypunish'd* 657, *trussed* 681, *feyned* 705, *assembled* 717, *served* 749, *graunted* 810, *pray'den* 811, *reuled* 816, *studieth* 841. — *flouting'* 91, *harping'* 266, *offring'* 450, 489, *assoyling* 661, — *cry'* 636, *rost'*, *broyll'*, *frye* 383, *rehers'* 732, *feyne* 736. Again we have an English adjective or adverbial termination affixed to French words, as: *specially* 15, *fetisly* 124, 273, *certainly* 235, *solemnely* 274, *staatly* 281, *estaatlich* 140, *verrayly* 338, *really*

town's Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland, circā 1419-30, in reference to Malcolm Ceanmór,

Malcolm kyng, be lawchful get,
Had on his wyf Saynt Margret.
Where, however, Margaret might rather
have been trissyllabic.

¹ Travels of an Irish gentleman in

search of a religion, by Thomas Moore, chap. i.

² See the whole noteworthy passage from Trenisa's translation of Higden, printed from the Cott. MS. Tiberius D. VII., by Mr. R. Morris, in his Specimens of Early English, 1867, p. 339.

=royally 378, *devoutly* 482, *scarsly* 583, *prively* 609, *subtily* 610, *prively* 652, *playnly* 727, *properly* 729, *rudely* 734.—*det't'lees* 582.—In *esy* 441, *pomely* 616, we have rather the change of the French *-e* into *-y*, which subsequently became general, but the *ese* remains in: *esely* 469. In: *daggeer* 113, 392, we have a substantive with an English termination to a French root. *Footmantel* 472, is compounded of an English and French word. In: *daliavnce* 211, *loodmannage* 403, *deyerye* 577, French terminations only are assumed. A language must have long been in familiar use to admit of such treatment as this. What then more likely than the introduction of complete words, which did not require to have their terminations changed? The modern cookery book and fashion magazines are full of French words introduced bodily for a similar reason. Of course the subject matter and the audience greatly influence the choice of words, and we find Chaucer sensibly changing his manner with his matter—see the quantity of unmixed English in the characters of the Yeman, the Ploughman, and the Miller. To make this admixture of French and English evident to the eye, all words or parts of words which may be fairly attributed to French influence, including proper names, have been italicised, but some older Latin words of ecclesiastical origin and older Norman words have not been marked and purely Latin words have been put in small capitals.¹ The result could then be subjected to a numerical test, and comes out as follows:

Lines containing no French word . .	325,	per cent.	37·9
" only one " " . .	343,	"	40·0
" two French words . .	157,	"	18·2
" three " " . .	87,	"	3·4
" four " " . .	12,	"	0·4
" five ² " " . .	1,	"	0·1

Lines in the Prologue . . 858 100·0

If the total number of French words in the prologue be reckoned from the above data, they will be found to be 761, or *not quite one word in a line on an average*. The overpoweringly English character of the work could not be more clearly demonstrated.

Chaucer's language may then be described as a degraded Anglo-Saxon, into which French words had been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, to the extent of about 20 per cent., and containing occasionally complete French phrases, of which, however, none occur in the prologue. To understand the formation of such a dead dialect, we have only to watch the formation of a similarly-constructed living dialect. Such a one really exists, although it must rapidly die out, as there are not only not the same causes at work which made the language of Chaucer develop into the language of England, but there are other and directly contrary influences which must rapidly lead to the extinction of its modern analogue.

¹ These are very few in number, see *Mawr'* or of *Saynt Beneyt*. 173, in 5, 162, 254, 336, 429, 430, 646, 662. which the French words were indispensable.

² The line is: *The reul'* of *Saynt*

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN THE ANALOGUE OF CHAUCER'S ENGLISH.

Fully one half of the people of Pennsylvania and Ohio in the United States of America understand the dialect known as Pennsylvania German. This neighbourhood was the seat of a great German immigration from the Palatinate of the Rhine¹ and Switzerland. Here they kept up their language, and established schools, which are now almost entirely extinct. Surrounded by English of the XVIIth century they naturally grafted some of its words on their own, either as distinct phrases, or as the roots of inflections; and, perhaps, in more recent times, when fully nine-tenths of the present generation are educated in English, the amount of introduced English has increased.² The result is a living dialect which may be described as a degraded³ High German, into which English

¹ See *supra*, p. 47, lines 5 to 15.

² Some of these particulars have been taken from the preface to Mr. E. H. Rauch's *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch! De Breefa fum Pit Schwefflebreunner un de Bevvy, si Fraw, fun Schliffletown on der Drucker fum "Father Abraham," Lancaster, Pa., 1868*, and others from information kindly furnished me by Rev. Dr. Mombert, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, U.S., in April, 1869.

³ This does not mean that it is a degraded form of the present literary high German, but merely of the high German group of Germanic dialects. On 19 Aug. 1869, the 14th meeting of the German Press Union, of Pennsylvania, U.S., was held at Bethlehem, when an interesting discussion took place on Pennsylvania German, or *das Deutsch-Pennsylvanische*, as it is termed in the *Reading Adler* of 31 Aug. 1869, a German newspaper published at Reading, Berks County, Pa., U.S., from which the following account is translated and condensed. Prof. *Notz*, of Allentown, who is preparing a Pennsylvania German grammar, drew attention to the recent German publications on Frankish, Upper-Bavarian, Palatine, Swabian, and Swiss dialects, and asserted that the Penn. Germ. had an equally tough existence (*zähes Leben*) and deserved as much study. Mr. Dan E. *Schödl* declared that the Germans of Pennsylvania could only be taught literary high German, in which their divine service had always been conducted, by means of their own dialect. Dr. G. *Kellner* justified dialects. He considered that linguists, including J. Grimm, had not sufficiently comprehended the importance of dialects. Speech was as natural to man as walk-

ing, eating, and drinking, and the original language of a people was dialectic, not literary, which last only finally prevailed, to use Max Müller's expression as the high language, (*Hochsprache*). The roots of a literary language were planted in its dialects, whence it drew its strength and wealth, and which it in turn modified, polished and ennobled. Was Penn. Germ. such a dialect? Many English speakers, who knew nothing of German dialects, might deny it, and so might even many educated north Germans, who were unacquainted with the south German dialects, and regarded all the genuine southern forms of Penn. Germ. as a corrupted high German, or as idioms borrowed from the English. They would therefore style it a jargon, not a dialect. Certainly, the incorporation of English words and phrases had given it some such appearance, but on removing these foreign elements it remained as good a dialect as the Alsatian after being stripped of its Gallicisms, in which dialect beautiful poems and tales had been written, taking an honourable position in German literature. Penn. Germ., apart from its English additions, was a south German dialect, composed of Frankish, Swabian, Palatine, and Allemanic, which was interlarded with more or less English, according to the counties in which the settlements had occurred; in some places English was entirely absent. All that marked a dialect in Germany was present in Penn. Germ., and since new immigration was perpetually introducing fresh high German, the task would be to purify the old dialect of its English jargon, and use the result for the benefit of the people

words have been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, and containing occasionally complete English phrases. On referring to the first sentence of the last paragraph, the exact analogy of Pennsylvania Dutch to Chaucer's English will be at once apprehended. The dialect is said to possess a somewhat copious literature, and it is certainly an interesting study, which well deserves to be philologically conducted.¹ For the present work it has an additional special value, as it continually exhibits varieties of sound as compared with the received high German, which are identical with those which we have been led to suppose actually took place in the development of received English, as (*oo*, *ee*, *aa*) for (*aa*, *ai*, *au*).

The orthographical systems pursued in writing it have been two, and might obviously have been three or more. The first and most natural was to adopt such a German orthography as is usually employed for the representation of German dialects, and to spell the introduced English words chiefly after a German fashion. This is the plan pursued, but not quite consistently,² in the following extract, for which I am indebted to Dr. Mombert. The English constituents are italicised as the French are in the following edition of the prologue. A few words are explained in brackets [], but any one familiar with German will understand the original, which seems to have been written by an educated German familiar with good English.

of Pennsylvania. The Penn. Germ. press was the champion of this movement, by which an entire German family would be more and more imbued with modern German culture. As a striking proof of the identity of Palatine with Pennsylvanian German, he referred to Nadler's poems called *Fröhlich Pfalz, Gott erhalt's*, which, written in the Palatine dialect, were, when read out to the meeting by Dr. Leisenring, a born Penn. German, as readily intelligible to the audience as if they had been written in Penn. German. Prof. Notz also observed that in Germany the people still spoke among one another in dialects, and only exceptionally in high German when they spoke with those who had received a superior education—and that even the latter were wont to speak with the people in their own dialect. This was corroborated by Messrs. Rosenthal, Hesse, and others. On the motion of Prof. Notz, it was resolved to prosecute an inquiry into the Germanic forms of expression in use in Pennsylvania, and to report thereon, in order to obtain materials for a complete characterisation of the dialect.

¹ Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Pennsylvania, to whom I have been

under great phonetic obligations, and who has been familiar with the dialect from childhood, has promised to furnish the Philological Society with some systematic account of this peculiar hybrid language, the living representation not only of the marriage of English with Norman, but of the breaking up of Latin into the Romance dialects. The Rev. Dr. Mombert, formerly of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but now of Dresden, Saxony, who has long been engaged in collecting specimens, has also promised to furnish some additions. The preceding note shews the interest which it is now exciting in its native country. In this place it is only used as a passing illustration, but through the kindness of these competent guides, I am enabled to give the reader a trustworthy account so far as it goes.

² Thus *ey* is used for *ee* in *kēyn* = (*keen*), or rather (*keen*) according to Dr. Mombert, and *ee* for *ih* (ii) in *Teer*, which are accommodations to English habits. *Cowskin* retains its English form. A more strictly German orthography is followed in *L. A. Wollenweber's* *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben*, Philadelphia und Leipzig, 1869, p. 76.

Ein Gespräch.

1. Ah, *Düvee*, was hot Dich gestern Owent [Abend] so vertollt *schmürt* aus *Squeier* Essebeises kumme mache? War ebbes [etwas] letz¹?

2. Nix apartiges! ich hab jusht a bissel mit der *Pally gespärkt* [played the spark], als Dir ganz unvermüth der olto Mann derzu kummt, ummer [und mir] zu vershte' gibt, er dät des net *gleiche*.²

1. Awer [aber] wie hot er's dir zu vershteh' gegewe' (gegeben)? Grob oder höflich?

2. Ach net [nicht], er hat *kēyn* [kein] wort geschwätzt.

1. *Well*, wie hot er's dann g'mocht?

2. Er hat jusht de Teer

[Thüre] ufg'mocht, mir mei' Hüth in de Hand 'gewe' un' de *Cowskin* von der Wand g'kriecht [gekriegt]. Do hob' ich g'denkt, er thät's net *gleiche*, dass ich die *Pally shpärke* thät un bin grod fortgange; des wer alles, *Säm*.

1. Ja, geleddert hot er Dich, *Düvee*, dann du bist net gange,—g'shprunge bischt Du als wenn a dutzend Hund hinnig [hinter] Dich her wären. Ich hab dich wohl gesēyhne [gesehen].

2. *Well*, sei nur shtill drfon [davon], und sags Niemand, sonst werd' ich ausgelacht.

Säm versprach's; awer *somhow* muss er sich doch verschnappt hawe [haben], sonst hätt's net g'druckt werde könne.

The second style of orthography is to treat the whole as English and spell the German as well as the English words, after English analogies. This apparently hopeless task,³ was undertaken by Mr. Rauch, who in his weekly newspaper, *Father Abraham*, has weekly furnished a letter from an imaginary Pit i.e. Peter Schweflebbrenner, without any interpretation, and in a spelling "peculiarly his own."⁴ Perhaps some of the popularity of these satirical letters is due, as

¹ South German *letz*, *letsch*, *lätsch*, wrong, left-handed, as in high German *links*, for which Prof. Haldeman refers to Stalder, and to Ziemann, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterb.* 217. See also Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterb.* 2, 530, "(Mir is *letz*) mir ist nicht recht, d. h. übel." Compare high German *verletzen*, to injure.

² Dr. Mombert considers *gleichen* in this sense of "like, approve of," to be the English word *like* Germanized. But Dr. Stratmann, on seeing the passage, considered the word might be from the old high German *liehen*, to please. This verb, however, was intransitive in all the Germanic dialects, and in old English (see Prol. 777 below: if you liketh, where *you* is of course dative). The present active use seems to be modern English, and I have therefore marked it accordingly.

³ An attempt of Chaucer's scribes to write his language after Norman analogies, as Rapp supposes to have been the case, would have been precisely analogous. Fortunately this was not possible, *supra* p. 538, n. 4, or we might have never been able to recover his pronunciation.

⁴ In the prospectus of his newspaper, Mr. Rauch says: "So weit das mer wissa, is der Pit Schweflebbrenner der eantsich monn in der United States dars Pennsylvanish Deitsch recht shreibet un bushtaweert exactly we's g'shwetzt un ous g'shprocha wärd," i.e., as far as we know, Pit Schweflebbrenner is the only man in the United States who writes and spells Pennsylvania German correctly, exactly as it is gossiped and pronounced.

some of the fun of Hans Breitmann's Ballads¹ certainly is, to the drollness of the orthography, which however furnishes endless difficulties to one who has not a previous knowledge of the dialect.²

The third orthography would be the usual high German and

¹ Hans Breitmann's "poems are written in the droll broken English (not to be confounded with the Pennsylvanian German) spoken by millions—mostly uneducated—Germans in America, immigrants to a great extent from southern Germany. Their English has not yet become a district dialect; and it would even be difficult to fix at present the varieties in which it occurs."—Preface to the 8th edition of Hans Breitmann's Party, with other Ballads, by Charles G. Leland, London, 1869, p. xiii. In fact Mr. Leland has played with his dialect, and in its unfixed condition has made the greatest possible fun out of the confusion of *p* with *b*, *t* with *d*, and *g* with *k*, without stopping to consider whether he was giving an organically correct representation of any one German's pronunciation. He has consequently often written combinations which no German would naturally say, and which few could, even after many trials, succeed in pronouncing, and some which are scarcely attackable by any organs of speech. The book has, therefore, plenty of *vis comica*, but no linguistic value.

² The following inconsistencies pointed out by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, are worth notice, because similar absurdities constantly occur in attempts to reduce our English dialects, or barbaric utterances, to English analogies, by persons who have not fixed upon any phonetic orthography, such as the Glossotype of Chap. VI., § 3, and imagine that the kaleidoscopic character of our own orthography is not a mere "showing the eyes and grieving the heart." Prof. H. says: "The orthography is bad and inconsistent, sometimes English and sometimes German, so that it requires some knowledge of the dialect, and of English spelling to be able to read it.

"The vowel of *they* occurs in *ferstay*, *meh*, *nay*, *ehns*, *bæs* and *base* (= *böse*, angry), *hæst* (= *heisst*, called) *eawich*, *dact*, *gea*—*ea* being mostly used (as in *heasa*, *tswea*); but *gedreat* (also *dreet*) rhymes its English form *treat*, and *dreat*, (= *dreht*, turns) with *fate*.

"The German *a* is as in *what* and *fall*, but the former falls into the vowel of *hut*, *but*. *Fall* is represented by *ah* in *betzahla*, and *aa* in *paar*, but usually by *aw* (*au* in *sauga*) as in *aw* (*auch*, also) *g'sawt* (said, gesagt). *Hawa* = *haben*, should have been *haw-wa*. The vowel of *what* is represented by *a* or *o*, as in *was*, *war*, *hab*, *kann*, *donn*, *norra*, *gonga*.

"*O* of no occurs in *bohna*, so *amohl*, = *einmal*, *coaxa* (= *to coax*!) *doch*, *hoar* (= *haar* hair), *woch*, *froke*.

"When German *a* has become English *u* of *hut*, it is written *u*, as in *hut* (= *hat*, has), and *a* final, as in *macha*, *denka* = *denken*, [which = (v)], *an* = *ein*.

"The vowel of *field* occurs in *wie*, *shpiela*, *de*, *shees*, *krya* = (*kriecht*), *y* is used throughout for (*gh*) of *regen*. The *y* of *my* occurs in *sei*, *si*, *my* and *mei*, *bei*, *dysel*, *subscriba*.

"*W*, when not used as a vowel, has its true German power (*bh*), as in *tswea* = *zwei*, *hawa* = *haben*, *weasht* = *weisst*, *wenich* and *weanich*! = *wenig*, *awer* = *aber*, and some other examples of *b* have this sound.

"*Das* is for *dass* that, and *des* is used for the neuter article *das*. The *s* is hissing (*s*). The *r* is trilled (*r*) as in German. *P*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, are confused. The lost final *n* is commonly recalled by a nasalised vowel.

"*Oo* in *fool*, *full*, appears in *än*, when used for *und*, *üf* for *auf*, *wü* = *wo* where, *Zeitung* pure German, *shoola* = *schools*, *trüvel* = *trouble*.

"English words mostly remain English in pronunciation, as in: *meeting-house*, *town*, *frolie*, for instance, *horse-race*, game *poker* *shpeela*, *bensa pitcha* = *pitch pence*, *üf* *course*; but many words are modified when they cross a German characteristic, thus *greenbacks*, the national currency, is rather (*kriin-peks*).

"The vowel of *fat* occurs in *Bärricks* = *Berks* county, *lodwärrick* *lodwärrick* = *latwerge* *electuary*, *kärrich* = *kirche*, *wiërt* = *werth*, *hër* = *her*. *-le* is only an English orthography for *el* or *'l*, *sh* is English."

English orthographics for the words used, which would of course convey no information respecting the real state of the dialect. The only proper orthography, the only one from which such information can be derived, is of course phonetic. The kindness of Prof. Haldemann has enabled me to supply this great desideratum.¹ The passage selected is really a puff of a jeweller's shop in Lancaster, Pa., and was chosen because it is short, complete, characteristic, varied, and, being not political, generally intelligible. It is given first in Mr. Rauch's peculiar Anglo-German spelling, and then in Prof. Haldemann's phonetic transcript, afterwards by way of explaining the words, the passage is written out in ordinary High German and English, the English words being italicised, and finally a verbal English translation is furnished. On pp. 661-3 is added a series of notes on the peculiarities of the original, referred to in the first text. The reader will thus be able to form a good idea of the dialect, and those who are acquainted with German and English will thoroughly appreciate the formation of Chaucer's language.

¹ Professor Haldeman not having spoken the dialect naturally for many years, after completing his phonetic transcript, saw Mr. Rauch the author, and ascertained that their pronunciations practically agreed. The phonetic transcript, here furnished, may therefore be relied on. Prof. Haldeman being an accomplished phonetician, and acquainted with my palaeotype, wrote the pronunciation himself in the letters here used. Of course for publication in a newspaper, my palaeotype would not answer, but my glossotype would enable the author to give his Pennsylvania German in an English form and much more intelligibly. Thus the last paragraph in the example, p. 661, would run as follows in glossotype, adopting Prof. Haldeman's pronunciation: "Auyer iyh kon der net olläs saughä. Va-rr [vehrr] mainer vissä vil, oonn va-rr [vehrr] färrst raiti Krishtaukh sokh vil—dee faaynsti oonn beshti bressents, maukh selverr dorrt ons Tsaams gaiä, oonn siyh selverr sootä. Noh mohrr et press'nt. Peet Shveff'l'brennerr." But the proper orthography would be a glossotype upon a German instead of an English basis. The following scheme would most probably answer all purposes. The meaning of the symbols is explained by German examples, unless otherwise marked, and in palaeotype. LONG VOWELS: *ie* lieb (ii), *ee* beet (*ee*), *ae* spräche (EE, ææ), *aa* Aal (aa), *ao* Eng. aul (AA), *oo* Boot (oo), *uh* Pfuhl

(uu), *ue* Uebel (yy), *oe* Oel (oo). SHORT VOWELS: *i* Sinn (i, i), *e* Bett (e, e), *ä* Eng. bat (æ, æ), *a* all (a), *ä* Eng. what (Λ o), *o* Motte (o o), *u* Pfund (u, u), *ü* Fülle (y), *ö* Bücke (œ), *ë* eine (u), Eng. but (v, ø), (,) sign of nasality. DIPHTHONGS: *ai* Hain (ai), *oi* Eng. joy, Hamburg *Eule* (oi), *au* theoretical *Eule* (ay), *au* kauen (au). CONSONANTS: *j* ja (j), *w* wie (bh), Eng. *w* (w) must be indicated by a change of type, roman to italic, or conversely, *h* heu (u), *p* b (p b), *t* d (t d), *tsch* deh (tsh dzh), *k* g (k g), *kn* (kn), *f* v (f v), *th* dh (th dh), *ss* Nüsse (s), *s* wisse (z), *sch* sh (sh zh), *ch* gh (kh kh, gh gh), *r* l m n (r l m n), *ng* nk (q qk). German readers would not require to make the distinction *ss*, *s*, except between two vowels, as Wiesse, Nüsse, Fuessé. They would also not find it necessary to distinguish between *e*, *ë* final, or between *er*, *ër*, unaccented. For similar reasons the short vowel signs are allowed a double sense. This style of writing would suit most dialectic German, but if any additional vowels are required *ih*, *eh*, *ah*, *oh*, are available. The last sentence of the following example, omitting the distinction *e*, *ë*, would then run as follows: "Aower ich kon der net olles saoghe. Waer meener wisse wil, un waer ferst reeti Krishtaoch sokh wil,—die faaynsti un beshti bressents, maukh selwer dort ons Tsaams geeë, un sikh selwer suhte. Noo moor et press'nt. I'iet Schvefflbrenner."

1.

RAUCH'S ORTHOGRAPHY.

Pennsylvanish Deitsch.

Mr.¹ Fodder Abraham² Printer
—Deer Sir: Ich kon mer now
net³ helfa⁴—ich mus der yetz
amohl⁵ shreiva⁶ we ich un de
Bevvy⁷ ousgemocht hen doh fer-
gonga⁸ we mer in der shtadt
Lancaster wara.

Der hawpt⁹ platz wu¹⁰ mer
onna¹¹ sin, war dort in selly
Zahm's ivver ous sheana Watcha¹²
un Jewelry establishment, grawd
dort om eck¹³ fun was se de Nord
Queen Strose¹⁴ heasa un Center
Shquare—net weit fun wu das
eier office is.

In all mein leawa hab ich ne
net so feel tip-top sheany sacha
g'sea, un sell¹⁵ is exactly was de
Bevvy sawgt.¹⁶

We mer nei sin un amohl so a
wennich rum geguckt hen, donn
secht¹⁶ de Bevvy—loud genunk¹⁷
das der monn's hut heara kenna
—“Now Pit,”¹⁸ secht se, “weil

2.

PROF. HALDEMAN'S PRONUNCIATION.

Pensilvee'nish Daitsh.

Mis't'r Fad'r :Aa·brøham
prin't'r—Diir Sør: Ich kan m'r
nau net helf'e—ikh mus d'r jets
emool·shraibh'e bhii ikh un di
Bebhi aus·gumakht hen doo
f'rgaq'v bhii m'r in d'r shtat
Leg'kesht'r bhaa'rv.

D'r haapt plats bhuu m'r an'e
sin, bhar dart in sel'i Tsaaams
ibh'r aus shee'nv bhatsh'e un
tshu'elri estep'lishment, graad
dart am ek fun bhas si di Nort
Kfiin Shtroos hee'se un Sent'r
Shkbheer—net wait fun bhuu
das ai'r Af'is is.

In al maim leebh'e hab ikh
nii net so fil tip'tap shee'ni
sakh'e ksee'v un sel is eksæk'li
bhas di Pebh'i saakt.

Bhi m'r nai sin un emool soo
v bhen'ikh rum geguckt hen,
dan sekht di Bebh'i—laut ge-
nuqk' das d'r mans het heer'e
ken'e —“Nau Pit,” sekht si,

3. German and English Translation.

Pennsylvanisches Deutsch.

Mr. Vater Abraham, Printer—Dear
Sir: Ich kann mir now nicht helfen—
ich muss dir jetzt einmal schreiben wie
ich und die Barbara ausgemacht haben,
da vergangen, wie wir in der Stadt
Lancaster waren.

Der Haupt-Platz wo wir an sind,
war dort in selbiges Zahms überaus
schöne Watche und Jewelry Estab-
lishment, grade dort an-der Ecke von
was sic die Nord Queen Strasse heis-
sen und Centre Square—nicht weit von
wo dass ener office ist.

In all meinem Leben habe ich nie
nicht so viele tiptop schöne Sachen
gesehen, und selbiges ist exactly was
die Barbara sagt.

Wie wir hinein sind und einmal so
ein wenig herum geguckt haben, dann
sagte die Barbara—laut genug dass der
Mann es hat hören können—“Now,

4. Verbal English Translation.

Pennsylvania German.

Mr. Father Abraham, Printer—
Dear Sir: I can myself now not help
—I must to-thee now once write, how I
and the Barbara managed [i.e. fared]
have there past, as we in the town
Lancaster were.

The chief-place where we arrived
are, was there in same Zahm's over-
out beautiful Watches and Jewelry
Establishment, exactly there at corner
of what they the North Queen Street
call, and Centre Square—not far from
where that your office is.

In all my life have I never not so
many tiptop beautiful things seen, and
same is exactly what the Barbara
says.

As we hence-into are, and once so a
little around looked have, then said the
Barbara—loud enough that the man it
has to-hear been-able—“Now, Peter,”

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*

se der di watch g'shtola hen
dort in Nei Yorrick,¹⁹ musht an
neie kawfa, un doh gookts das²⁶
wann²⁰ du dich suta²¹ kennsht."²²

We se sell g'sawt hut, donn
hen awer amohl de kærls²³ dort
hinnich²¹ em counter uf geguckt.
Eaner hut si brill gedropt,²⁵
un an onnerer is uf g'shtonna
un all hen mich orrig²⁶ freind-
lich aw²⁷ geguckt.

Donn sogt caner—so a wen-
nich an goot guckicher²⁸ ding—
secht er, "Ich glawb doch now
das ich weas wær du bisht."
"Well," sog ich, "wær
denksht?" "Ei der Pit Schwef-
fiebrenner." "Exactly so," hab
ich g'sawt. "Un des doh is
de Bevy, di alty," secht er.
"Aw so," hab ich g'sawt.

Donn hut er mer de hond
gevva, un der Bevy aw, un
hut g'sawt er het shun feel fun
meina breefa g'leasa, un er wær
orrig froh mich amohl selwer

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*

Peter, sagte sie, "weil sie dir deine
Watch gestohlen haben dort in Neu
York, musst du eine neue kaufen, and
da guckt es [als] dass wann du dich
suiten könnest."

Wie sie selbiges gesagt hat, dann
haben aber einmal die Kerls dort hin-
terig dem *counter* aufgeguckt. Einer
hat seine Brille *gedropt*, und ein an-
derer ist aufgestanden und alle haben
mich arg freundlich angeguckt.

Dann sagt einer—so ein wenig ein
gutguckiges Ding—sagte er, "Ich
glaube doch *now* dass ich weiss wer du
bist." "Well," sage ich, "wer
denkst?" "Ei, der *Peter* Schwefel-
brenner." "Exactly so," habe ich
gesagt. "Und das da ist die Barbara,
deine Alte," sagte er. "Auch so,"
habe ich gesagt.

Dann hat er mir die Hand gegeben,
und der Barbara auch, und hat gesagt
er hätte schon viel von meinen Briefen
gelesen, und er wäre arg froh mich

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

"bhail si dir dai, bhatsh
kshtool'v hen dart in Nai Jar'ik,
musht vn nai'v kaa'f'v, un doo
gukts das bhan du di'kh suut'v
kensht."

Bhi si sel ksaat hæt, dan hen
aa'b'r emool' di kærls dart hin-
ikh'v em kaunt'r uf gegukt.
Een'r hæt sai bril gedra'pt, un
en an'wær is uf kshtan'v un al
hen mikh ar'ikh fraind'likh aa,
gegukt.

Dan sakt een'r—soo v bhen'ikh
vn guut guk'ikh'r diq—secht er,
"Ikh glaab dokh nau das ikh
bhees bhær du bisht." "Bhel,"
sag ikh, "bhær deqksht?" "Ai
d'r Pit Shbheef'lbren'r." "Ek-
sæk'li soo," hab ikh ksaat." "Un
des doo is di Bebh'i, dai alt'i,"
secht ær. "Aa soo," hab ikh
ksaat."

Dan hæt ær m'r di hand
gebh'v, un d'r Pebh'i aa, un hæt
ksaat ær hæt shun fiil fun main'v
briif'a glees'v, un ær bhæær
ar'ikh froo mikh emool' sel-bhær

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*

said she, "because they to-thee thy
watch stolen have there in New York,
must thou a new (one) buy, and there
looks it [as] that if thou thee *suit*
mightest."

As she same said has, then have
again once the fellows there behind the
counter up-looked. One has his spec-
tacles *dropped*, and another is up-stood,
and all have me horrid friendly on-
looked.

Then says one—so a little a good-
looking thing—said he, "I believe,
however, *now* that I know who thou
art." "Well," say I, "who thinkest
(thou that I am)?" "Eh, the *Peter*
Sulphurburner." "Exactly so," have
I said. "And that there ist the
Barbara, thy old-woman," said he.
"Also so," have I said.

Then has he me the hand given, and
to-the Barbara also, and has said he
had already much of my letters read,
and he was horrid glad me once self to

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*
tsu seana.²⁹ Donn sin mer awer amohl on bisness.

Wateha hen se dort, first-raty for 16 dahler bis tsu 450 dahler. Noch dem das mer se amohl recht begueckt hen, is de Bevy tsu der conclusion kumma an Amerikanische watch tsu kawfa.

Dort hen se aw was se Thermometers heasa—so a ding dass cam³⁰ weist we kalts'wetter is, un sell dinkt mich kent mer braucha alleweil. Any-how mer hen eens gekawft.

De watch is aw an first-raty. Ich war als³¹ uf³² der meanung das de Amerikanische watcha wærra drous in Deitschlond g'macht, un awer sell is net wohr. Un de house-uhra; chcemany³³ fires awer se hen about sheany! Uf course mer hen aw eany gekawft, for wann ich amohl Posht Meashder bin mus ich eany hawa for³⁴ in de office ni du.

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*
einmal selber zu sehen(en). Dann sind wir aber einmal an *business*.

Watche haben sie dort, *first-rate-e* für sechzehn bis zu vier hundert (und) fünfzig Thaler. Nachdem dass wir sie einmal recht begueckt haben, ist die Barbara zu der *conclusion* gekommen eine Amerikanische *watch* zu kaufen.

Dort haben sie auch was sie Thermometers heissen—so ein Ding das einem weiset wie kalt das Wetter ist, und selbiges dünkt mich könnten wir brauchen alleweile. *Anyhow* wir haben eines gekauft.

Die *Watch* ist auch eine *first-rate-e*. Ich war also auf [alles auf, also *of*?] der Meinung dass die Amerikanischen *Watche* wären draussen in Deutschland gemacht, und aber selbiges ist nicht wahr. Und die Hausuhren; *Gemini fires*! aber sie haben *about* schöne! *Of course* wir haben auch eine gekauft, for wann ich einmal *Post Master* bin, muss ich eine haben for in die *office* hinein [zu] thun.

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*
tsu seen'v. Dan sin m'r aabh'r'v mool' an bis'nus.

Bhatsh'e hen si dart, först ree'ti f'r sekht'see bis tsu fiir-mun'ert-fuf'tsikh taal'v. Nakh dem das m'r sii mool' rekht begukt' hen, is di Pebh'i tsu d'r kankluu'shun kum'e un :Ameri-kaa'nishv bhatsh tsu kaaf'v.

Dart hen si aa bhas si termam'it'rs hees'a—so v diq das eem bhaist bhi kalt 's bhet'r is, un sel diqt mi'kh kent m'r braukh'v al'ebhail. En'ihau m'r hen eens gekaaf't.

Dii bhatsh is aa un först ree'ti. Ikh bhar als uf der mee'nug das dii :Ameri-kaa'nishv bhatsh'e bhær'e draus in Deitsh'lant gmaakht, un aa'bh'r sel is net bhoor. Un dii haus'uu'ru; tshii'muni fairs! aa'bh'r si hen ebaut' shee'ni! Uf koors m'r hen aa een'i gekaaf't, f'r bhan ikh mool' Poosht Meesh't'r bin mus ikh ee'ni haa'bh'e for in di af'is nai du.

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*
see. Then are we again once on *business*.

Watches have they there, *first-rate* (ones) for sixteen up-to four hundred (and) fifty dollars. After that wie them once rightly beseen have, is the Barbara to the *conclusion* come, an American *watch* to buy.

There have they also what they Thermometers call—so a thing that to-him shows how cold the weather is, and same thinks me might we presently. *Anyhow* we have one bought.

The *watch* is also a *first-rate* (one). I was *always* on [all up = entirely of, always *of*] the opinion that the American *watches* were there-out in Germany made, and but same is not true. And the houseclocks; *Gemini Fires*! but they have *about* beautiful (ones)! *Of course* we have also one bought, for when I once *Post Master* am, must I one have, for into the office hence-in (to) do.

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*

Se hen aw an grosser shtock fun Silverny Löffla, Brilla, un ich weas net was olles. De Bevvu hut gedu das weil ich yetz boll amohl³⁵ an United Shtates' Government Officer si wær, set ich mer aw an Brill kawfa, un ich hab aw eany krickt das ich now net gevva deat fer duppelt's gold das se gekosht hut, for ich kon yetz noch amohl so goot seana un leasa das³⁶ tsufore.

Un we ich amohl dorrich my neie Brill geguckt hab, donn hab ich ærsht all de feiny sacha recht beguckt, un an examination gemacht fun Breast Pins, Rings, Watch-ketta,³⁷ Shtuds, Messera un Gorrveilla, etc.

Eans fun sella Breastpins hut der Bevvu about goot aw-g'-shtonna, awer er hut mer doch a wennich tsu feel g'fuddert derfore—25 dahler, un donn hab

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

Sii hen AA en groo'su shtak fun Sil'bhurni Lef'le, Bril've un ikh bhees net bhas al'us. Dii Pebh'i het geduu das bhail ikh jets bal vmool en Junai'tet Shteets Gof'rment Of'iser sai bhææ, set ikh m'r AA en Bril kAA'fe, un ikh hap AA ee'ni krikkt, das ikh nau net gobh'u deet f'r dup'ls geld das sii gekosht het, f'r ikh kan jets nokh vmool soo guut see'nu un lee'su das tsufoor.

Un bhii ikh vmool dar'ikh mai, nai'i Bril geguckt hap, dan hap ikh ærsht al dii fæini sakh'u rekt begukt un en eksseminesh'n gemakht fun Bresht'pins, Riqs, Bhatsh'ket'u, Shtots, Mes'ure un Gabh'le, etset'ure.

Eens fun sel'u Bresht'pins het d'r Bebh'i ebaut guut AA:-gsht'AA'n'u, AA'bh'r ær het mir dokh e bheni'kh tsu fiil gfud'rt d'rfoor — fïnf un tsbhan'sikh

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*

Sie haben auch einen grossen stock von silbernen Löffeln, Brillen, und ich weiss nicht was alles. Die Barbara hat gethan dass weil ich jetzt bald einmal ein *United States Government Officer* sein werde, sollte ich mir auch eine Brille kaufen, und ich habe auch eine gekriegt, dass ich *now* nicht geben thäte für doppelt-das Geld das sie gekostet hat, *for* ich kann jetzt noch einmal so gut sehen und lesen [als] dass zuvor.

Und wie ich einmal durch meine neue Brille geguckt habe, dann habe ich erst alle die feinen Sachen recht beguckt und an *examination* gemacht von *Breastpins*, *Rings*, *Watch-ketten*, *Studs*, *Messer* und *Gabeln*, etc.

Eins von selbigen *Breastpins* hat der Barbara *about* gut angestanden, aber er hat mir doch ein wenig zu viel gefodert dafür—fünf und zwanzig Thaler—und

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*

They have also a great stock of silver spoons, spectacles, and I know not what all. The Barbara has done [estimated] that because I now soon once a *United States Government Officer* be shall, should I me also a pair-of-spectacles buy, and I have also one got, that I *now* not give would-do for double the money that it cost has, *for* I can now still once so good see and read [as] that before.

And as I once through my new spectacles looked have, then have I first all the fine things right be-seen, and an *examination* made of *Breastpins*, *Rings*, *Watchchains*, *Studs*, knives and forks, etc.

One of the same *Breastpins* has the Barbara about good on-stood [suited], but he has me, however, a little too much asked therefore—five-and-twenty

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*

ich mer tsuletsht eany rous gepickt fer drei færtle dahler, fer selly sogt de Bevvý, is anyhow ahead fun ennicher³⁸ onnery in Schliffletown.

Awer ich kann der net alles sawya. Wær meaner³⁹ wissa will, un wær first raty krishdog sach will—de feinsty un beshty presents, mog selwer dort ons Zahms gea un sich selwer suta. No more at present.

Pit Schweflebbrenner.

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

tAA'l'r, un dan hab ikh mir tsuletsht ee'ni raus gepikt f'r trai fært'l tAA'ler, f'r sel'i sakt di Behh'i is en'ihau vhet fun en'ikhær an'uri in Shliff'taun.

:Aa'bb'r ikh kan d'r net al'es saa'ghe. Bhær meen'r bhis'v bh'l, un bhær ferst reet'i Krish-taakh sakh bh'l—dii fain'shti un besht'i bres'ents, mAAkh sel-bh'r dart AUS TSAAMS gee'v un sikh sel-bh'r suu'tv. Noo moor et bres'nt.

Piit Shbhef'lbren'r.

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*

dann habe ich mir zuletzt eine heraus gepickt für drei Viertel Thaler, for selbiges sagt die Barbara is *anyhow* ahead von einiger anderen in Schliffel-town.

Aber ich kann dir nicht alles sagen. Wer mehr wissen will, und wer *first-rate*-e Christtag Sachen will—the feinsten und besten *presents*, mag selber dort an's Zahms gehen und sich selber suiten. No more at present.

Peter Schwefelbrenner.

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*

dollars—and then have I for-me atlast one out *picked* for three-quarters (of a) dollar, for same says the Barbara is *anyhow* ahead of any other in Schliffletown.

But I can thee not all say. Who more know will, and who *first-rate* Christmas things will—the finest and best *presents*, may himself there to-the Zahm's (house) go, and him self suit. No more at present.

Peter Schwefelbrenner.

Notes on the above Text.

¹ *Mister* is used as well as the German form (mæsh't'r).—S. S. Haldeman.

² Father Abraham means the late president Abraham Lincoln, assumed as the title of Rauch's newspaper.

³ The guttural omitted, as frequently in *nicht, nichts*.

⁴ The infinitive *-e* for *-en*, as frequently in Chaucer, and commonly now on the Rhine.

⁵ *Einmal*, a common expletive, in which the first syllable, even among more educated German speakers sinks into an indistinct (v). Observe the transition of (a) into (oo).

⁶ The common change of (b) into (bh).

⁷ Bevvý, or Pevvy, is a short form of Barbara, a rather common name in the dialect. Both forms are used in the following specimen.—S.S.H. German Bábbe, Bábchen; compare the English Bab, Babbly.

⁸ *Doh* here, *fergonga* recently, an adverb, not for *vergangene Woche*.—S. S. H.

⁹ Observe the frequent change of the German *au*, indisputably (au, au) into English (aa), precisely as we find to have occurred in English of the xvii th century.

¹⁰ The not unfrequent changes of o long into (uu) are comparable to similar English changes xv th century.

¹¹ *Onna*, the preposition *an* used as a verb, as in the English expression, "he ups and runs." I take this view because *sind* is an auxiliary and a present tense form, but the adverbial tendency of *onna* (as if *thither*) must nevertheless not be overlooked. A German will sometimes use in English an expression like "*outen* the candle!" rarely heard in English.—S.S.H.

¹² Observe here a German plural termination *e* affixed to an English word.

¹³ *Ecke* being feminine, the correct form is *an der Ecke*, although *-eck* in composition is neuter, as *dreieck*, *viereck*.—S.S.H. In Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 1, 25, "*das Eck*, eigentlich *Egg*" is recognized as south German. In the following word *fun* for *von*, short *o* becomes (u) or (ü).

¹⁴ This change of German *a* to *o* is common, as in (shloof-*u*) for *schlafen*, (shoof-) for *schaf*, etc.—S.S.H. See note 5, and compare this with the change of ags. (*aa*) into South English (*oo*, *oo*), while (*aa*) remained in the North.

¹⁵ This frequent and difficult word has been translated *selbiges* throughout, as the nearest high German word, and *selly*, 9 lines above it, may, in fact, indicate this form. Compare Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 3, 232, "*Selb* [declinabel] in Schwaben öfter nach erster Declin.-Art (sel'er, e, es), in A. B. lieber nach zweiter [der, die, das (s'l, den s'ln, di s'ln), etc.] gebraucht, statt des hochd. *jener*, e, es, welches unvollständig ist. [Für *der*, *die*, *das selbe* im hochd. Sinn, d.h. *idem*, *eadem*, *idem*, braucht die Mundart *der die*, *das nemliche*.] (s'l'as mal, des s'l mal, s'l'malz) jenes Mel, (s'l'as tsait) zu jener zeit, (s'l'ot-halb'm) oder (-bhegg) des[jenigen] wegen."

¹⁶ *Saegt* = *sagt*, says, *secht* = *sägt*, instead of *sagte*, said, with the Umlaut.—S. S. H. The weak verb has therefore a strong inflection. This distinction is preserved throughout. Compare the common vulgar (and older?) forms *slep*, *swep*, with the usual *slept*, *wept*, and see *supra* p. 355, art. 54.

¹⁷ *Genunk*, with euduced *k*, is common in archaic and provincial German, and Rollenhagen rhymes *jung*, pronounced *junek* dialectically, with *trunk*.—S. S. H. See *supra* p. 192, n. 1.

¹⁸ (Pit) or (Piit) may be used for this short form of *Peter*.—S.S.H. It is the English *Pete*, not a German form as the vowel shews.

¹⁹ Observe the vowel euduced by the strong trill of the (r). For convenience (r) has been printed throughout, but the reader must remember that it is always distinctly, and sometimes forcibly, trilled with the tip of the tongue, and never sinks to (x).

²⁰ *Das wann*, that though, as though.—S. S. H. *Gookts das wann*, for *sieht es aus als ob*, it looks as if. See note 36.

²¹ Observe the German infinitive termination *-e* for *-en*, added to a purely English verb.

²² The development of *s* into (sh) is remarkable in high German. It is acknowledged as the proper pronunciation before *t*, *p* at the beginning of a syllable, throughout Germany, even North German actors not venturing to say (st-, sp-) even in Hamburg, as I am informed, the capital of that pronunciation. But in final *-st*, the common (*-st*) is looked upon as a vulgarism, even in Saxony.

²³ *Kærts*, may have an English *s*, but the form is often playfully used by good speakers in Germany, and hence may have been imported and not adopted.

²⁴ *Hinnich* for *hinter* has developed a final *-ig*, but this is a German addition.

²⁵ *Gedropt*, the German participial form for *dropped*. So also elsewhere I find *gepunished*, which may be compared with Chaucer's *ypunish'd*, *Prol.* v. 657.

²⁶ *Orrig*, very, Swiss *arig* (Stalder 1, 110), German *arg*, but not used in a bad sense.—S.S.H. The word *arg* implies cunning and annoyance, but its use as an intensive is comparable to our *horrid*, *awfully*, *dreadfully*, which are frequently used in a good sense, as: *horrid beautiful*, *awfully nice*, *dreadfully crowded*. *Das ist zu arg!* that is too bad, too much! is a common phrase even among educated Germans.

²⁷ *Aw* for German *an* is nasalised, which distinguishes it from the same syllable when used for the German *auch*, also.—S. S. H. This recent evolution of a nasal sound in German, common also in Bavarian, may lead us to understand the comparatively recent nasal vowels in French, *infra* Chap. VIII, § 3.

²⁸ The gender is changed because it refers to a man; so in high German it is not unfrequent to find *Fräulein*, *Mädchen*, although they have a neuter adjective, referred to by a feminine pronoun, as: "*das Fräulein hat ihren Handschuh fallen lassen*," the young lady [neuter] has dropped her [fem.] glove.

²⁹ In an earlier line *g'sea* for *geschen*, but here we have a double infinitive, as if *zu sehenen*. This is also used for the third person plural of the present

tense, as in *sie gehen-a*, they go.—S.S.H. Compare also *ich hab dich, wohl gesëyhne*, in the *Gespräch*, p. 654. This seems comparable to what Prof. Child calls the protracted past participle in Chaucer, *suprà* p. 357, art. 61. It is impossible to read the present specimen attentively without being struck by the similarity between this Pennsylvania German and Chaucer's English in the treatment of the final *-e*, *-en* of the older dialects. The form (sel·bhur) in the preceding line preserves the *b* in the form (bh). Schmeller also allows *selber* to preserve the *b* as (s'l'ba), see n. 15.

³⁰ *Das eam weist*, that shews him, that shews to one or a person.—S. S. H. *Eam*=*einem*, not *ihm*.

³¹ This *als* is Swiss, which Stalder defines by *ehedem* hitherto and *immer* always, compare ags. *eal-enge* altogether and *eal-wig* always.—S.S.H. See also Schmeller Bayr.-Wört. 1, 50. Dr. Mombert takes *als* to be an obsolete high German contraction of *alles* in the sense of ever, mostly, usually.

³² Prof. Haldeman takes *uf* for *auf*, but *der Meinung*, and not *auf der Meinung*, is the German phrase, and hence the word may be English, as afterwards, *uf course*. But this is hazardous, as *uf* in this sense could hardly be joined with a German dative *der Meinung*. Can *als uf* be a dialectic expression for *alles auf*, literally *all up*, that is, entirely? Compare, Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 1, 31, "*auf und auf*, von unten (ganz, ohne Unterbrechung) bis oben, *auf und nider* vom Kopf bis zum Fuss, ganz und gar."

³³ *Cheemany* is the English exclamation *Oh jeemany*.—S.S.H. The English is apparently a corruption of: *Oh Jesus mihi*, and has nothing to do with the *Gemini*. But what is the last part of this exclamation: *fires*? Prof. Haldeman, suggests, *hell fires*! Dr. Mombert derives from the shout of: *fire*! Can the near resemblance in sound between *cheemany* and *chimney*, have suggested the following *fires*? Such things happen.

³⁴ *For in de office ni du* seems to stand for *um in die office hinein zu thun*. The use of *for* for *um* is a mere Anglicism, but why is *zu* omitted before *thun*? By a misprint, or diallec-

tically for euphony? It is required both by the German and English idiom. Dr. Mombert considers the omission of *zu* dialectic in this place, elsewhere we find *zu do*.

³⁵ *Boll amohl, bald einmal*, pretty soon, shortly. This use of *einmal* once, appears in the English of Germans, as in: "Bring now here the pen once."—S.S.H.

³⁶ *Das*. This is not the neuter nominative article *das*, which is *des* in this dialect, but a contraction of *als dass*, with the most important part, *als*, omitted.—S.S.H. I am inclined to take it for *dass* used for *als*, as in the former phrase *das wann* = *als ob*, see note 20. According to Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 1, 400 "*dass* schliesst sich als allgemeinste conjunction, in der Rede des Volkes, gern andern conjunctionen erklärend an, oder vertritt deren Stelle."

³⁷ *Watch-ketta*, a half English, half German compound, is comparable to Chaucer's *footmantel*, half English and half French, in *Prol. infrà*, v. 472, and *suprà* p. 651, l. 6.

³⁸ This may be the English *any*, like the German *einig*, treated like *einiger*, or it may be a legitimate development of this, as *eins* is *eens*.—S.S.H. The latter hypothesis seems the more probable, and then the English signification may have been attached to the German word from similarity of sound. Dr. Mombert thinks the word may be either *any* treated as a German word, or *irgend einer* corrupted. Observe the frequent use of (ee) for (ai) as *eens* for *eins*. The transitions of (au) into (aa), (ai) into (ee), (aa) into (oo), and occasionally (o) in (u), are all noteworthy in connection with similar changes in English.

³⁹ *Meaner* for *mehr* is obscure. Compare Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 2, 581; "*manig*, Schwäb. *menig*, *meng*, a) wie hochd. manch . . . Comparativisch steht in Amberg. Akten v. 1365 "An ainem stuck oder an mengern." . . . Sonst hört man im b. W. wie in Schwaben einfacher den Comparativ *mener*, mehr, welcher eher aus (mee, me) als aus *menger* entstellt scheint; oder sollte es noch unmittelbar zum alten *mana*-gehören?"

F. W. GESENIUS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER.

Two German scholars, Professors Geseñius and Rapp, have published special studies on the language and pronunciation of Chaucer, of which it is now necessary to give an account. The following is a condensed abstract of the treatise entitled: *De Lingua Chauceri commentationem grammaticam scripsit Fridericus Guillelmus Geseñius, Bonnæ, 1847, 8vo. pp. 87.* The writer (who must not be confounded with the late Prof. Wilhelm Geseñius, of Halle, the celebrated Hebraist,) used Tyrwhitt's text of the Canterbury Tales, according to the 1843 reprint. In the present abstract Wright's spelling and references to his ed. of Harl. MS. 7334 (which have all been verified) are substituted, and much relating to the peculiarities of Tyrwhitt's text is omitted; inserted remarks are bracketed. Geseñius's ags. orthography has been retained.

PART I. THE LETTERS.

Chaucer seems to add or omit a final *e* at pleasure, both in ags. and fr. words, as was necessary to the metre; and he used fr. words either with the fr. accent on the last syllable or with the present English accent, for the same reason.

Chap. 1. Vowels derived from Anglo-Saxon.

Short vowels are followed by two consonants, or by either one or two in monosyllables, and long vowels have a single consonant followed by *e* final.

1. Ags. short *a* is preserved in: land 402, hand 401, bigan 5767, ran 4103, drank 6044, thanked 927; but fluctuates often between *a* and *o*, as: londes 14, hond 108, outsprong 13526, bygon 7142, nat 2247, drank 13970, i-thanked 7700 [in the three last cases, Tyrwhitt has *o*].

Short *a* answers to ags. *ā*, according to Grimm's separation *ā* = goth. *a*, and *æ* = gothic *ē*, as: what, that pron., ags. hvät pät; atte. ags. ät 29; glas 152, have ags. hābban, etc.

Short *a* also answers to ags. *æa*, as in: alle ags. ĕall 10, scharpe ags. scēarp 114, halle 372, barme 10945, starf 935, 4703, halpe [Tyrwhitt. *hēlp* Wright] 5340, karf 9647, hals 4493.

Long *a* is either a preserved ags. *a* long, or a produced ags. *a* short, as: make ags. macjan 4763, name, fare 7016, ham, ags. hām 4030. That this last word was pronounced differently to the others, which probably even then inclined to *ā* (*æe*), is shewn by its interchange with *home*, whereas *a* always remains in *make*, *name*, etc.

Long *a* also arises from ags. *ā* short, as: smāle ags. smāl 9, bar 620; fadur 100, blake 2980, this last vowel is sometimes short as 629.

Long *a* like short *a* also arises from ags. *ēa*, as: gaf. ags. gēaf 177, mary, ags. mēarh 382, jape ags. gēap 4341, ale 3820, gate 1895, care, etc.

II. Chaucer's *e* replaces several distinct ags. vowels.

Short *e* stands

for ags. *e* short, in: ende 15, wende 16, bedde, selle 3819, etc.

for ags. *i*, *y*, in: cherche (Wr. chirche), ags. circe 4987; selle ags. syl, threshold, 3820, rhyming with selle, ags. sylle; scheeld ags. scyld 2895, rhyming with heeld, ags. hēold, kesse ags. cyssan 8933; stenten, ags. stintan 906; geven, ags. gifan, gyfan 917, etc. These forms are only found when wanted for the rhyme, and *i* is the more common vowel.

for ags. *ēa*, *ed* in: erme, ags. ēarmjan 13727; erthe, ags. ēard, ēorðe 1898; ers, ags. ēars 7272; derne, ags. dēarn 3200, 3297; berd 272; est, ags. ēast 1905.

for ags. *ēo* in: sterres, ags. stēorra 270; cherles ags. cēorl, ger. kerl, 7788; yerne ags. gēorne, ger. gern. 6575; lerne, ags. lēornjan, 310; swerd 112, werk 481, derkest 4724; yelwē, ags. gēolu 677.

Long *e* stands

for ags. short *e* in: ere, ags. erjan 888; queen, ags. cven 870, etc.

for ags. long *e*, more frequently, in: seke, ags. sēcan 13; kene 104, grene 103, swete 5, mete 1902, wepyng 2831, deme 1883.

for ags. *ae* long: heres, ags. haer 557; breede, 1972; lere, ags. laeran 6491; see 59, ycer 82, reed 3527, slepen 10, clene 369, speche 309, strete 3823, etc.

for ags. *eo* as in: seke, ags. sēc 18, as well as: sike, ags. sioca 245, these diphthongs *eo*, *io*, had probably a similar pronunciation and are hence frequently confused, so *hēofon*, *hiofon*; and *tēōð*, *liōð*; scheene, ags. scēōnē, beautiful, 1070; leef 1839, theef 3937; tene, ags. tēōna, grief, 3108; deepe 129, chese 6480, tree 9337, tre 6341, prestes 164, prest 503, etc.

for ags. *ea* and *ed* in: eek 5, gret 84, beteth 11078, neede 306, reede 1971, bene 9728, chepe 5850, deef 448, stremes 1497, teeres 2829, eet 13925, mere 544.

Nothing certain can be concluded concerning the pronunciation of these *e*'s, which arose from so many sources. They all rhyme, and may have been the same. In modern spelling the *e* is now doubled, or more frequently reverts to *ea*.

III. The vowel *i* has generally remained unchanged at all periods of the language. Mention has already been made of its interchange with *e* where the ags. *y* was the mutate of *u* or *eo*, *io*, thus: fīst 6217, fēst 14217, ags. fyst; mylle 4113, melle 3921, ags. myll; fel 5090, fille 10883, ags. fēol; develes 7276, devyl 3901 [*diuel* Tyrwhitt, *deuel* Heng. and Corp.], ags. dioful. The *i* generally replaces ags. *y*, and *e* replaces ags. *eo*. Long *i* similarly replaces long ags. *y*, as occasionally in ags. Short ags. *i* seems to have been lengthened before *lā*, *nd*, [no reasons are adduced,] as in: wylde 2311, chylde 2312, fynde 2415, bynde 2416. Undoubtedly this long *i* was then pronounced as now, namely as German *ei* (ai). [Pronunciatio longæ vocalis *i* sine dubio iam id ætatis eadem fuit quam nunc, id est *ei*.] In the contracted forms *fint*, *grint* for *findeth*, *grindeth*, there was therefore a change of vowel, *fint* having the German short *i*, and *findeth* German *ei*. [No reasons adduced.]

IV. Short *o* stands

for ags. short *o* in: wolde 651, god 1254.

for ags. short *u*: somer ags. sumer 396; wonne ags. wunnen 51; nonne 118, sonne 7, domb 776, dong 532, sondry, ags. sunder, 14, 25. Nearly

all these words are now written with *u*, and preserve Chaucer's pronunciation, for *summer* is written, but *sommer* spoken [*i.e.* Gesenius did not distinguish the sounds (*u*, *o*).]

for ags. short *a*, as already observed, and *o* is generally preferred before *nd*, and remains in Scotch and some northern dialects.

Long *o* stands

for ags. long *o* in: bookes, ags. bōc, 1200; stooden 8981, stood 5435, took 4430, foot 10219, sone 5023, sothely 117, etc.

for ags. long *a* in: wo, ags. vā 8015, moo 111, owne, ags. āgen 338, homly 7425, on 31, goost 205, hoote 396, ooth 120, loth 488. In such words *a* is uncommon, the sole example noted being *ham* 4030. Both *o*'s rhyme together and were therefore pronounced alike. At present the first is *u* and the second *o*.

for ags. short *u* in: sone 79; wone, ags. vunjan 337, groneth 7411.

V. Short *u* stands for ags. short *u* in: ful, ags. full 90, lust 192, but 142, cursyng 663, uppon 700, suster 873, *shulde* probably arose from some form *seulde*, not *seōlde*, as we have no other instance of ags. *eo* becoming short *u*. There is no long *u* in Chaucer.

VI. The vowel *y* is occasionally put for *i*.

VII. The diphthong *ay* or *ai* stands for ags. *āg* in: day, ags. dag 19, weie 793, lay 20, mayde 69, sayde 70, faire 94, tayl 3876, nayles 2143, pleye 236, reyn 592, i-freynd, ags. frāgnan 12361. These examples shew that *ey* was occasionally written for *ay*, and hence that *ey*, *ay* must have been pronounced alike.

VIII. The diphthong *ey* or *ei* arose from ags. *ed* as in: agein, ags. ageān 8642, or from *edg* as: eyen, ags. eāge 152, deye, ags. deāgan 6802, [*mori*, is there such a word in ags.? it is not in Bosworth or Ettmüller; Ormin has *degein*, suprā p. 284. There is a *deagan* tingere.] The change in these two last words may be conceived thus: first *g* is added to *ei*, then replaced by *j* (*ɟ*) and finally vanishes, as *eige*, *eiɟ*, *eie* or *eye*. From *eah* comes *eigh*, as *ēah̥ta*, *hēah̥*, *nēah̥*, *sleah̥*, which give *eyght*, *heygh*, *neygh*, *sleygh*. This orthography is however rare, and *highe*, *nighe*, *slighe*, or *hie nie slie*, without *gh*, which was probably not pronounced at that time, are more common. The

word *eight* explains the origin of *night*, *might*, etc., from ags. *neah̄t*, *mēah̄t*, which were probably first written *neight*, *meight*, and then dropped the *i*. [There is no historical ground for this supposition.]

IX. The diphthong *ou*, or *ow* at the end of words or before *e*, answers to ags. long *u* (as the German *au* to medieval German *û*), in: *bour*, ags. *bûr* 15153, *oure* 34, *schowres* 1, *toun*, ags. *tûn* 217; *rouned*, ags. *rûn* 7132, *doun*, ags. *dûn* 954; *hous* 252, *oule* 6663, *bouk*, ags. *bûce*, Germ. *bauch*, 2748, *souked* 8326, *brouke*, ags. *briucan*, use, 10182, etc. In many of these words *ow* is now written.

Before *ld* and *nd*, *ou* stands sometimes for ags. short *u*. Before *gh*, *ou* arises from ags. long *o*, and answers to middle German *uo*, as: *inough*, ags. *genôg*, mhg. *genuoc* 375; *rought*, ags. *rôhte* 8561, 3770, for which *au* is sometimes found, compare *sale* 4185, *sowle* 4261.

Finally *ou* sometimes arises from ags. *éov*, as in: *fourre*, ags. *fēöver* 210; *trounthe*, ags. *trëövth*, 46, etc.

X. The diphthong *eu*, *ew*, will be treated under *w*.

Chap. 2. Consonants derived from Anglosaxon.

I. Liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*.

L is usually single at the end of words, though often doubled, as it is medially between a short and any vowel, but between a long vowel and a consonant it remains single.

The metathesis of *R* which occurs euphonically in ags., is only found in: *briddes* 2931, 10925; *thrid* 2273, *threttene* 7841, *thrittity* 14437; *thurgh* 2619. But as these words have regained their primitive forms *bird*, *third*, *through*, we perceive that the metathesis was accidental. In other words the transposed ags. form disappears in Chaucer, thus: gothic *rinnan*, ags. *irnan*, Chaucer *renne* 3888; frankic *drëscan*, ags. *þërscan*, Ch. *threisshe* 538, *threissfold* 3482 ags. *þrëscvold*, *þërscvold*; frank. *prëstan*, ags. *þërstan*, Ch. *berst* [Harleian and Lansdowne *bresten* Ellesmere and Hengwurt, and Corpus, *brestyn* Cambridge,] 1982; goth. *brinman*, ags. *birnan*, Ch. *bren* 2333; modern *run*, [urn in Devonshire], *thrash*, but *burn burst*.

II. Labials *b*, *p*, *f*, *w*.

B is added euphonically to final *m* in

lamb 4879, but not always, as *lymes* 4881, now *limbs*.

P is used for *b* in *nemphen* 4927.

F, which between two vowels was *v* in ags., is lost in *heed* 109, ags. *hedfod*, *hedvod*. There seems to be a similar elision of *f* from ags. *efenford* in *enforce* 2237 [enforth Ellesmere, Hengwrt, Corpus, *enforte* Cambridge, *honsforth* Petworth, *enforþe* Lansdowne], compare *han* for *haven* 754, 1048, etc. *F* is generally final, as: *wif* 447, *lyf* 2259, *gaf* 1902, *haf* 2430, *stryf* 1836 *knif* 3958, more rarely medial, [the instances cited have final *f* in Wright], where it is generally replaced by *v*, not found ags., as: *wye* 1862, *lyves* 1720, *geven* 917, *heven* 2441, *steven*, ags. *stëfen* 10464; *havenes* 409.

V is never used finally, but is replaced by *w*, followed sometimes by *e*, as: *sawgh* 2019, *draw* 2549, now 2266, *sowe* 2021, *lowe* 2025, *knew* 2070, *bliew* 10093, *fewe* 2107, *newe* 17291, *trewe* 17292. In the middle of a word *uo*, *ow* are replaced by *au*, *ou*, but before *e*, *w* is retained, as: *howwe* 3909, *schowwe* 3910.

W arises from ags. *g*, as in: *lawe*, ags. *lagu* 311; *dawes*, ags. *däg*, 11492, and as *day* is more common for the last, we also find *lay* for the first, 4796. Compare also *fawe* ags. *faegen* 5802 rhyming with *larve*, i-slave 945, for *fain*, *slain*. *W* also replaces *g* in: *sawe* 1528, 6241, *mawe* 4906, *wawes* 1960, *sorw* 10736, *morwe* 2493, *borwe* 10910, *herberw* 4143, *herbergh* 767, 11347.

III. Linguals *d*, *t*, *th*, *s*.

The rule of doubling medial consonants is neglected if *D* stands for ags. *ð*, as: *thider* 4564, *whider* 6968, *gader*, *togeder*, etc., in the preterits *dide* 3421, 7073, 8739, and *hade* 556, 619, [Ellesmere and a few MSS. where it seems to have been an accommodation to the rhymes *spade*, *blade*.] Similarly i-written 161, i-write 5086, although the vowel was short in ags. [It is lengthened by Bullokar in the xvith century. p. 114, l. 7.] Perhaps *litel* has a long *i* in Chaucer's time, see 87, 5254.

S final is often single, as: *blis* 4842, *glas* 152, *amys* 17210.)

The termination *es* in some adverbs is now *ce*, as: *cones* 3470, *twyes* 4346, *thries* 63, *hennes* hens 10972, 14102, *henen* 4031 [in Tyrwhitt, *heythen* Ellesmere, *heithen* Corpus, no corresponding word in Harleian], *henne*

2358; thennes 5463, 4930, thenne 6723; whennes 12175.

The aspirate *TH* had a double character þ ð in ags., and a double sound, which probably prevailed in Chaucer's time, although scarcely recognized in writing. That *th* was used in both senses we see from: breeth, ags. bræð 5; heeth, ags. hæð 6; fetheres, ags. feðer 107; forth, ags. forð 976; walketh 1054, etc.; that, ags. þæt 10—; thor 43, thanked 927. The use of medial and final *d* for *th* are traces of ð, as: mayde, ags. mægd 69; quod, ags. evað 909; wheder ags. hvæðre 4714 [whether, Wright]; cowde ags. euð 94; whether and coupe are also found. Again, we also find [in some MSS.] the ags. *d* replaced by *th*, in: father 7937, gather 1055, wether, 10366, mother 5433, [in all these cases Wright's edition has *d*]. But *t* on the other hand is never put for ags. þ.

The relation of *th*, *s*, is shewn by their flexional interchange in *-eth*, *-es*.

The elision of *th* gives *wher* 7032, 10892.

IV. Gutturals, *c*, *k*, *ch*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *q*, *x*.

K is used before *e*, *i*, and *c* before *a*, *o*, *u*, hence *kerver* 1801, *kerveth* 1722, but: *carf* 100. Medial ags. *cc* becomes *ck* or *kk*, as *nekke*, ags. *hnecca* 238; *thikke*, ags. *picca* 551; *lakketh* 2282, *lokkes* 679. Modern *ck* after a short vowel is sometimes *k*, as: *seke* 18, *blake* 2980.

Grimm lays down the rule that *c*, *k* fall into *ck* before *e*, *i* except when these vowels are the mutates of *a*, *o*, *u*, in which cases *k* remains, (Gram. 1², 515.) *ech* has arisen from ags. *cc* in the same way as *kk*, as: *wreche*, ags. *vraecce* 11332 *fecche*, ags. *fēcēan* 6942; *cacche* Mel., *streccho*, *reeche*, etc. Probably the pronunciation was as the present *ech*.

K was ejected from *made*, though the form *naked* remains 2526. In *reule* 173, if it is not derived from the French, the *g* of ags. *regul*, *regol*, has been ejected.

G was probably always hard, and so may have been *gg*, in: *brigge*, ags. *bryeg* 3920; *eggung* ags. *eeg*, 10009; *hegge*, ags. *heeg* 16704. From this certainly did not much differ that *gg* which both in Chaucer and afterwards passed into *i*, as: *ligge*, *lye* ags. *leegan*, 2207; *legge*, ags. *leggan*, 3935; *abegge*, *abeye*, ags. *byegan* 3936.

The *g* and *y* were often interchanged, as give yeve, forgete, forgate, gate yate, ayen agen, etc. The *y* replaced guttural *g* [due to editor] as in: yere, yonge, yerne, ey; and also in words and adjectives where *y* arises from *ig*, as: peny, very, mery, etc., and in the prefix *y* or *i* for ags. *ge*, as: ylike, ynough, ywis, ymade, yslain, ywriten, ysene, ysowe 5653. And *g* we have seen is also interchanged with *w*.

The hard sound of ags. *h* is evident from the change of *nicht*, *leoht*, *fliht*, *vihht*, etc., into *night*, *light*, *flight*, *wight*, etc.

Ags. *se* had always changed into *sh*, German *sch*. In some words *ssh* replaces *sh* as: *fresshe*, ags. *fröse* 90, *wessch* 2285, *wissch* 4873, *asshy* 2885. There is also the metathesis *es* or *æ* for *se* in *axe*.

Chap. 3. Vowel mutation, apocope, and junction of the negative particle.

I. There is no proper vowel mutation (*umlaut*), but both the non-mutate and mutate forms, and sometimes one or the other, are occasionally preserved, as: *sote* 1, *swete* 5; *grove* 1637, *greves* 1497, 1643 to rhyme with *leves*; *welken* 9000, ags. *wolcen*, Germ. *wolke*; the comparatives and superlatives, *lenger*, *strenger*, *werst*, and plurals, *men*, *feet*, *gees*.

II. Apocope; *lite*, *fro*, *mo*, *tho* = *than*.

III. Negative junction; before a vowel: *non* = *ne on*, *nother*, *neithir* = *ne other*, *ne either*, *nis* = *ne is*, *nam* = *ne am*; before *h* or *w*: *nad* = *ne had*, 10212, *nath* = *no hath* 925, *nil* = *ne will* 8522, *molde* = *ne wolde* 552, *nere* = *ne were* 877, *not* = *ne wot* 286, *nysten* = *ne wysten* 10948.

Chap. 4. Vowels derived from the French.

French words with unaltered spelling were probably introduced by Chaucer himself, and the others had been previously received and changed by popular use.

I. The vowel *a* in unaccented syllables had probably even then approximated to *e*, and hence these two vowels are often confounded. Thus Chaucer's *a* replaces fr. *e*, *ai*, and again Ch. *e* replaces fr. *a*, thus: *vasselage* [see *vasselage*, p. 642, col. 2, and *vasseillage*, p. 645], fr. *vasselage* 3056, *vilanye* [see *villany*, p. 642, col. 2, and *courtesy*, p. 644, col. 1], fr. *vilenie*, *vilaime*,

728; *compaigne*, fr. *compaignie* 4554, *chesteyn* [*chasteyn*, *chestayn*, in MSS., see p. 642.] fr. *chastaigne* 2924.

With the interchange of the ags. vowels *a*, *o*, we may compare the change of fr. *a*, *au*, the latter having probably a rough sound as of *ao* united, which took place before *nc*, *ns*, *ng*, *nd*, *nt* in both languages, but *au* was more frequent in Chaucer and *a* in French, as: grevance 11253, grevaunce 15999, and other *ance* and *ant* terminations, also: romauns, fr. *romance* 15305; *enhausen*, fr. *enhanser* 1436; *straunge* fr. *ostrange* 10590, 10403, 10381; *demaundes*, fr. *demande* 8224; *launde* fr. *lande*, uncultivated district, 1693, 1698; *tyraunt*, fr. *tirant* 9863, *tyrant* 15589; *graunted* 6478, 6595; *haunt* fr. *hante* 449. With the exception of the last word all these have now *a*.

II. Long *e* frequently arises from French *ai*, as in: *plaisaunce*, fr. *plaisance* 2487; *apese*, fr. *apaisier* 8309; *freelte*, fr. *frailete*; *peere*, fr. *paire* 15540. Sometimes it replaces *ie*, as: *nece*, fr. *niez* 14511; *sege* 939, *siege* 56; and the *e* is even short in: *cherte*, fr. *chiereté* 11193. Similarly fr. *i* is omitted in the infinitive termination *ier*, compare *arace*, *ercance*, *darreine*, *auter*, etc., in the list of obsolete fr. words.

Long *e* also replaces fr. *eu* in: *peple* 2662 [the word is omitted in Harl., other MSS. have *peple*, *poepel*, *puple*], *mebles* [*moebilis* Harl.] 9188. To this we should refer: *reproef* 5598, *ypreued* [*proved* Harl., *procued* Hengwrt] 487.

III. That the pronunciation of *i* fluctuated between *i* and *e* we see by the frequent interchange of these letters; the fr. shews *e* for lt. *i*, as: *devine* 122, *divyn* 15543, *divide* 15676, *divided* 15720 [Tyr. has *devide* in the first case], *enformed* 10649, fr. *informer*, *enformer*; *defame* 8416, *difame* 8606; *surquidrie* *surquedrie*, *chivachee* *chevachie*, see obsolete fr. words below.

IV. Chaucer frequently writes *o* for fr. *ou* in accented syllables, as: *coverchofes* [most MSS., *Keverchefs* Harl.] fr. *couvrechief* 455; *corone*, fr. *couronne* 2292; *bocler*, fr. *boucler* 4017; *governance*, fr. *gouvernance* 10625; *sovereyn*, fr. *souverain* 67. More rarely Ch. *u*=fr. *ou*, as: *turne* [most MSS., *tourne* Harl.] fr. *tourner* 2456; *curteye*, fr. *courtoisie* 15982.

V. Fr. *o* is often replaced by Ch. *u*,

as: *turment* [*torment* Harl.], fr. *tormente* 5265; *abundauntly*, fr. *habondant* 5290; *purveans*, fr. *porveance*, *pourveance* 1667; in *assuage* 11147, fr. *assoager*, *assouager*, the *u* had certainly the sound of *u*, compare *aswage* 16130.

For long *u* we occasionally find *ew*, which was certainly pronounced as in the present *few*, *dew*, thus: *salowith* [Harl. and the six MSS. read *salueth*] 1494, *transmewed* [*translated* Harl., *transmeeyd* Univ. Cam. Dd. 4. 24] 826 *mewe*, fr. *mue* 351 [*muve* Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS.] *jewishe*, fr. *juise* [*juwyse* Harl. and most MSS., *iwes* Petworth, *iuyse* Lansd.] 1741.

VI. The vowels *y* and *i* are interchanged in fr. as in ags. words.

VII. The fr. diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, usually appear as *ei* in Chaucer, and must have been pronounced identically, as: *seynte*, fr. *saint* 511; *doseyn*, fr. *dosaine* 580; *chesteyn*, fr. *chastaigne* 2924; *peyneth*, fr. *painer*, *peiner* 4740; *coveitous*, fr. *covoiteux*, Mel. These diphthongs interchange in Ch. as well as in fr. [different MSS. differ so much that Gesenius's references to Tyrwhitt's edition on this point are worthless]. For the interchange of *a* and *ai* see I.

VIII. When the diphthong *ou* arose from fr. *o*, it was perhaps pronounced as long *o*. This is very probable in those words which now contain *o* or *u*, in place of the diphthong, but less so in those which have preserved *ou*; as these had even then perhaps the sound of German *au*. Ex. *noumbre* 5607; *faound*, fr. *faconde* 13465, *soun*, fr. *son* 2434; *abounde* fr. *habonder* 16234. [The other examples have *o* in Wright's ed., or like *flour* 4 are not to the point; the above are now all nasal *on*.]

Chap. 5. Consonants derived from the French.

The doubling of final consonants is frequently neglected.

I. Liquids.

[The examples of doubling *l*, *r*, are so different in Wright's ed. that they cannot be cited.]

P inserted: *dampned* 5530, *dampnacioun* 6649; *sompne* 6929 = *someone* 7159, *sompnour* 6909, *solempne* 209. This *p* is also often found in old fr. Similarly in Provençal *dampna*, *sompnar*, Diez. Gram. 1, 190 (ed. 1.).

II. Labials.

P for *b*; gipser, fr. gibecier 359; capul, fr. cabal 7732. The letter *v*, which was adopted from the romance languages into English, had no doubt the same sound as at present, that is, it was the German *w*, and the *w* was the German *u*. [That is, Ges. confuses (*v*, *w*) with (*bl*, *u*) in common with most Germans.]

As in ags. *g* passes into German *w*, so in fr. words initial *w* becomes *g* or *gu*. Whether this change was made in English by the analogy of the ags. elements or from some other dialect of old fr., in which probably both forms were in use, it is difficult to determine. The following are examples: wicket, fr. guichet 10026; awayt, fr. aguet 7239; wardrobe, fr. garderobe 14983. To these appear to belong *warice* and *wastear*, though they may derive from the frankic *warjan* *wastan*.

III. Linguals.

Z is an additional letter, but is seldom used, as *lazer* 242. Ch. generally writes *s* for *z*.

IV. Gutturals.

C before *e*, *i* was probably *s* as now. Fr. *gn* now pronounced as German *ni*, (*ni*) is reduced to *n* in Ch., as Coloyne 468, feyne 738, barreine, essoine, oinement. *G* was doubled after short vowels in imitation of ags.

The aspirate *h*, which seems to have come from external sources into English, and was scarcely heard in speech, was acknowledged by Ch., but has now disappeared, as: abhominaciouns 4508. In *proheme* 7919, the *h* seems only inserted as a dieresis.

Fr. *qu* before *e* and *i* is often changed into *k*, as: phisik 913, magik 418, practike 5769, eliket 10025.

Chap. 6. *Aphæresis of unaccented French e, a.*

Initial *e* is frequently omitted before *st*, *sp*, *sc*, as: stabled, fr. établir 2997; spices, fr. espece 3015; specially 14, squyer, fr. escuyer 79, scoler, fr. escolier 262; straunge, fr. estrange 13. Similarly *a*, *e*, are rejected in other words where they are now received, as: potecary 14267, compare Italian *bottega* a shop; prentis 14711, pistil 9030, compare Italian *pistola*, *chiesa*. The initial *a* in *avysoun* 16600, has been subsequently rejected.

PART II. FLEXION.

Chap. 1. *On Nouns.*

Chap. 2. *On Adjectives.*

Chap. 3. *On Pronouns & Numerals.*

Chap. 4. *On Verbs.*

Appendix.

I. *Obsolete Chaucerian words of Anglosaxon origin.*

[All Gesenius's words are inserted, though some of them are still in frequent use, at least provincially, or have been recently revived. To all such words I have prefixed †. The italic word is Chaucer's, the roman word is ags., meanings and observations are in brackets. Gesenius seems to have simply extracted this list from Tyrwhitt's Glossary without verification, as he has occasionally given a reference as if to Cant. Tales, which belongs to Rom. of Rose. The Mel. and Pers. T. refer to the tales of Melibeus and the Persoun, without any precise indication, as editions differ so much.]

abegge abyegan [abide] 3936, *abeye* 13515, *abye* 12622 *agrise* agrisan [frighten] 5034, *algates* algate algæts [in any case] 573, 7619, *anhang* anhangian [hang on] 13690, *attry* atterly atter atterlic Persons Tale [poisonous], *awreke* awrekan [wreak] 10768.

bale [p. 379], *barme* bæarn [lap] 10945, *bedred* bedreddra [bedridden] 7351, 9168; *biknowe* becnavan [confess] 5306, *blyvne* blinnan [cease] 13099, *blyve* [quickly, suprâ p. 380, col. 2], *borwe* [suprâ p. 380, col. 2; where for loan read security], *bouk* būce [belly] 2748, *byleve* frank. pilipan, germ. bleiben, [remain] 10897.

† *chaffare* cēap + faran? germ. kauf-fahren [chaffer, bargain] 4558, *clope* clypjan [call] 3432, [name] 121, etc., *colde* [to turn cold] 5299, † *cop* cop [top] 556, *daf* dofjan [daft] 4206, *dere* derjan [hurt] 1824, 10554, *derne* dēarn dym [hidden p. 382] 3278, 3297, *dighen* dihtan [dispose] 6349, 16015, † *domesman* [judge] 15976.

eft äft eft [again] 1671, 5212, *eftsones* [soon again] 6390, *eftsoone* 16082, † *eeke* ēac [eke] 5, † *elde* yldo eldo [old age] 6797, *emforth* [suprâ p. 666, col. 2, l. 8.], † *ere* erjan [to plough] 888, *erne* ēarmjan [to pity] 13727, *ers*, ēars ärs [arse] 3732, 7276.

fefe fēla fēola [many] 8793, *feve* [companionship, suprâ p. 383], † *fitt* fitt [song] 15296, † *fleme* aflyman [drive away] 17114, *fla* floga? [arrow] 17196,

fonge fangan [take] 4797, *forpine pinan* [waste away] 265, *forward forevæard* [promise] 831, 850, 854, 4460, *freynge gefrēgnan* [ask] 12361, *fremde fremed* [strange] 10743.

gale galan [yell] 6414, 6918, *†gar gearvan* [make; the word is *get* in Harl., Heng., Corp., *gar* in Tyrwhitt] 4130, *girden gærd gyrd* [cut off] 16032, *gleede glêd* [heat] 3379, *gnide gnidan* [so Tyr., *girdyng* Harl., *gig-gynge Elles*, Cam., *gyggynge* Heng., *gydyng* Corp., *gideing* Lans., *sigyng* Pet.] 2604, *grame grama*, ger. gram [grief] 13331, *greyth hraðjan* [prepare] 4307, *graithe* 16080.

hals hēals [neck] 4493, *halse hēals-jan* [embrace] 15056, [heende frank. pihandi, germ. behende [swift? courteous, suprā p. 385] 3199, 6868, *hente gehentan* [to take] 700, *hent* 7082, *herde hīrdē* [shepherd] 605, 12120, *herie herjan* [praise] 5292, 8492, *heste haes* [command] 14055, *byheste* 4461, *heete* [promised] 2400, *hete* 4754, *†hight* [call] 1015, *†hie higan*, on *hye* [in haste] 2981, in *hyghe* [in haste] 4629. *hine hina* [hind p. 385] 605, *†holt* holt, germ. holz [wood] 6.

jape gēap [joke] 707, 4341, 13240, [to joke] 15104.

kithe cyðan [announce] 7191, *keked* germ. gucken [Corp., *loked* Harl., *liked* Heng.] 3445, *latered* [delayed] Pers. Tale, *†leche laece* 3902, *lydne lyden* [language] 10749, *leemes lēoma* [ray: *beemes* Harl.] 16416, *lere laeran* [teach] 6491, 10002, *levene* [lightning] ligē? more probably than, *hlifjan* 5858, *†leved* laevd leaved [ignorant] 6923, 7590, *lissed lysan* [loosed] 11482, [re-mission] 11550, *lith lið* [limb] 16361, *litherly lyðr lāð* [bad], ger. *liederlich*, 3299.

make maga mæg, [husband] 5667, [wife] 9698, [match] 2553.

nempen nemnan nemjan [name] 4927, *note notu* [business] 4066.

oned [united] 7550.

†pan panne [brainpan, skull] 15438.

rathe hrað hrāð [quick] 14510,

†racche rêcan [reck, care] 2247, 4514,

reed ried [advice] 3527, [to advise]

3073, *reyee goth. urraisjan* [travel] 54,

rys arisan, germ. *reisholz* [twig] 3324,

roune rûn 7132, *rowne* 10530, *rode*

rûde [ruddiness, face] 3317, 15138.

†saue sagu [saying] 1528, *scharwe*

scuva scua [shade, grove] 4365, 6968,

shymeryng sciman scimjan, ger. *schim-*

morn, [Heng., *glymeryng* Harl.] 4295,

scheene seïne scēonē scōne, ger. *schön* [beautiful] 1070, 10202, *†schepen* scypen, ger. *schoppen* [stable] 6453, *schonde scēonde* [disgrace] 15316, *†sibbe sib* [relation] Mel., *sikurly* frank. *sihhur*, germ. *sicher* 137, *secur* [ib.] 9582, *sithe sið* [times] 5575, 5153, *sithen sith sin siððan* 4478, 1817, *seth* 5234, *schenehith scēncan* [pour out wine] 9596, *smythe smiðan* [forge] 3760, *sonde sand* [message, messenger] 4808, 14630, *†sparre sparran* [spar] 992, *starf sterf* [died] 935, 4703, *steven stēfen* [voice] 10464, *stounde stund* [space of time] 3990, *†streen strēonān* [parents] 8033, *swelte svēltan* [die] 3703, *swelde* 1358, *swoven svēfen* [dream] 16408, etc., *swithe svið* [quickly] 5057.

†tene tēona [loss] 3108, *thewes þeāv* [morals] 8235, *tholid þōljan* [suffer] 7128, *†threpe þreapjan* [blame] 12754, *twynne tvīnjan tvēonjan* [doubt, separate] 837, 13845.

unethe cāðe [uneasily] 3123, *unhele umhaelu* [affliction] 13531, *unright unriht* [injury] 6675.

wanhope vanjan + hōpa [despair] 1251, *welkid vlacjan*? frank. *welchōn*, germ. *verwelkt* [withered] 14153, *†welken volcen* 9000, [Harl. reads *heven* 16217, Tyr. *welken*], *†wende* [went] 21, *whil er* [shortly, just now] 13256, *†whilom hvīlum*, ger. *weiland* 861, *wisse visan* [show] 6590, *wone vunjan* [dwell] 337, *†wood vōd* [mad] 1331, *woodith* [rage] 12395.

yerne gēorne 6575, *†yede ēode* [went] 13069, *ywys gewis* [certainly] 6040.

II. Obsolete Chaucerian words of French origin.

[The italic word is Chaucer's, the roman the old French as given by Gesenius on the authority of Roquefort; when this is not added the word was unchanged by Chaucer. Meanings and remarks are in brackets. This list again contains many words not really obsolete, here marked with †.]

agregge agregrer [aggravate] Mel., *amoneste* [admonish] Mel., *anientissed* *anientir* [annihilated] Mel., *arace arachier* [fear] 8979, *†array*, [order] 8138, [state, condition] 718, 8841, 4719, [dress] 8860, [escort] 8321, [to put in order] 8837, *arette arester* [accuse, impute] 726 [Harl., Corp., Pet., Lans., have *ret*, *rette*, the others *na-rette*], 2731, *†assoile* [solve, absolve] 9528, *attempre attemprer* 16324, Mel.,

avaunte *avanter* [beast] 5985, *avauntour* [boaster] Mel., *avoutrie* [adultery] 6888, *advoutrie* 9309, *auter* *autier* 2294, *awayt* *aguet* [watch] 7241, 16211, *ayel* *aiel* [grandfather] [*ayel* Harl., *ayell* Corp., *Ians.*, *aiel* Elles, Heng. Cam., *eile* Pet.] 2479.

†*bareigne* *baraigne* [barren] 8324, *bareyn* 1979, †*baudery* *bauderie* [joy] 1928, †*benesoun* *beneison* 9239, *blandise* *blandir* Pers. T., *bobaunce* *boubance* 6151, *borol* *burel* [rough dark dress] 5938, [rough] 11028, *bribe* [broken meat after a meal] 6960, [bcg] 4415, *burned* *burnir* 1985.

cantel [fragment] 3010, †*catel* *catels* [goods] 542, 4447, †*charboole* [carbuncle] 15279, *chesteyn* *chastaigne* [chestnut] 2924, *chirachie* *chevanchee* [cavalry expedition] 85, *chivache* 16982, *clergeoun* *clergeon* [acolyte] 14914, *corruptable* [corruptible] 3012, *costage* [cost] 5831, *covine* [practice, cunning] 606, *couppe* [fault] Pers. T., *custumance* [custom] 15997, *creaunce* *creancier* [act on credit] 14700, 14714.

dereyne *derainier* [prove justness of claim] 1611, 1633, *delyver* *delivre* [quick] 84, †*disarray* *desarray* [confusion] Pers. T., *disputisoun* *disputison* [dispute] 11202, *dole* *dol* [grief, no reference given, 438], *drewery* *druerie* [fidelity] 15303.

egrimoine *agrimoine* [agrimony] 12728, *enchesoun* *enchaion* [cause] 10770, *engendrure* [generation] 5716, *engregge* *engreger* [aggravate] Pers. T., *enhorter* *enhorter* [exhort] 2853, *tentent* [intention] 3173, †*eschue* *eschuir* [avoid] Mel., *essoine* *essoigne* [excuse] Pers. T., *estres* [situation, plan of house] 1973, 4293.

faiteur *faiteor* [idle fellow, no reference], *false* *falsen* [to falsify] 3175, †*fey* *féc* [faith] 3284, †*fers* [fierce] 1600, *fetys* [beautiful] 157, *faince* *fiance* [trust, false reference, 6167] *fortune* *fortuner* [render prosperous] 419.

garget *gargate* [neck] 16821, †*gent* [gentle] 3234, *gyn* *engin* [trick] 10442, 13093, *giterne* *gisterne* *guiterne* [guitar] 3333, 4394, *gonfeson* [standard 6-62, *gowifaucoun* 6-37].

†*harie* *harier* [persecute] 2728 [rent Wr., *haried*, the Six MSS.], *herburgage* [dwelling] 4327, *humblese* [humbleness] 4585.

jambeux [leggings] 15283, *jangle* *jangler* [to jest] 10534, [a jest] 6983,

juoise *juise* [judgment] 1741, *irous* *ireux* [angry] 7598.

lachesse [negligence] Pers. T., *letuaries* [electuaries] 428, 9683, *letterure* *lettreure* [literature] 15982, 12774, *loos* *los* [praise, good fame] 13296, Mel., *losengour* [flatterer] 16812.

Mahoun *Mahon* [Mahomet] 4644, †*maistrie* [master's skill] 3383, [mastery] 6622, 9048, †*malison* *maleicéon* [malediction] Pers. T., †*manace* *manacher* [menace] 9626, *maat* *mat* [sad] 957, *matrimoine* [matrimony] 9447, *maumet* *mahommet* [idol] Pers. T., *merciable* [merciful] 15099, *mesel* [leper] Pers. T., *meselrie* [leprosy] Pers. T., †*meuce* *mue* [place for keeping birds] 351, 10957, *mester* [mystery, business, trade] 615, 1342 [except in Harl., which reads *cheer*.]

nakers *nacaires* [kettledrums] 2513, *nyce* [foolish] 6520, *nycete* 4044.

†*toynement* *oignement* 633, *olifaunt* *olifant* [elephant] 15219, *opye* [opium] 1474.

†*palmer* *palmier* 13, *parage* [parentage] 5832, *parficht* *parfyt* *parit* [perfect] 72, 3011, *parte* *parter* [take part in] 9504, †*penance* [penitence] Pers. T., [penance] 223, [affliction] 5224, 11052, *penant* [penitent] 15420, *poaille* [poor people] 247, *prow* *prou* [profit] 13715, †*purveance* *pourveancé* [providence, forethought] 1254, 6152, 3566, *puterie* [whoredom] Pers. T., *putour* [whoremonger] Pers. T.

rage *ragier* [sport] 3273, *real* [royal] 15630, *rially* [royally] 380, *reneye* *renéier* [renounce] 4760, 4796, *repeire* [return] 10903, *respite* 11886, †*route* [crowd] ger. *rotte*, 624.

†*solas* [joy, pleasure] 800, 3654, *sourde* *sourdre* [to rise] Pers. T., *surquedrie* [presumption] Pers. T.

talent [inclination, desire] 5557, Pers. T. *tester* *testiere* [horse's head armour] 2501, *textuel* [texted wcl Wr., having a power of citing texts] 17167, *transmeve* *transmuier* [translated Wr.] 8261, *tretyis* *traietis* [well made, straight Wr.] 152, †*triacle* [remedy] 4899, *trine* *trin* [triune] 11973.

vasselage [bravery] 3056, †*verray* [true] 6786, †*versifour* *versifieur* [versifyer] Mel., *viage* *véage* [journey] 77, 4679, †*vitaille* [victuals] 3551, *void* *voider* [to remove] 8786, [to depart] 11462, [to leave, make empty] 9689.

warice *garir* [heal] 12840, [grow whole], Mel. †*wastour* *gastour* [waster] 9409.

M. RAPP ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER.

Dr. Moritz Rapp, at the conclusion of his *Vergleichende Grammatik*, vol. 3, pp. 166-179, has given his opinion concerning the pronunciation of Chaucer, chiefly on *à priori* grounds, using Wright's edition, and has appended a phonetic transcription of the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales as a specimen. This account is here annexed, slightly abridged, with the phonetic spelling transliterated into palaeotype, preserving all the peculiarities of the original, such as absence of accent mark, duplication of consonants, German (bh) for (w), modern English errors of pronunciation, etc. A few remarks are added in brackets.

The liquids are to be pronounced as written, and hence *l* is not mute, though there is a trace of its disappearance in the form (naf) for (nalf). The transposition of *r* is not complete; we again find (renne) for (irnen), and (brenne) for (birnan), English (rænn, bønn), (thurkh) through is unchanged, (bird) and (brid) are both used, (theshe) replaces (therskan), and (breste) replaces (berstan), English (brst).

Among the labials, *b* remains after *n* in (lamb), but (lamm) is without the present mute *b*. For (nemnan) we have the peculiar (nempnen), and similarly (dampnen) to damn. Final *f* as in (bhiif) wife, is also written medially *wice*, that is, in the French fashion, because *e* tended towards *f* in the middle ages. But initially, in order to preserve the pure German (bh), recourse was had to the reduplication *uu* or *w*. On *w* after a vowel see below. (Bh) sometimes arises from a guttural, as *sorice*, that is, (sorbhe) now *sorrow* = (soroo), from *sorg*.

Among the dentals *d* and *t* occasion no difficulty, and *s* has, by French influence, become pure (s), [Dr. Rapp holds it to have been (sj) in ags.] especially as it sometimes results from *p*. The *z* is merely an *s*. The most difficult point is *th*. In ags., we have shewn [suprà p. 555, note] that it had only one value (th). I consider that this is also the case for this dialect. As regards the initial sound, which in the English pronouns is (dh), there is not only no proof of this softening, but the contrary results from v. 12589

So faren we, if I schal say the sothe.

Now, quod oure ost, yit let me talke to the.

The form *sothe* has here assumed a false French *e*, since the ags. is (sooth)

and English (suuth), [it may be the adverbial *e*, or the definite *e*, according as *the* is taken as the pronoun or the definite article.] which must therefore have here been called (soothe), as this *th* is always hard, and as *to the*, i.e. (too thee) rhymes with it, shewing that the *e* of *sothe* was audible if not long, and that the *th* of *to the* was necessarily hard, as the English (tuu dhii) would have been no rhyme, [but see suprà p. 318]. Similar rhymes are (aluu thee) allow thee, and (juunthe) youth, (hii thee) hie thee, and (sbhiithe) quickly, [suprà pp. 318, 444, n. 2]. The Anglosaxon value of the letters must be presumed until there is an evident sign of some change having occurred. For the medial English *th* we have a distinct testimony that the Icelandic and Danish softening of *d* into (dh) had not yet occurred, for the best MSS. retain the ags. *d*, thus: ags. (fæder) here (fader), now (faadher), (gaderan) here (gader) now (gædhðhar), (togædere) here (togæder) now (togædhðhar), (bhæder) here (bhæder) now (uædhðhar), weather, (moodor) here (mooder) now (mædhðhar) mother, (khhider) here (khhider) now (huidhðhar) whither, (thider) here (thider) now (dhidhðhar) thither. Inferior MS. have *father*, *gather*, *thither*, etc., shewing that the softening of *d* into the Danish (dh) began soon after Chaucer. But when we find the *d* in Chaucer it follows as a matter of course that the genuine old *p* (th) as in (broother, fether) when here written *brother*, *fether*, could only have had the sound (th), and could not have been pronounced like the (brædhðhar, fædhðhar). The ags. *kripe* is here (kuth) and also (kud) or (kuud) for (kun-de.)

Among the gutturals, *k* is written for *c* when *e* or *i* follows, and before

n as (kneū) knew. The reduplicated form is *ek*. The *g* is pure (*g*) in the German words, but in French words the syllables *ge*, *gi*, have the Provençal sounds (dzhe, dzhi), which is certainly beyond the known range of Norman or old French, where *g* is resolved into simple (zh), but here *gentil* is still (dzhentil) not (zhentil). Similarly romanian *ch* is (tsh), and this value is applied to old naturalised words, in which the hiss has arisen from *k*, as (tshertsh) from (kirk), (tsheep) from (keapjan) cheapen, and in thoroughly German words (tshild from (kild) child; and (elk) becomes (etsh) each. Reduplication is expressed by *ech*, representing the sharpened (tsh) [i.e. which shortens the preceding vowel] so that (bhrækkæ) exile becomes *wreccche*, and sometimes *wretch*, which can only mean (bhrertsh); similarly from (fekkan) comes (fetshe) and in the same way (retshe, stretshe) and the obscure *cacche* = (katshe), which comes from the Norman *eachier*, although (tshase) also occurs from the French *chasser*. The reduplicated *g* occasions some difficulty. In French words *abregier* can only give *abregge* = (abredzhe), and *leger* gives (lodzhe), etc., but the hiss is not so certain in *brigge* bridge, *egge* edge, point, *hegge* hedge, as now prevalent, because we find also *ligge* and *lie* from (liggan) now (lai), *legge* and (leeie) from (leggan) now (lee), and (aberie) from (byggan) now (bai). Similarly (begge) ask, beg, now (bfg), which, as I believe, was formed from (buugan) or (begean) to bow. Here we find modern (dzhe) and hence the (dzl) of the former cases is doubtful.

The softening of *g* into (*j*) is a slighter difference. The letter (*j*) does not occur in ags., and has been replaced in an uncertain way by *i*, *g*, *ge*. In Chaucer the simple sign *y* is employed [more generally *ȝ*, the *y* is due to the editor, p. 310], which often goes further than in English, as we have not only (*ȝeer*) a year, but *give* and (*ȝeve*, *ȝaf*, *forȝete*, *ȝat*, *ȝen*, *ȝenst*) and (*ȝe*) or (*ȝei*) an egg.

The termination *ig* drops its *g*, as (peni) for *penig*, and the particle *ge* assumes the form *i*, as (inuukh) enough, (ibhis) certain, and in the participles (itaken) taken, (imaad) made. (islAA) or (islæen) slain, (iscene) seen, (ibhriten) written, etc. From (geliike) comes

(iliik) or (iliitsh), and the suffixed (-liik) is reduced to (li).

The old pronunciation (gg) must be retained for *ng*, thus (logg, logger) or (leqger); there is no certain evidence for (loqq). The French nasal is in preference expressed by *n*. What the Frenchman wrote *raison* and pronounced (reæsoq) is here written *resoun* and called (resuun), as if the (q) were unknown. As the termination in *givende* has assumed the form (*giving*), we might conjecture the sound to be (giviq), because the form comes direct from (givin), as the Scotch and common people still say, but we must remember that *giving* also answers to the German *Gebung*, in which the *g* is significant.

We now come to *h*, which is also a difficulty. That initial *h* before a vowel had now become (h) as in German of the xiii th century, is very probable, because *h* was also written in Latin and French words, and is still spoken. Chaucer has occasionally elided the silent *e* in the French fashion before *h*, which was certainly an error [*was freilich ein Missgriff war!* shared by Orrmin, supra p. 490, and intermediate writers, who were free from French influence.] For the medial *h*, the dialect perceived its difference from (h), and hence used the new combination *gh*, known in the old Flemish, where the soft (kh) has been developed from *g*. The ags. *niht* = (nikht) became *night* = (nikht), and similarly *thurgh* = (thurkh). For (khleakhan) we have *lauch*, and *laugh*, both = (laakh); (seakh) gives *sawh* = (saakh) or *seigh* = (seekh). Before *l*, *n*, *r*, the ags. *h* has disappeared, but ags. (khbbhiite) is here somewhat singularly written *white*, a transposition of *hwite*. Had *h* been silent it would have been omitted as in *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, but as it was different from an ordinary *h* before a vowel, this abnormal sign for (khbbh), formed on the analogy of *gh*, came into use, and really signified an abbreviated heavy *ghw*. Hence (khbbhiite) retained its Anglosaxon sound in Chaucer's time. [Rapp could not distinguish English *w* from (u), and hence to him *wh* was (uu), the real meaning of *sch* thus escaped him. His theory is that *h* was always (kh) in the old Teutonic languages.]

We have still to consider *sk* and *ks*.

The former was softened to (sjk) in ags., and hence prepared the way for the simple (sh), and this may have nearly occurred by Chaucer's time, as he writes *sch* which bears the same relation to the French *ch*=(tsh), as the Italian *sci* to *ci*, *s* shewing the omission of the initial *t*. Some MSS. use *ssh* and even the present *sh*, the guttural being entirely forgotten. The ags. *ks* remains, but *sk* is still transposed into *ks* in the bad old way, as *axe*=(akse) for (*aske*).

For the vowels, Gesenius has come to conclusions, which are partly based on Grimm's Grammar, and partly due to his having been preoccupied with modern English, and have no firm foundation. The Englishmen of the present day have no more idea how to read their own old language, than the Frenchmen theirs. We Germans are less prejudiced in these matters, and can judge more freely. Two conditions are necessary for reading old English correctly—first, to read Anglosaxon correctly, whence the dialect arose; secondly, to read old French correctly, on whose orthography the old English was quite unmistakably modelled. [The complete catena of old English writers now known, renders this assertion more than doubtful. See *supra* p. 588, n. 2, and p. 640.]

We must presume that the old French *a* was pure (a). The ags. *a*, was lower=(a). The English orthography paid no attention to this difference, and hence spoke French *a* as (a). There can be no doubt of this, if we observe that this *a* was lengthened into *au* or *av*, the value of which from a French point of view was (aa), as it still is in English, as *straunge*, *de-maunde*, *tyraunt*, *graunte*, *haunte*. In all these cases the Englishman endeavours to imitate French nasality by the combination (aan). [This *au* for *a* only occurs before *n*, see *supra* p. 143, and *infra* Chap. VIII., § 3].

The old short vowel *a* hence remains (a) as in ags, thus (maksan) is in the oldest documents (makie, maki) and afterwards (make), where the (a) need no more be prolonged by the accent than in the German *machen* (makh'en), and we may read (makke). [But see Orrmin's *makenn*, p. 492].

The most important point is that the ags. false diphthongs are again overcome; instead of (zallo) we have the

older form (alle), instead of (skearp) we find (sharpe) etc. The nasal (en), as in ags., is disposed to fall into (on), as (hond, lond, droqk, begonne), etc.

The greatest doubt might arise from the ags. *æ* or rather (æ) appearing as (a) without mutation; thus, ags. (thæt, khhæt, bhæter, smæl) again fall into (that, khhæt, bhæter, smæl). The mutation is revoked—that means, the ags. mutation had prevailed in literature, but not with the whole mass of the people, and hence in the present popular formation might revert to the older sound, for it is undeniable that although the present Englishman says (dhæt) with a mutated *a*, he pronounces (huat, uatæt, smaæl) what, water, small, without a mutate. In most cases the non-mutated form may be explained by a flexion, for if (dæg) in ags. gave the plural (dagas), we may understand how Chaucer writes at one time (dæe) day and at another (daa) daw for day.

Short *e* remains unchanged as (e) under the accent, when unaccented it had perhaps become (o). Even in ags. it interchanges with *i*, *y*, as (tshirtsh) or (tshertsh) church. The ags. *eo* is again overcome, for although forms like *beo*, *deop*, still occur in the oldest monuments, *e* is the later form, so that (steorra) star again becomes (sterre), and (gæolu) yellow gives (jelbhe, jælu), (fæol) fell becomes (fell, fill), etc. A short (e) sometimes rhymes with a long one in Chaucer, as (mede, rede) meadow, red. Such false rhymes are however found in German poetry of the XIIIth century, and they are far from justifying us in introducing the modern long vowel into such words as (make, mede), etc.

The old long vowel *e* is here (ee), as appears all the more certainly from its not being distinguished in writing from the short. [Rapp writes *ê* *è*, but he usually pairs *ê* *e*, *à* *è*=(*ee* *e*, *æ* *æ*), the (*ee*) being doubtful, (*ee*, *ee*). This arises from German habits, but in reality in closed syllables (e) is more frequent than (e), if a distinction has to be made. It would perhaps have represented Rapp more correctly to have written (*ee* *e*, *æ* *e*), but I considered myself bound to the other distribution, although it leads here to the absurdity of making (*ee*, *e*) a pair]. The quantity of the ags. must be retained, hence (*seekan*, *keene*) can only give (*seeke*, *keen*) seek, keen, and from

(sbhete) we also obtain (soote), with omitted (ee), compare Norse (sœot) sweet. [The careful notation of quantity by Orrmin points him out as a better authority for this later period.] Long (ee) also replaces ags. æ as (hære, see, sleepe) hare, sea, sleep, and the old long éo as (seeke, leeve leeve, deepe, tshesse) seek, lief, deep, choose, and finally the old long éa as (eek) from (éak), and similarly (greete, beene, tshcepe) great, bean, cheapen. These different (ee) rhyme together and have regularly become (ii) in modern English. There is no doubt about short *i*, and long *i* could not have been a diphthong, because the French orthography had no suspicion of such a sound. Ags. *y* is sometimes rendered by *ui* as *fuire* fire, which, however, already rhymes with (miire) and must therefore have sounded (fiire). The (yy) had become (ii) even in ags., so that (bruud) becomes (briide), etc. Least of all can we suppose short *i* in (bilde, tshilde, finde) wild, child, find, to be diphthongal, or even long, as the orthography would have otherwise been quite different.

Short *o* may retain its natural sound (o), and often replaces ags. *u*, thus (sumor) gives (sømmer), and (khnut, furthor) give (not, forther) nut, further. In these cases the Englishman generally recurs to the mutate of (u), to be presently mentioned.

Long *o* in Chaucer unites two old long vowels, (aa) in (hoomme), sometimes (HAM), (goost from (gaast), (oother) from (Aath) oath, (hoote) from (hat); and the old (oo) in (booke, tooke, foote, soothe). Both (oo) rhyme together, and must have, therefore, closely resembled each other; they can scarcely have been the same, as they afterwards separated; the latter may have inclined to (u) and has become quite (u).

The sound of (u) is in the French fashion constantly denoted by *ou*. [But see *suprà* p. 425, l. 3. Rapp is probably wrong in attributing the introduction to French influence.] French *raison* was written *raisoun* by the Anglo-Norman, and *resoun* by Chaucer, which could have only sounded (resunn). A diphthong is impossible, as the name *Caucasous* Caucasus rhymes with *hous*, and *resoun* with *toun*. Hence the sound must have been (huus, tuun) as in all German dialects of this date.

Hence we have (fluor) flower for the French (fleur). The real difficulty consists in determining the quantity of the vowel, as it is not shewn by the spelling. Position would require a short (u) in cases like (shulder, hund, stund, bunden) shoulder, old (skulder), hound, hour, bound; but the old (sookhte) must produce a (snukhte) sought; and cases like (brukhte, thukhte) brought, thought, are doubtful.

On the other hand the vowel written *u*, must have been the mutate common to the French, Icclander, Dutchman, Swede. The true sound is therefore an intermediate, which may have fluctuated between (œ, u, y), (lyst, kyrs) desire, curse. These *u* generally derive from ags. *u*, not *y*. The use of this sound in the unaccented syllable is remarkable. The ags. (bathjan) has two forms of the participle (bathod, bathed). Hence the two forms in Chaucer, (bathyd) or rather (bathvd) exactly as in Icelandic [where the *u* = (ø), not (u), *suprà* p. 548], the second (bathid, bathod). Later English, however, could not fix this intermediate sound, and hence, forced by the mutations, gave the short *u* the colourless natural vowel (ø), except before *r* where we still hear (ø), [meaning, perhaps (æ)]. This theoretical account does not seem to represent the facts of the case. The above value of short (u) in old English is proved by all French words having this orthography. Sometimes Chaucer endeavours to express long (yy) by *ui*, as *fruit*, where, however, we may suspect the French diphthong; but generally he writes *nature* for (natyyre) without symbolising the length. We should not be misled by the retention of the pure (u) in modern English for a few of these mutated *u*, as (full, putt, shudd, fruit). These anomalies establish no more against the clear rule than the few pure (a) of modern English prove anything against its ancient value.

The written diphthongs cause peculiar difficulties. The combinations *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, must have their French sound (æ), but as they often arise from (æy) there seems to have been an intermediate half-diphthongal or triphthongal (æei); thus (dæge) gives (dæei) or (dæe). From (æge) we have the variants *eye*, *ye*, *eighe*, *yghe*, so that the sound varies as (æese, iie, iie,

rikhe, iikhe). Similarly (niikhe) and (niie) high, and (nekhe, nie) nigh. We have already considered *au*, *aw*, to have been (AA). The ags. (*lagu*, *lahk*) law, gives *laice*, which perhaps bordered on a triphthongal (LAAUE). In the same way we occasionally find (dAAUE) day, in two syllables, instead of the usual (dEE). ags. (*dæg*, *dagas*), and from ags. (sAAbh) comes *sauke* = (sAAle) and *soule*, which could have only been (suile). The medial *ow* = *ou*, that is, (uu), but before a vowel it might also border on a triphthong; thus *lowh* = (luukh) low, is also written *lowe* = (looue)? *Oughen* = (uukhen), and also *owen* = (ouuen), now *own* = (oon). Similarly *grove* may have varied between (gruue, grooue) and so on with many others. These cases give most room for doubt, and the dialect was probably unsettled. But the diphthong *eu*, *ew*, leaves no room for doubt; it cannot be French (œ) for *heure* hour is here (*nyyre*) [probably a misprint for (*nuure*)], and for *people* we also find (*peple*). On the other hand the French *beauté*, which was called (*béauté*, *béotee*) is here written *beute*, which was clearly (*béutee*). Similarly German words as *knew*, cannot have been anything but (*kneo*, *kuen*). Similarly (*neue*) new. The French diphthong *oi* as in *vois*

voice, was taken over unaltered, and also replaces romanic *ui*, which was too far removed from English feelings; we have seen *fruit* pass into (*fryyt*, *fruit*); *ennuy* becomes (*anoi*) and *destruire* is written *destruie*, *destric*, but had the same sound (*destrui*).

As regards the so-called mute *e*, it was undeniably historical in Chaucer, and represented old inflections, yet it was, with equal certainty, in many cases merely mechanically imitated from the French. But we cannot scan Chaucer in the French fashion, without omitting or inserting the mute *e* at our pleasure, and in a critical edition of the poet, the spoken *e* only ought to be written. What was its sound when spoken? Certainly not (ə) as in French, but a pure (e) with some inclination to (i). This is shown by the rhyme (*soothe*, *too thee*) already cited, and many others, as *clerkes*, *derk is*; (*dreed* is, *deedes*) etc. At present Englishmen pronounce this final *e* in the same way as *i*, and in general *e*, *i* present as natural a *cuphonicum* as the French (ə).

The following are the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales reduced to a strict metre.

[Some misprints seem to occur in the original, but I have left them uncorrected.]

Kbbhan that Aprille biith his shuures soot
The drukht of marish hath persed too the
root
And bathyd evri veen in sbhitsh likuur
Of kbbhitsh vertyy- kndzhendred is the
fluur, 4
Kbbhan Seffrys eek biith his sbheete breeth
Enspiryd hath in evri nolt and heeth
The tendre kroppes, and the rogge sonne
Hath in the Ram his walfs kurs ironne, 8
And smale fluures maken melodie
That sleepep al the nikht biith open iie,
Soo priketh nem natyyr- in ukr koradzhes,
Than loqen folk too goon on pilgrimadzhes,
And palmers for too seeken straaandzhe
strandres 13
Too ferne halbzhes, kunth- in sondri landes,
And spezialli from evri shires knde
Of Egclond too Kantyrbryr thes bhende 16
The nooli blissyl martir for too seeke
That nem nath wolpen kbbhan that thes
bheer seeke.
Bifell that in that seoun on a dæg
In South-bhxxk at the tabbard as ii lxx, 20
Reedi too bhruden on mil pilgrimadzhe
Too Kantyrb-ri biith fyl devunt koradzhe,
At nikht bhas kom intoo that hostelrie
Bhel nin and threnti in a kompanie 24
Of sondri folk biit aventyyr- isalle
In fclaship, and pilgrims bheer bhi alle
That tobbard Kantyrbryr bholden riide.
The tshambers and the stables bheeren
biide. 28

And bhol bhe bheeren eesyd atte beste,
And shortli kbbhan the sonne bhas too reste
Soo ued ii spoken biith nem fvytish-oon 32
That ii bhas of ukr fclaship anoon
And maade forbeard xrl too arise
Too tak- nur bhes thyr as ii nuu debhiise,
Byt naatheless, kbbhiils ii habh tiim and
spase
Or that ii farther in this tale pase 36
Me thiqketh it akordant too resuun
Too telle sun all the kondisiun
And kbbhitsh thes bheeren and of kbbhat
degree,
Of eesh of nem, soo as it seemed mee 40
And eek in kbbhat arrex that thes bheer-
inne,
And at a knikht than bhol ii first beginne.
A knikht thyr bhas and that a bhortli
man
That from the tiime that he first bigan 44
Too riden uut he loved tshivalrie
Truuth and nonuur, freedoom and kyrtiesie,
Fyl bhortli bhas he in his lordes bheere
And thertoo hadd he riden nooman ferre 48
As bhol in kristendoom as neethenisse
And wex nonnurd for his bhortinisse.
At Alisandr- he bhas kbbhan it bhas bhonne,
Fyl ofte tiim he hadd the bord bigonne 52
Aboven alle nasiouns in Pryse,
In Lettoon nadde rxxed and in Ryse
Noo kristen man soo oft of nis degree,
In Grinnad- alte siidzhe hadd he bee, 56

At mortal batrels hadd he been fiftene 61	Bhith lokkes kryll- as thee bher leed in
And fukhten for uur fexth at Tramasene,	presse,
In listes thries and xx sleen nis foo.	Of threnti seer he bhas of adzh- ii gesse,
This ilke bhorthi knikht hadd been alsoo 64	Of nis statyrr- he bhas of even leqthe. 83
Somtime bhith the lord of Palatle	And bhondyrl delivrr- and greet of streqthe,
Aggeen another heethen in Tyrkile,	And he hadd been somtiim in tshivatshie
And evermoor he hadd a sovren priis.	In Flandres, in Artois and Pikardie,
And thunk that he bhas bhorthi he bhas	And born him bhel, as in soo litel spase
bhis, 68	In hop too stonden in his ladi grace.
And of his port as miik as is a mæd.	Embruudid bhas he as it bheer a mæde 88
He nkrer sit a vilonil ne seer	Al fyl of freshe flaures, khbhit- and reede.
In al nis liif, yntoo noo maner bhikht.	Siggag he bhas or flautig al the dex,
He bhas a verree perfikht dzhentil knikht.	He bhas as fresh as is the moonth of mee, 92
Byt for too telle juu of nis arree, 73	Short bhas his guun bhith sleeves logg and
His hors bhas good, byt he ne bhas nukht	bhide,
geu,	Bhel knud he sitt- on hors and fære riide,
Of fystian he bhered a dzhepuun.	He kaud sogges bhel make and endite,
Al bismoteryd bhith nis haberdzhaun, 76	Dyhystn- and eek daans- and bhel pyrtree
For he bhas lat komen from nis viadzhe	and bharite. 96
And bhsnte for too doon nis pilgrimadzhe.	Soo hoot he lovde, that bli nikhter-tale
Bhith him ther bhas his son, a jogg	He sleep nomoor than dooth a nikhtigale.
skbheer,	Kyrtes he bhas, lukhli (or loouli) and
A lover and a lysti batsheler 80	sewisable
	And karf before nis fadyr at the table. 100

If in the above we read (ee, e) and (oo, o) for (ee, e) and (oo, o), and (e) for (æ) which is a slight difference, and also (ii, i) for (ii, i), and do not insist on (a) for (a), and also read (w, wh) for the un-English (bh, khbh), the differences between this transcript and my own, reduce to 1) the treatment of final *e*, which Rapp had not sufficiently studied; 2) the merging of all short *u* into (y), certainly erroneous; 3) the indistinct separation of the two values of *ou* into (uu, ouu), and 4) the conception of (ee), an un-English sound, as the proper pronunciation of *ey*, *ay* as distinct from long *e*. It is remarkable that so much similarity should have been attained by such a distinctly different course of investigation.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR READING THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROLOGUE.

The application of the results of Chapter IV. to the exhibition of the pronunciation of the prologue, has been a work of great difficulty, and numerous cases of hesitation occurred, where analogy alone could decide. The passages have been studied carefully, and in order to judge of the effect, I have endeavoured to familiarise myself with the conception of the pronunciation by continually reading aloud. The examination of older pronunciation in Chap. V., has on the whole confirmed the view taken, and I feel considerable confidence in recommending Early English scholars to endeavour to read some passages for themselves, and not to pre-judge the effect, as many from old habits may feel inclined. As some difficulty may be felt in acquiring the facility of utterance necessary for judging of the effect of this system of pronunciation, it may not be out of place to give a few hints for practice in reading, shewing how those who find a difficulty in reproducing the precise sounds which are indicated, may approximate to them sufficiently for this purpose. These instructions correspond to those which I have given in the introduction to the second edition of Mr. R. Morris's *Chaucer*.

The roman vowels (a, e, o, u) must be pronounced as in Italian,

with the broad or open *e*, *o*, not the narrow or close sounds. They are practically the same as the short vowels in German, or the French short *a*, *è*, *o*, *ou*. The (*a*) is never our common English *a* in *fat*, that is (*æ*), but is much broader, as in the provinces, though Londoners will probably say (*æ*). For (*o*) few will perhaps use any sound but the familiar (*o*). The (*u*) also may be pronounced as (*u*), that is, *u* in *bull* or *oo* in *foot*. The long vowels are (*aa*, *ee*, *oo*, *uu*) and represent the same sounds prolonged, but if any English reader finds a difficulty in pronouncing the broad and long (*ee*, *oo*) as in Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and before *r* in the modern English *mare*, *more*, he may take the easier close sounds (*ee*, *oo*) as in *male*, *mole*. The short (*i*) is the English short *i* in *pit*, and will occasion no difficulty. But the long (*ii*) being unusual, if it cannot be appreciated by help of the directions on p. 106, may be pronounced as (*ii*), that is as *ee* in *feet*. The vowel (*yy*), which only occurs long, is the long French *u*, or long German *ü*. The final (-*e*) should be pronounced shortly and indistinctly, like the German final -*e*, or our final *a* in *China*; *idea*, (suprà p. 119, note, col. 2), and inflectional final -*en* should sound as we now pronounce -*en* in *science*, *patient*. It would probably have been more correct to write (*v*) in these places, but there is no authority for any other but an (*e*) sound, see p. 318.

For the diphthongs, (*ai*) represents the German *ai*, French, *aï* Italian *ahi*, Welsh *ai*, the usual sound of English *aye*,¹ when it is distinguished from *eye*, but readers may confound it with that sound without inconvenience. The diphthong (*au*) represents the German *au*, and bears the same relation to the English *ow* in *now*, as the German *ai* to English *eye*, but readers may without inconvenience use the sound of English *ow* in *now*. Many English speakers habitually say (*ai*, *au*) for (*oi*, *ou*) in *eye*, *now*. The diphthong (*ui*) is the Italian *ui* in *lui*, the French *oui* nearly, or more exactly the French *oui* taking care to accent the first element, and not to confound the sound with the English *we*.

The aspirate is always represented by (*H* *h*), never by (*h*), which is only used to modify preceding letters.

(*J* *j*) must be pronounced as German *j* in *ja*, or English *y* in *yea*, *jawn*, and not as English *j* in *just*.

The letters (*b* *d* *f* *g* *k* *l* *m* *n* *p* *r* *s* *t* *v* *w* *z*) have their ordinary English meanings, but it should be remembered that (*g*) is always as in *gay*, *go*, *get*, never as in *gem*; that (*r*) is always trilled with the tip of the tongue as in *ray*, *roe*, and never pronounced as in *air*, *ear*, *oar*; and also that (*s*) is always the hiss in *hiss* and never like a (*z*) as in *his*, or like (*sh*). The letter (*q*) has altogether a new meaning, that of *ng* in *sing*, *singer*, but *ng* in *finger* is (*qg*).

¹ This word is variously pronounced, and some persons rhyme it with *nay*. In taking votes at a public meeting the sound intended to be conveyed in the

text is generally used in the South of England, but this pronunciation is perhaps unknown in Scotland.

(Th, dh) represent the sounds in *thin*, *then*, the modern Greek θ δ .
 (Sh, zh) are the sounds in *mesh* measure, or *pish*, vision, the Fr. *ch*, *j*.

(Kh, gh) are the usual German *ch* in *ach* and *g* in *Tage*. But careful speakers will observe that the Germans have three sounds of *ch* as in *ich*, *ach*, *auch*, and these are distinguished as (*kh*, *kh*, *kwh*); and the similar varieties (*gh*, *gh*, *gwh*) are sometimes found. The reader who feels it difficult to distinguish these three sounds, may content himself with saying (*kh*, *gh*) or even (π'). The (*kwh*) when initial is the Scotch *guh*, Welsh *chw*, and may be called (*khw*.) without inconvenience. Final (*gwh*) differs little from (*wh*) as truly pronounced in *when*, *what*, which should, if possible, be carefully distinguished from (*w*). As however (*wh*) is almost unknown to speakers in the south of England, they may approximate to it, when initial, by saying ($\pi'u$), and, when final, by saying ($u\pi'$).

The italic (*w*) is also used in the combination (*kw*) which has precisely the sound of *qu* in *queen*, and in (*rw*) which may be pronounced as (*rw*), without inconvenience.

(Tsh, dzh) are the consonantal diphthongs in *chest* *jest*, or *such* *fudge*.

The hyphen (-) indicates that the words or letters between which it is placed, are only separated for the convenience of the reader, but are really run on to each other in speech. Hence it frequently stands for an omitted letter (p. 10), and is frequently used for an omitted initial (π), in those positions where the constant elision of a preceding final -*e* shews that it could not have been pronounced (p. 314).

These are all the signs which occur in the prologue, except the accent point (·), which indicates the principal stress. Every syllable of a word is sometimes followed by (·), as (*naa'tyyr'*), in order to warn the reader not to slur over or place a predominant stress on either syllable. For the same reason long vowels are often written in unaccented syllables.

If the reader will bear these directions in mind and remember to pronounce with a general broad tone, rather Germanesque or provincial, he will have no difficulty in reading out the following prologue, and when he has attained facility in reading for himself, or has an opportunity of hearing others read in this way, he will be able to judge of the result, but not before.

The name of the poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, may be called (*Dzhef'rai-Tshau'seer'*), but the first name may also have been called (*Dzhef'ree'*), see *suprà* p. 462. The evenness of stress seems guaranteed by Gower's even stress on his own name (*Guu'cer'*), but he uses Chaucer only with the accent on the first syllable, just as Chaucer also accents Gower only on the first.

THE PROLOG TO THE CAWNTERBERY TALES.

- is prefixed to lines containing a defective first measure.
- + is prefixed to lines containing two superfluous terminal syllables.
- iii is prefixed to lines containing a trissyllabic measure.
- vi is prefixed to lines of six measures.
- ai is prefixed to the lines in which *saynt* appears to be dissyllabic.
- (') indicates an omitted *e*.
- Italics point out words or parts of words of French origin.
- Small capitals in the text are purely Latin forms or words.

INTRODUCTION.

- Whan that *April* with his schoures swote
The drought of *March* hath *perced* to the rote
And bathed' ev'ry *veyn'* in swich *licour*,
Of which *vertu engend'red'* is the *flour*; 4
Whan ZEPHYRUS, eek, with his swete brethe
Inspired' hath in ev'ry holt' and hethe
The *tendre* croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe *cours* ironne 8
And smale foules maken *melodye*
That slepen al the night with open ye,—
So pricketh hem *natur'* in her' *corages*;
Than longen folk to goon on *pilgrimages*, 12
And *palmeer's* for to seken *straunge* strondes
To ferne halwes couth' in sondry londes;
And *specially*, from ev'ry schyres ende
iii Of Engelond, to Cawnterbery they wende, 16
The holy blisful martyr for to seke.
That hem hath holpen whan that they wer' seke.
Bifel that in that *sesoun* on a day'
In Southwerk at the *Tabard* as I lay, 20
Redy to wenden on my *pilgrimage*
iii To Cawnterbery with ful *devout corage*,
At night was com' into that *hostelrye*
Wel nyn' and twenty in a *companye* 24
Of sondry folk', by *aventur'* ifalle
In felawship', and *pilgrim's* wer' they alle,
That toward Cawnterbery wolden ryde.
The *chambres* and the *stabel's* weren wyde, 28
And wel we weren *esed* atte beste.
And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste
So hadd' I spoken with hem ev'rych oon,
That I was of her' felawship' anon, 32

Preliminary Note.

Seven MSS. only are referred to, unless others are specially named. Ha. is the Harl. 7334, as edited by Morris. "The Six MSS." are those published by the Chaucer Society, and edited by Furnivall. They are re-

ferred to thus: E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, L. Lansdowne.

1 Defective first measure see p. 333, note 1. The six MSS. do not favour any other scheme, but all write

DHE PROO-LOG TO DHE KAUN-TERBER-II TAA-LES.

- (ii) See pp. 106, 271, readers may say (ii) for convenience, p. 678.
 (oo) See p. 95, readers may read (oo, o) for (oo, o) for convenience, pp. 678.
 (-) Initial often indicates an unpronounced (h), and that the word is run on to the preceding; at the end of a word it denotes that it is run on to the following.

Introduk'siun.

Whan dhat Aa'priil with -is shuur'es swoot'e
 Dhe druunk'ht of Martsh hath pers'ed too dhe root'e,
 And baadh'ed ev'rii vain in switsh lii'kuur,
 Of whitsh ver'tyy' endzhen'dred is dhe fluur; 4
 Whan Zef'irus, eek, with -is sweet'e breeth'e
 Inspi'ered hath in ev'rii molt and neeth'e
 Dhe ten'dre krop'es, and dhe juq'e sun'e
 Hath in dhe Ram -is half'e kuurs irun'e, 8
 And smaal'e fuul'es maak'en melodi'e,
 Dhat sleep'en al dhe nikht with oop'en ii'e,—
 Soo prik'eth nem naa'tyyr in ner koo'raadzh'es;
 Dhan loq'en folk to goon on pil'grimaadzh'es, 12
 And pal'meerz for to seek'en straundzh'e strond'es,
 To fern'e hal'wes kunth in sun'dri lond'es;
 And spes'iali, from ev'rii shiir'es end'e
 Of Eq'elond, to Kaun-terber-ii dhai wend'e, 16
 Dhe noo'lii blis'ful mar'tiir for to seek'e,
 Dhat nem hath holp'en, whan dhat dhai weer seek'e.
 Bifel' dhat in dhat see'suun on a dai
 At Sunth-werk at dhe Tab'ard as Ii lai, 20
 Reed'ii to wend'en on mi pil'grimaadzh'e
 To Kaun-terber-ii with ful devuut koo'raadzh'e,
 At nikht was kuum in too dhat ostelri'e
 Weel nūn and twen'tii in a kum'pani'e 24
 Of sun'drii folk, bi' aa'ventyyr i'al'e
 In fel'aushii, and pil'grimz wer dhai al'e,
 Dhat too'werd Kaun-terber-ii wold'en riid'e.
 Dhe tshaam'berz and dhe staa'b'lz weeren wiid'e, 28
 And weel we weeren ees'ed at'e best'e.
 And short'lii, whan dhe sun'e was to rest'e
 Soo had Ii spook'en with -em ev'ritsh oon,
 Dhat Ii was of -er fel'aushii anoon, 32

or indicate a final e to April, which is against Averil 6128, April 4426.

8 Ram. See Temporary Preface to the Six Text Edition of Chaucer, p. 89.

16 Cawnterbery. E. He. Co. and Harl. 1758, write *Caun.*, and P. indicates it. It would seem as if the

French pronuneciation had been imitated. The verse is wanting in Ca. which however reads *Caun.* in v. 769.

18 whan that, L. alone omits that, and makes were a dissyllable, which is unusual, and is not euphonic in the present case.

And made foorward eerly for to ryse,
 To tak' our' wey theer as I you *devyse*.
 But natheles whyl's I hav' tym' and *space*,
 Eer that I ferther in this tale *pace*, 36
 Me thinketh it *accordawnt* to *resoun*
 To tellen you al the *condicioun*
 Of eech' of hem, so as it semed' me;
 And which they weren, and of what *degre*, 40
 And eek in what *array* that they wer' inne,
 And at a knight than wol I first beginne.

1. THE KNIGHT.

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
 That fro the tyme that he first bigan 44
 To ryden out, he loved' *chivalrye*,
 Trouth and *honour*, fredoom and *curteysye*.
 Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
 And theerto hadd' he ridden, no man ferre, 48
 As weel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
 And ever' *honour*'d for his worthinesse.
 At *Alisaund'r* he was whan it was wonne,
 Ful ofte tym' he hadd' the *boord* bigonne 52
 Aboven alle *naciouns* in *Pruse*.
 In *Lettow*' hadd' he reysed and in *Ruse*,
 No cristen man so oft' of his *degre*.
 At *Gernad*' atte *seg*' eek hadd' he be 56
 iii Of *Algesir*, and ridden in *Palmyrye*
 At *Lyveys* was he, and at *Satalye*
 Whan they wer' wonn'; and in the Grete Se
 iii At many a *nob'l aryve*' hadd' he be. 60
 At *mortal batayl's* hadd' he been fiftene,
 And fowghten for our' *seyth* at *Tramassene*.
 In *listes* thryes, and ay slayn his fo.
 This ilke worthy knight hadd' ben also 64
 Somtyme with the lord of *Palatye*,
 Ayeyn another hethen in *Turkye*:
 And evremor' he hadd' a *sov'rayn prys*.
 And thowgh that he wer' worthy he was wys, 68

33 foorward, promise. No MS. marks the length of the vowel in foor, but as the word came from *forevecard*, it would, according to the usual analogy, evidenced by the modern pronunciation of *fore*, have become lengthened, and the long vowel, after the extinction of the *e*, becomes useful in distinguishing the word from forward, onward, for to ryse is the reading of the six MSS.

36 eer, E. Hc. L. read *er*, the others *or*; in either case the vowel was probably long as in modern *ere*.

38 tellen, the MSS. have *telle*, the *n* has been added on account of the following *y*.

46 *curteysye*, so E. Hc. Ca., the rest have *curtesye*; the *ey* has been retained on account of *curteys*. See *Courtesy*, p. 644.

56 eek is inserted in the six MSS.

57 *Palmyrye*, the MSS. have all the unintelligible *Belmarye*. This correction is due, I believe, to Mr. W. Aldis Wright, who has kindly favoured me with his collation of v. 15733 in various MSS.

And maad'e foor'ward eer'lii for to riis'e,
 To taak uur wai dheer as *li* juu deviis'e.
 But naa'dheles, whiils *li* -aav tiim and spaas'e,
 Eer dhat *li* ferdh'er in dhis taa'le paas'e, 36
 Methi'qk'eth it ak'ord'aunt to ree'suun'
 To tel'en juu al.dhe kondis'iun'
 Of eetsh of nem, soo as it seem'ed mee,
 And whitsh dhai wee'ren, and of what dee'gree', 40
 And eek in what arai' dhat dhai wer in'e
 And at a kni'ht dhan wol *li* first begin'e.

1. Dhe Kni'ht.

A kni'ht dheer was, and dhat a wurdh'i' man,
 Dhat froo dhe tiim'e dhat -e first bigan' 44
 To riid'en uut, nee luv'ed tshii'valri'e,
 Truuth and on'uur, free'doom' and kur'taisi'e.
 Ful wurdh'i' was -e in -is lord'es were,
 And dheer-to had -e riid'en, noo man fer'e, 48
 As weel in Krist'endoom', as heedh'enes'e,
 And ever on'uurd' for -is wurdh'ines'e.
 At Aa'liisaun'dr -e was whan it was wun'e,
 Ful ofte tiim -e had dhe boord bigun'e 52
 Abuuv'en al'e naa'siuunz' in Pryys'e.
 In Let'oou had -e raiz'ed and in Ryys'e,
 Noo krist'en man soo oft of his dee'gree'.
 At Ger'naad' at'e seedzh eek had -e bee 56
 Of Al'dzheesir', and riid'en in Pal'miri'e.
 At Lii'ais was -e, and at Saa'taali'e
 Whan dhai wer wun; and in dhe Greet'e see
 At man'i a noob'l' aa'rii'vee' had -e bee. 60
 At mort'aal' bat'ailz' had -e been fifteen'e
 And fouk'ht'en for uur faith at Traa'maaseen'e
 In list'es thriies, and ai slain -is foo.
 Dhis il'ke wurdh'i' kni'ht -ad been alsoo' 64
 Sumtiim'e with dhe lord of Paa'laati'e,
 Ajain anudh'er heedh'en in Tyrki'e:
 And ev'remoor -e had a suv'rain priis.
 And dhoouk'oh dhat nee wer wurdh'i' nee was wiis, 68

Cenobia, of Palmire the queene,
 Harl. 7334.
 Cenobie, of Palmyerie Quene,
 Univ. Cam. Dd. 4. 24.
 Cenobia, of Palimerye queene,
 Do. Gg. 4. 27.
 Cenobia, of Palymer ye quene,
 Do. Mm. 2. 5.
 Cenobia, of Belmary quene,
 Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3. 19.
 Cenobia of Belmary quene,
 Do. R. 3. 15.
 Cenobia, of Palemirie the quene,
 Do. R. 3. 3.

The trissyllabic measure was overlooked in the enumeration on p. 648, sub. *en*.

60 aryve', so Ha. and Ca., the others have armeye, arme, for which the word nobl' will have to be nobel, in two syllables, which is not usual before a vowel, and the construction to be at an arme, seems doubtful, while to be at an aryvee or landing in the Grete Se is natural.

68 wer', so E. He. Ca., the others was.

- And of his poort' as meek as is a mayde.
 Ne never yit no *vilayny*' he seyde
 In al his lyf, unto no *maner*' wight.
 He was a *veray perfyt gentil knight*. 72
 But for to tellen yon of his *aray*,
 His hors was good, but he ne was not *gay*.
 Of *fustian* he wered' a *gipoun*,
 Al bismoter'd with his *hawbergeoun*. 76
 — For he was laat' ycomen from his *vyage*,
 iii And wente for to doon his *pilgrymage*.

2. THE SQUEYER.

- With him ther was his son', a yong *Squeyer*,
 iii A lovieer, and a lusty *bacheleer*, 80
 With lockes crull' as they wer' leyd' in *presse*.
 Of twenty yeer he was of *aag'* I gosse.
 Of his *statur*' he was of ev'ne lengthe
 iii And wonderly *deliver*, and greet of strengthe. 84
 And he hadd' ben somtym' in *chivachye*
 In *Flaundes*, in *Artoys*, and *Picardye*,
 And boorn him weel, as in so lytel *space*,
 iii In hope to stonden in his lady *grace*. 88
Embrouded was he, as it wer' a mede
 Al ful of *fresche floures* whit' and rede.
 Singing' he was, or *flouting'* al the day;
 He was as *fresch* as is the mon'th of *May*. 92
 Schort was his gown, with slevs long and wyde.
 Weel coud' he sitt' on hors, and fayre ryde.
 He coude songes mak' and weel *endyte*,
Just' and eek *dawnc'*, and weel *purtray'* and wryte. 96
 So hoot he loved', that by nightertale
 He sleep no moor' than dooth a nightingale.
Curteys he was, lowly, and *servisabel*,
 And carf bifoorn his fader at the *tabel*. 100

3. THE YEMAN.

- A Yeman hadd' he and *servaunt's* no mo,
 At that tym', for him liste ryde so;
 And he was clad in *coot'* and hood' of grenc.
 A scheef of pocke arwes bright' and kene 104
 Under his belt' he baar ful thriftily.
 Weel coud' he dress' his tackel yemanly,
 His arwes drouped' nowght with fethres lowe,
 And in his hond he baar a mighty bowe. 108
 A notheed hadd' he, with a broun *visage*.
 Of wodecraft weel coud' he al th' *usage*.

90 *freshe* was not counted in the enumeration of the fr. words p. 651. In correcting the proofs several other omissions have been found and a new

enumeration will be given in a footnote to the last line of the Prologue.

109 *notheed*, a closely cropped poll. *Tondre*, "to sheere, clip, cut,

And of -is poort as meek as is a maid'e.
 Ne never jēt noo vii'lainii' -e said'e
 In all -is liif, untōo' noo man'eer' wiht.
 He was a ver'ai perfiit dzen'til kniht. 72
 But for to tel'en juu of nis arai,
 His hors was good, but hee ne was not gai,
 Of fus-tiaan' -e weered a dzhii'puun',
 Al bismoot'er'd with -is nau'berdzhuun' 76
 For hee was laat ikum'en from nis vii'aadzhe,
 And went'e for to doon -is pil'grimaadzhe.

2. Dhe Skwiier.

With nim dheer was -is suun, a juq Skwiier',
 A luv'eer, and a lust'ii baat'sheleer', 80
 With lok'es krul as dhai wer laid in pres'e.
 Of twenti' jee' -e was of aadzh li ges'e.
 Of nis staa'tyir' -e was of eev'ne leqth'e,
 And wun'derlii deliv'er, and greet of streqth'e. 84
 And hee -ad been sumtiim' in tshii'vaatshii'e
 In Flaun'dres, in Artuis', and Pi'kardi'e,
 And boorn -im weel, as in soo lii't'l spaas'e,
 In hoop'e to stond'en in -is laad'ii graas'e. 88
 Embruud'ed was -e, as it wer a meed'e
 Al ful of fresh'e fluures, whit and reed'e.
 Siq'iq' -e was, or fluurtiq', al dhe dai;
 He was as fresh as is dhe moonth of Mai. 92
 Short was -is guun, with sleeves loq and wiid'e.
 Weel kund -e sit on hors, and fair'e riid'e,
 He kund'e soq'es maak and weel endiit'e,
 Dzhust and eek dauns, and weel purtrai' and rwiit'e. 96
 So noot -e luv'ed dhat bii nikht'ertaal'e
 He sleep noo moor dhan dooth a nikht'iqgaal'e.
 Kur'tais' -e was, loqu'lii', and serv'viis'aa'b'l,
 And karf bi'foorn -is faad'er at dhe taa'b'l. 100

3. Dhe Jee-man.

A Jee-man had -e and ser'vaunts' noo moo,
 At dhat tiim, for -im list'e riid'e soo;
 And hee was klad in koot and nood of green'e.
 A sheef of poo'kok ar'wes brikt and keen'e 104
 Un'der -is belt -e baar ful thrift'ili.
 Weel kund -e dres -is tak'l jee-manlii;
 His ar'wes druup'ed noukwht with fedh'erz looure,
 And in -is nond -e baar a mikht'ii booure. 108
 A not'heed had -e, with a bruun vii'saadzh'e.
 Of wood'ekraft weel kund -e al dh-yy'saadzh'e.

powle, nott, pare round," Cotgrave.
 See *Athenaeum*, 15 May, 1869, p. 678,
 col. 3. "Not-head is broad, bull-
 headed. *Nout-head* is used in the

south of Scotland as a term of derision,
 synonymous with blockhead. *Nott* in
 Dunbar, *nout* in Burns, oxen—
 W.J.A." *Ibid.*, 5 June, 1869, p. 772,

Upon his arm' he baar a *gay braceer*,
 And by his syd' a swerd and a *boucleer* 112
 And on that other syd' a *gay daggeer*
Harneysed weel, and scharp as *poynt* of sper';
 A *Cristoffr'* on his brest' of silver schene.
 An horn he baar, the *bawdrik* was of grene; 116
 A *forsteer* was he soothly, as I gesse.

4. THE PRYORESSE.

Ther was also a *Nonn'*, a *Pryoresse*,
 That of hir' smyling' was ful *simpl'* and *coy*;
 aī Hir' gretest ooth was but by *Saynt Loy*; 120
 And sche was cleped *madam' Englentyne*.
 Ful weel sche sang the *servyse divyne*,
 iii *Entuned* in hir' noose ful semely;
 And *Frensch* sche spaak ful fayr' and *fetisly*, 124
 After the scool' of Stratford atte Bowe,
 For *Frensch* of *Paris* was to hir' unknowe.
 At mete weel ytawght was sche withalle;
 Sche leet no *morsel* from hir' lippes falle, 128
 Ne wett' hir' finger's in hir' *sawce* depe.
 iii Weel coud' sche *cari'* a *morsel*, and weel kepe,
 — That no droppe fil upon hir' breste.
 iii In *curteysye* was set ful moch' hir' leste. 132
 Hir' overlippe wyped' sche so clene,
 That in hir' cuppe was no ferthing sene
 Of grese, whan sche dronken hadd' hir' drawght.
 iii Ful semely after hir' mete sche rawght'. 136
 And sikerly sche was of greet *dispoorte*,
 And ful *plesaunt*, and *amiabl'* of *poorte*,
 And *peyned'* hir' to countrefete chere
 Of *court'*, and been *estaatlich* of *manere*, 140
 And to been hoolden *dign'* of *reverence*.
 But for to speken of hir' *conscience*,
 Sche was so *charitab'l* and so *pitous*,
 Sche wolde weep' if that sche sawgh a mous 144
 Cawght in a trapp', if it wer' deed or bledde.
 Of smale houndes hadd' sche, that sche fedde
 With *roosted* flesch, and milk, and *wastel* breed,
 vi But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed, 148

col. 3. Jamieson gives the forms *nott*, *nout* for black cattle, properly oxen with the secondary sense of *lout*, and refers to Icel. naut. (*nœt*), Dan. *nød* (*nœdth*), Sw. *nöt* (*nœt*), and ags. *neat*, our modern *neat* (*nitt*) cattle.

115 *Cristoffr'*, this was accidentally not counted among the French words on p. 651.

120 *seynt*. See *suprà*, pp. 264, 476, 649, note, and notes on vv. 609

and 697 *infra* for the probable occasional dissyllabic use of *saynt* as (*saa'nt*). As this had not been observed, Tyrwhitt proposes to complete the metre by reading *Eloy* with no MS. authority, Prof. Child proposes *othe* (*suprà* p. 390, *sub*, *oath*), thus: *Hir' gretest othe nas* but by *Saint Loy*, and Mr. Morris would read *ne* was as in v. 74, thus: *Hir' gretest ooth ne was but by*

Upon -is arm -e baar a gai braa'seer,
 And biī -is siid a swerd and a buk-leer, 112
 And on dhat udh'er siid a gai dag'eer
 Harnais'ed weel, and sharp as point of speer;
 A Krist-ofr- on -is brest of sil-ver sheen'e.
 An morn -e baar, dhe baurdrik was of green'e. 116
 A forsteer was -e sooth-lii, as Ii ges'e.

4. Dhe Prii'ores'e.

Dheer was al-soo a Nun, a Prii'ores'e,
 Dhat of -iir smil-iq was ful simpl- and kui,
 Hiir greet-est ooth was but biī saa'nt Lui; 120
 And shee was klep'ed maardaam' Eq'lentii'n'e.
 Ful weel she saq dhe serviis'e divii'ne,
 Entyyn'ed in -iir nooz'e ful seem'eli,
 And Frensh she spaak ful fair and fec'tisli, 124
 After dhe skool of Stratford at'e Boou'e,
 For Frensh of Paar'is' was to niir unknow'e,
 At mee'te weel itauk'ht was shee withal'e,
 She leet noo morsel from -iir lip'es fale, 128
 Ne wet -iir fig'gerz in -iir saus'e deep'e.
 Weel kuud she kar'i a morsel, and weel keep'e
 Dhat no drop'e fil upon -iir brest'e.
 In kur'taisii'e was set ful mutsh -iir lest'e. 132
 Hiir overlip'e wiip'ed shee soo kleen'e,
 Dhat in -iir kup'e was no ferdh'iq seen'e
 Of grees'e, whan shee druq'ken had -iir drauk'ht.
 Ful see'meli after -iir meet'e she rauk'ht. 136
 And sik'erlii she was of greet dispoort'e,
 And ful plee'zaunt and aa'miaa'bl- of poort'e,
 And pain'ed niir to kuun'trefect'e tsheer'e
 Of kuurt, and been estaat-litsh of man'eer'e, 140
 And to been roold'en diin of reev'rens'e.
 But for to speek'en of -iir kon'siens'e,
 She was soo tshaar'itaa'bl- and soo pii'tuus',
 She wold'e weep, if dhat she sang'eh a muus 144
 Kauk'ht in a trap, if it wer deed or bled'e.
 Of smaale rund'es had she, dhat she fed'e
 With roost'ed flesh, and milk and was'tel breed,
 But soor'e wep'te shee if oon of hem wer deed, 148

Saint Loy. Both the last suggestions make a lame line by throwing the accent on by, unless we make by saynt Loy, a quotation of the Nonne's oath, which is not probable. The Ha. has nas, the Six MSS. have was simply. For othe, which is a very doubtful form, Prof. Child refers to 1141, where Ha. reads: This was, thyn othe and myn eek certayn, which would require the exceptional preser-

vation of the open vowel in othe, but all the Six MSS. read: This was thyn ooth, and myn also certeyn, only P., L. write a superfluous e as othe. 122 seryse. See supra, p. 331. 131 fil, all MSS. except He. read ne fil. The insertion of ne would introduce a iii. 132 ful, so E. Ca. Co. I. 148 So all MSS., producing an Alexandrine, see supra p. 649.

- Or if men smoot' it with a yerde smerte,
 And al was *conscienc'* and *tend're* herte.
 Ful semely hir' wimp'l ypinched was;
 Hir' nose streyt; hir' eyen grey as glas; 152
 Hir' mouth ful smaal, and theerto soft' and reed,
 But sikerly sche hadd' a fayr foorheed.
 It was almoost a spanne brood, I trowe,
 For *hardily* sche was not undergrowe. 156
 Ful *fetis* was hir' clook' as I was waar.
 Of smaal *coraal* about hir' arm sche baar
 A *payr'* of bedes *gawded* al with grene;
 And theeron heng a *brooch* of goold ful schene, 160
 iii On which ther was first writen a *crowned* A
 And after: AMOR VINCIT OMNIA.

5. 6. 7. 8. ANOTHER NONNE AND THRE PREESTES.

- Another *Nonn'* also with hir' hadd' sche,
 That was hir' *chapellayn*, and Preestes thre. 164

9. THE MONK.

- A Monk ther was, a fayr for the *maystrye*,
 An out-rydeer, that loved' *venerye*;
 A manly man, to been an abbot *abel*.
 Ful many a deynte hors hadd' he in *stabel*: 168
 And whan he rood, men might his bridel here
 — Gingen, in a whistling' wind' as *clere*
 And eek as loud' as dooth the *chapel* belle
 Theer as this lord was keper of the *celle*. 172
 The *reul'* of *Saynt Maur'* or of *Saynt Beneyt*,
 Becaws' that it was oold and somdeel *streyt*,
 This ilke Monk leet it forby him *pace*,
 And heeld after the newe world the *space*. 176
 He yaaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
 That sayth, that hunter's been noon holy men,
 No that a monk, whan he is recchelees,
 Is lyken'd to a fiseh' that's waterlees; 180
 This is to sayn, a monk out of his *cloyster*,
 But thilke text heeld he not worth an *oyster*.

159 *payr'*. This was accidentally not counted among the French words on p. 651.

164 *Chapellayn*. See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 92.

170 *Gingen*. E. *gyngle*. He. *gyngelyn* Ca., *gynglyng* Co. Pe. L. In any case the line has an imperfect initial measure, and the reading in He. has only four measures.

175 This line has evidently caused difficulties to the old transcribers. The following are the readings:

This ilke monk leet forby hem *pace*. —Ha.

This ilke monk leet olde thynges *pace*.—The six MSS.

Now the Ha. is not only defective in metre, but in sense, for there is no antecedent to *hem*. The two rules

Or if men smoot *it* with a jerd'e smert'e,
 And al was kon'siens' and tend're hert'e.
 Ful seem'eli*i* -*iir* wimpl- ipintsh'ed was,
 Hi*ir* nooz'e strait, hi*ir* ai'en grai as glas, 152
 Hi*ir* muuth ful smaal, and dheer-too' soft and reed,
 But sik'erli*i* she had a fair foor'heed'.
 It was almoost' a span'e brood, *li* troune,
 For hard'ili*i* she was not un'dergroou'e. 156
 Ful fee'tis was -*iir* klook, as *li* was waar.
 Of smaal koo-raal' abut' -*iir* arm she baar
 A pair of beed'es gaud'ed al with green'e;
 And dheer'on heq a brootsh of goold ful sheen'e, 160
 On whitsh dher was first wri'ten a kruun'ed Aa,
 And after, Aa mor vin'sit om'n'iaa.

5. 6. 7. 8. Anudh'er Nune and three Preestes.

Anudh'er Nun alsoo' with hi*ir* -ad shee,
 Dhat was -*iir* tshaa'pelain'; and Preest'es three. 164

9. Dhe Muqk.

A Muqk dher was, a fair for dhe mais'tri'e,
 An uut'riideer', dhat luv'ed veenerii'e,
 A man'li*i* man, to been an abot aa'b'l.
 Ful man'i- a dain'tee hors -ad hee in staa'b'l: 168
 And whan -e rood men mi'kht -is bri'd'l' heer'e
 Dzhiq'glen in a whist'liq wind as klee'r'e
 And eek as luud as dooth dhe tshaa'pel' bel'e
 Dheer as dhi's lord was keeper of dhe sel'e. 172
 Dhe rryl of saint Maur or of saint Benait',
 Bekauss' dhat it was oold and sum'deel strait,
 Dhi's ilk'e Muqk leet it forbii -im paas'e,
 And heeld aft'er dhe neu'e world dhe spaas'e. 176
 He jaaf nat of dhat tekst a pul'ed nen,
 Dhat saith dhat hunt'erz been noon hool'ii men,
 Ne dhat a muqk, whan hee is retsh'eles,
 Is li'k'end too a fish dhat -s waa'terlees; 180
 Dhat is to sain, a muqk uut of -is kluister,
 But dhi'lk'e tekst heeld hee not wurth an uist'er.

named being separated by *or*, have been referred to as *it* in the preceding line. I therefore conjecturally insert *it* and change *hem* to *him*, though I cannot bring other instances of the use of *forby him*. The reading of the six MSS. gets out of the difficulty by a clumsy repetition of *old*, and by leaving a sentence incomplete thus: "the rule . . . because that it was old . . . this monk

let old things pass," which must be erroneous.

179 *recchelees*, so the six MSS. It probably stands for *rezhel-lees*, without his rule, which not being a usual phrase required the explanation of v. 181, and the Ha. cloysterles was only a gloss which crept into the text out of v. 181, and renders that line a useless repetition.

- And I sayd' his *opynioun* was good.
- iii What! schuld' he *studi'*, and mak' himselven wood, 184
 Upon a book in *cloyst'r* alwey to poure,
 Or swinke with his handes, and *laboure*,
 As Awstin bit? Hou schal the world be *served*?
 Let Awstin hav' his swink to him *reserved*. 188
 Theerfor' he was a prikasour aright;
 Grayhound's he hadd' as swift as foul in flight,
 Of priking' and of hunting' for the hare
 Was al his lust, for no *cost* wold' he spare. 192
 I sawgh his slev's *purfyled* atte honde
 With *grys'* and that the *syncst* of a londe,
 And for to fest'n' his hood under his chin
 iii He hadd' of goold ywrowght a *curious* pin; 196
 iii A loveknot' in the greter ende ther was.
 iii His heed was balled and schoon as any glas,
 And eek his *faac'* as he hadd' been *anoynt*;
 He was a lord ful fat and in good *poynt*; 200
 His eyen steep, and *rolling'* in his heed,
 That stemed, as a *fornays* of a leed;
 His *botes soup'l*, his hors in greet *estaat*.
 Nou *certainly* he was a fayr *prelaat*; 204
 He was not *pal'* as a forpynd goost.
 A fat swan lov'd' he best of any *roost*.
 + His *palfrey* was as broun as is a berye.

10. THE FRERE.

- + iii A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye, 208
 A *limitour*, a ful *solemne* man.
 In alle th' *ord'res* fowr' is noon that can
 So moch' of *daliawne'* and fayr *langage*.
 iii He hadd' ymaad ful many a fayr *marriage* 212
 Of yonge wimmen, at his owne *cost*.
 Unto his *ord'r* he was a *nobel post*.
 iii Ful weel bilov'd and *familieer* was he 216
 With frankeleyns ov'ral in his *cuntre*,
 And eek with worthy wimmen of the toun:
 For he hadd' *poueer* of *confessioun*,
 As sayd' himself, more than a *curaat*,
 For of his *ord'r* he was *licenciaat*. 220
 Ful swetely herd' he *confessioun*,
 And *plesawnt* was his *absolucioun*;
 iii He was an *esy* man to yeve *penaunce*
 iii Theer as he wiste to haan a good *pitawnce*; 224

184 *studi'*, although taken from the French, so that we should expect u = (yy), Ca. and L. read *stodie*, shewing u = (u), which agrees with the

modern u = (ə), and has therefore been adopted.

201 steep, bright, see *steap* on p. 108 of Cockayne's *St. Marherete* (supra p. 471, n. 2).

And *Hi* said *his* oo·*pi*i·*ni*uun· was good.
 What! shuld -e stud·i and maak -i·mself·en wood, 184
 Upon· a book in kluist·r- al·wai to pun·re,
 Or swi·q·e with -is hand·es and laa·buu·re,
 As Aust·in bi·t? Huu shal dhe world be serv·ed?
 Let Aust·in haav -is swi·q· to him reserv·ed. 188
 Dheerfoor· -e was a prii·kaasuur· ari·kht;
 Grai·hundz· -e had as swift as fuul in fli·kht;
 Of pri·i·q and of hunt·i·q for dhe haare
 Was al -is lust, for noo kost wold -e spaar·e. 192
Hi sauk·w·h -is slee·vz pur·fiil·ed at·e hond·e
 With griis, and dhat dhe fii·nest of a lond·e,
 And for to fest·n- -is hood un·der· -is tshin
 He had of goold i·wou·k·wht· a kyy·rius pin; 196
 A luv·e-knot in dhe greet·er end·e dher was.
 His need was bal·ed and shoon as an·ii glas,
 And eek -is faas, as hee -ad been anuint·.
 He was a lord ful fat and in good point; 200
 His ai·en steep, and rool·i·q in -is need,
 Dhat steem·ed as a fur·nais· of a leed;
 His boot·es sup·l-, -is hors in greet estaat·.
 Nuu scr·tainlii· -e was a fair prelaat; 204
 He was not paal as a for·pi·n·ed goost.
 A fat swan luv·d -e best of an·ii roost.
 His pal·frai was as bruun as is a ber·ie.

10. Dhe Freere

A Freer·e dher was, a wan·tuun and a mer·ie, 208
 A lii·mii·tuur·, a ful soo·lem·ne man.
 In al·e dh- or·dres foour is noon dhat can
 Soo mutsh of daa·liauns· and fair laq·gaadz·re.
 He had i·maad· ful man·i a fair mar·iaadz·re 212
 Of juq·e wim·en, at -is ooun·e kost.
 Untoo· -is or·dr- -e was a noo·b·l post.
 Ful weel bi·luyd· and faa·milicer· was hee
 With fraq·clainz· ov·ral· in his kun·tree·, 216
 And eek with wurdh·ii wim·en of dhe tuun:
 For hee -ad pun·cer· of konfes·iuun·,
 As said -i·mself, moore dhan a kyy·raat·,
 For of -is or·dr- -e was lii·sen·siaat·. 220
 Ful sweet·eli·i herd hee konfes·iuun·,
 And plee·saunt· was -is ab·sooly·y·siuun·;
 He was an eez·ii man to jeev·e penauns·e
 Dheer as -e wiste· to haan a good pii·tauns·e; 224

202 fornays, see Temporary Preface to the Six-Text edition, p. 99. 219 See *suprà* p. 331, note. All MSS. agree.
 212 ful occurs in all six MSS.
 217 wimmen, wommen Ha. E. 223 y·e·v·e, all MSS. except L.
 He. Co. P., wemen Ca., wemmen L. have the final e.

- For unto a *por'* order for to yeve
 Is *signe* that a man is weel yschreve.
 For if he yaaf, he dorste mak' *avaunt*,
 He wiste that a man was *repentaunt*. 228
- iii For many a man so hard is of his herte,
 He may not wepe though him sore smerte.
 Theerfor' insted' of weping' and *preyeres*,
 vi Men moote yeve silver to the *pore freres*. 232
- His tipet was ay *farsed* ful of knyfes
 And pinnes, for to yeve fayre wyfes.
 And *certainly* he hadd' a mery note.
 Weel coud' he sing' and pleyen on a *rote*. 236
- Of yedding's he baar utterly the *prys*.
 His necke whyt was as the *flour-de-lys*.
 Theerto he strong was as a *chawmpioun*.
 He knew the *tavern's* weel in ev'ry toun, 240
- And ev'rich *ostelleer* or *gay* tapsteer,
 Better than a *lazeer* or a beggeer,
 For unto swich a worthy man as he
Accorded not, as by his *faculte*, 244
- To haan with sike *lazeer's* *acqueyntaunce*.
 It is not *honest*, it may not *avaunce*,
 — For to delen with noon swich *porayle*,
 But al with *rich'* and seller's of *vitayle*. 248
- And ov'ral, ther as *profit* schuld' aryse,
Curteys he was, and lowly of *servyse*.
 Ther was no man no wheer so *vertuous*.
 He was the beste beggeer in his hous, 252
- For though a widwe hadde nowght a sho,
 So *plesaunt* was his *IN PRINCIPIO*,
 Yet wold' he haan a ferthing er he wente.
 His *pourchaas* was weel better than his *rente*. 256
- And *rag'* he coud' and pleyen as a whelp,
 In lovedayes coud' he mochel help'.
 For theer was he not lyk' a *cloystereer*,
 vi With a threedbare *cop'* as a pore *scoleer*, 260
- But he was lyk' a *mayster* or a pope.
 Of *doubel* worsted was his *semicope*,

232 All MSS. agree in making this a line of six measures, and it seems to portray the whining beggary of the cry, *suprà* p. 649.

235 note, throte Ca.

240 *tavern's* weel, the six MSS. have this order. Ha. wel the *tavernes*.

247 non E. Ha. Ca., the others omit it.

249 as omitted in Ha. Ca., found in the rest.

252 After this line He. alone inserts the couplet—

And yaf a *certeyn* ferme, for the *graunte*

Noon of his bretheren, cam ther in his haunte.

253 So all the six MSS., meaning, although a widow had next to nothing in the world, yet so pleasant was his introductory lesson *In principio erat*

For un'to a poor ord'er for to Jeev'e
Is si'ne dhat a man *is* weel ishree'v'e.
 For *if* -e jaaf, -e durst'e maak avaunt',
 He wist'e dhat a man was ree'pentaunt'. 228
 For man'i a man soo hard *is* of -*is* hert'e,
 He mai not weep'e dhooukw'h -*in* soore smert'e.
 Dheer'foor' insteed' of weep'iq' and prai'eer'es,
 Men moot'e Jeev'e sil'v'er too dhe poor'e freer'es. 232
 His tip'et was ai fars'ed ful of kni'f'es,
 And pin'es for to Jeev'e faire wi'f'es.
 And ser'tainlii -e had a mer'ii noot'e.
 Weel kuud -e siq and plai'en on a root'e. 236
 Of Jed'iqz nee baar uterlii dhe priis.
 His nek'e whiit was as dhe fluur de liis.
 Dheer'too' -e stroq was as a tshaump'iuun'.
 He kneu dhe taa'vernz' weel in ev'rii tuun, 240
 And ev'ritsh osteleer' or gai tapsteer',
 Bet'er dhan a laa'zeer' or a beg'eer',
 For un'to switsh a wurdh'ii man as hee
 Akord'ed not, as bi' -*is* fak'ultee 244
 To naan with siik'e laa'zeerz aa'kwain'tauns'e;
 It *is* not on'est, it mai not avauns'e,
 For to deel'en with noon switsh poor'ail'e
 But al with ritsh and sel'erz of vii'tail'e. 248
 And ov'ral', dheer as prof'it shuld ariis'e,
 Kurtais' -e was, and loou'lii of serv'is'e.
 Dher was noo man noo wheer soo ver'tyy'uus'.
 He was dhe best'e beg'eer' in -*is* huus, 252
 For dhooukw'h a wi'd-we had'e noukw'ht a shoo,
 So plee'saunt' was -*is* In pr'ins'ii'p'ioo,
 Jet wold -e naan a ferdh'iq eer -e went'e.
 His puur'tshaas' was weel bet'er dhan -*is* rent'e. 256
 And raadzh -e kuud, and plai'en as a whelp,
 In luv'edaies kuud -e mutsh'el help.
 For dheer was nee not liik a kluist'ereer',
 With a threed'baare koop as a poo're skol'eer', 260
 But nee was liik a mais'ter or a poo'pe.
 Of duu'b'l wor'sted was -*is* sem'koop'e,

verbum (See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text ed. of Chaucer, p. 93) that he would coax a trifle out of her. The Ha. reads but oo schoo, on which see Temp. Pref. p. 94. That we are not to take the words literally, but that *schoo* was merely used as a representative of something utterly worthless, which was convenient for the rhyme, just as *pulled hen* 177, or *oyster* 182, and the usual *bean, straw*, modern *fig, farthing*, etc., is shewn by its use in the Prologe to

the Wyf of Bathe, 6288 as pointed out by Mr. Aldis Wright,—

The clerk whan he is old, and may nought do

Of Venus werkis, is not worth a scho.
 256 weel, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha.

260 So all MSS. except Ca. which reads, as is a scholar, against rhythm. Compare v. 232. See also Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 100.

And *rounded* as a bell' out of the *presse*.
 Somwhat he lipped, for his wantounnesse, 264
 To mak' his Englisch swet' upon his tonge;
 And in his harping', whan that he hadd' songe,
 His eyghen twinkled in his heed aright.
 As doon the sterres in the frosty night. 268
 This worthy *limitour* was call'd *Huberd*.

11. THE MARCHAWNT.

A *Marchawnt* was ther with a forked berd,
 — In motlee and heygh on hors he sat,
 Upon his heed a *Flawndrisch* bever hat; 272
 His *botes* clapsed fayr' and *fetisly*.
 His *resouns* spaak he ful *solemnely*,
Souning' alwey th' *encrees* of his winninge.
 iii He wolde the se wer' kept for any thinge 276
 Betwixe *Middeburgh* and *Orewelle*.
 Weel coud' he in *eschawng*e scheldes selle,
 This worthy man ful weel his wit bisette;
 Ther wiste no wight that he was in *dette*, 280
 So *staadly* was he of his *governawnce*,
 With his *bargayn's*, and with his *chevisaunce*.
 For sooth' he was a worthy man withalle,
 But sooth to sayn, I n'oot hou men him calle. 284

12. THE CLERK.

A Clerk ther was of *Oxenfoord'* also,
 That unto *logik* hadde long' ygo.
 So lene was his hors as is a rake,
 And he n'as not right fat, I undertake, 288
 But loked' holw', and theerto soberly.
 Ful threedbar' was his ov'rest courtepy,
 iii For he hadd' geten him yet no *benefeyce*,
 Ne was so worldly for to hav' *offyce*. 292
 For him was lever hav' at his bedd's heed
 — Twenty bokes, clad in blak and reed,
 Of *Aristot'l*, and his *philosophye*,
 Than *robes rich'* or fith'l or *gay sawtrye*. 296

264 his, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha. which therefore required lippede for the metre.

271 motlee, so all but Ha. I. which have mottel ey. The word is obscure, and may be Welch mudliw, (myd-liu) of a changing colour.

274 All MSS. read he spaak,

but the order of the words is conjecturally altered on account of the rhythm.

275 soun appears in ags. as son, (Ettmüller 667) but only as the substantive song. As the word has here the form of one derived from the French it is here printed in italics and marked as French.

And ruund'ed as a bel uut of dhe pres'e.
 Sum'what' he lip'sed, for -is wan'tuunnes'e, 264
 To maak -is Eq'l'ish sweet upon' dhe tuq'e;
 And in -is nar'p'iq, whan dhat nee -ad suq'e,
 His aik'hen twiq'k'led in -is heed arikht,
 As doon dhe ster'es in dhe frost'ii nikht. 268
 Dhis wurdh'ii li'mii'tuur was kald Hyy'berd'.

11. Dhe Martshaunt.

A Martshaunt' was dher with a fork'ed berd,
 In motlee' and naikth on hors -e sat,
 Upon' -is heed a Flaum'drish beever nat; 272
 His boot'es klaps'ed fair and feet'slii.
 His ree'suuns' spaak -e ful soolem'nelii,
 Suun'iq' alwai' dh-enkrees' of his win'iq'e.
 He wold'e dhe see wer kept for an'ii thi'q'e 276
 Betwik'se Mid'eburkh and Oo'rewel'e.
 Weel kuud -e in est'shaundzh'e sheld'es sel'e.
 Dhis wurdh'ii man ful weel -is wit' biset'e;
 Dher wist'e noo wikht dhat -e was in det'e, 280
 Soo staat'lii was nee of -is guu'ernauns'e,
 With his bargainz' and with -is tsheev'v'isauns'e.
 For sooth -e was a wurdh'ii man withal'e,
 But sooth to sain, Ii n'-oot nuu man -im kal'e. 284

12. Dhe Klerk.

A Klerk dher was of Ok'senfoord' al'soo',
 Dhat un'to lodzh'ik had'e loq'igoo'.
 So leen'e was -is hors as is a raak'e,
 And nee n'-as not rikht fat, Ii undertaak'e. 288
 But look'ed hol'w- and dheer'too soo'berlii.
 Ful threed'baar was -is ov'rest kur'tepii,
 For nee -ad get'en -im yet noo benefi's'e,
 Ne was soo wurdh'ii for to naav ofii's'e. 292
 For him was leev'er naav at his bedz' heed
 Twen'tii book'es, klad in blak and reed,
 Of Aristot'l-, and his fii'loo'soo'fi'e,
 Dhan roob'es ritsh or fidh'l- or gai sautri'e. 296

281 staatly, so Co., the rest have estaatly, and Ha. alone omits his, against the metre. If we read: so estaatly, the first measure will be trissyllabic.

288 n'as, so E. Ca. Co., but was Ha. He. P. and L.

291 geten him yet no, E.

He. Ca.; yit geten him no P., nought geten him yet a Ha., geten him no, Co. L.

292 worldly E. He. Co., wordely Ca., wordly P., werdly L., Ne was not worthy to haven an office Ha.

296 gay, so all MSS. except Ha. which omits it.

- But albe that he was a *philosopher*,
 Yet hadd' he but a lytel gold in *cofer*,
 But al that he might' of his frendes hente,
 On bokes and on lerning' he it spente, 300
 And bisily gan for the sowles *preye*
 Of hem, that yaaf him wherwith to *scoleye*.
 iii Of *studie* tok he moost *cur'* and moost heed.
 Not oo word spaak he more than was need; 304
 And that was seyed in *form* and *reverence*,
 And schort and quik, and ful of heygh *sentence*.
Souning' in *moral vertu* was his speche,
 And gladly wold' he lern' and gladly *teche*. 308

13. THE SERGEAWNT OF LAWE.

- A *Sergeawnt* of Lawe, waar and wys,
 That often hadde ben at the *parrys*,
 Ther was alsoo, ful *rich'* of *excellence*.
Discreet he was, and of greet *reverence*. 312
 He semed' swich, his wordes wer' so wyse.
Justys' he was ful often in *assyse*
 By *patent*, and by *pleyn commissioun*,
 For his *scienc'*, and for his heygh *renoun*; 316
 Of fees and *robes* hadd' he many oon.
 So greet a *pourchasour* was no wheer noon.
 Al was fee *simpel* to him in *effect*,
 iii His *pourchasing* ne mighte not ben *infect*. 320
 iii No wheer so bisy a man as he ther n'as,
 iii And yit he semed' bisier than he was.
 In *termes* hadd' he *caas* and domes alle,
 iii That fro the tym' of king William wer' falle. 324
 Theerto he coud' *endyt'* and mak' a thing.
 Ther coude no wight *pinch'* at his writing'.
 And ev'ry *statut* coud' he *pleyn* by *rote*.
 He rood but hoonly in a *medlee cote*, 328
 Gird with a *ceynt* of silk with *barres* smale;
 Of his *array* tell' I no lenger tale.

297 So the six MSS., the Ha. is unmetrical. The long vowels in *philosopher*, *gold*, *coffer*, are very doubtful, and it is perhaps more probable that short vowels would be correct.

298 "a" is only found in Co. If it is omitted, the first metre becomes defective.

303 moost heed, so the six MSS.; heed Ha.

305 So all the six MSS. (H. has *spoke*), but Ha. has the entirely dif-

ferent line: Al that he spak it was of heye prudence. The whole of the clerk's character is defective in Ha. In "Cassell's Magazine" for May, 1869, p. 479, col. 1, there occurs the following paragraph: "The following pithy sketch of Oxford life half a dozen centuries ago is from the pen of Wycliffe:—The scholar is famed for his logic; Aristotle is his daily bread, but otherwise his rations are slender enough. The horse he rides is as lean as is a rake, and the rider is no better off. His cheek is hollow, and his coat

But al bee dhat -e wer a *fii'loo'soof'er*,
 Jet nad -e but a *lii't'l* goold in *koof'er*,
 And al dhat nee *mikht* of -is frend'es *ment'e*,
 On book'es and on *lern'iq* nee it spent'e, 300
 And *biz'ili* gan for dhe sooul'es *prai'e*
 Of hem dhat *jaaf -im* wheer'with to *skolai'e*.
 Of stud'ie took -e moost *kyr* and moost *heed*.
 Not oo word spaak -e moor'e dhan was need; 304
 And dhat was said in form and ree'verens'e,
 And short and *kwik* and ful of *haikh* *sentens'e*.
 Suu'niq in moo'raal ver'tyy' was -is *speetsh'e*,
 And glad'lii wold -e lern, and glad'lii *teetsh'e*. 308

13. Dhe Serdzhecaunt of Lau'e.

A Serdzhecaunt of Lau'e, waar and *wiis*,
 Dhat often nad'e been at dhe par'viis',
 Dher was alsoo, ful ritsh of ek'selens'e.
 Diskreet -e was and of greet ree'verens'e. 312
 He seem'ed switsh, -is word'es wer soo *wiis'e*.
 Dzhyystr'is -e was ful often in *asiis'e*
 Bii paa'tent, and bii plain *komis'iun*,
 For his *si'ens*, and for -is *haikh* *renuun*; 316
 Of feez and roob'es nad -e man'ii oon.
 So greet a puur'tshaa'suur was noo wheer noon.
 Al was fee sim'p'l too -im in *efekt*,
 His puur'tshaas'iq ne *mikht'e* not been *infekt*. 320
 Noo wheer soo *biz'i* a man as nee dher n- -as,
 And *jit* -e seem'ed *biz'ier* dhan -e was.
 In term'es nad -e kaas and doom'es al'e,
 Dhat froo dhe *tiim* of *kiq* Wil'aam wer fal'e. 324
 Dheertoo ne kuud *endiit* and maak a *thiq*.
 Dher kuud'e noo *wikht* pintsh at his *rwiit'iq*.
 And ev'rii staa'tyyt kuud -e plain *bii* root'e.
 He rood but room'lii in a med'lee koot'e, 328
 Gird with a saint of silk with bar'es *smaal'e*;
 Of his arai tel *Ii* noo leq'ger taal'e.

threadbare. His bedroom is his study. Over his bed's head are some twenty volumes in black and red. Whatever coin he gets goes for books, and those who help him to coin will certainly have the advantage of his prayers for the good of their souls while they live, or their repose when they are dead. His words are few, but full of meaning. His highest thought of life is of learning and teaching. This is obviously a modern English translation of the present passage. Is there anything like it in Wycliffe?

306 heygh, so the six MSS., gret Ha. apparently because of heye in the preceding line of that recension.

307 vertu, so the six MSS. manere Ha.

310 at the, so all MSS. except Ha. and P., see *suprà* p. 331, note.

320 infect, so all six MSS., suspecte Ha.

327 pley n, Fr. *plein*, fully compare v. 337.

14. THE FRANKLEYN.

- A Frankeleyn was in his *companye*;
 Whyt was his berd, as is the dayesye. 332
 Of his *complexioun* he was *sangwyn*.
 Weel lov'd' he by the morrw' a sop in wyn'.
 To lyven in *delyt* was e'er his wone,
 For he was EPICURUS owne sone, 336
 That heeld *opinioun* that *pleyn delyt*
 Was *verrayly felicitye*.
 An housholdeer, and that a greet was he;
Saynt Juliaan he was in his *cuntree*. 340
 iii His breed, his ale, was alwey after oon;
 A bettr' *envyned* man was no wheer noon.
 iii Withoute bake mete was ne'er his hous
 Of fisch' and flesch', and that so *plenterous* 344
 It snewed in his hous of met' and drinke
 Of alle deyntees that men coude thinke.
 After the sondry *sesouns* of the yeer',
 So *chawnged*' he his met' and his *soupeer*. 348
 iii Ful many a fat *partrich* hadd' he in *meue*,
 iii And many a *breem* and many a *luc'* in *steue*.
 Woo was his cook, but if his *sawce* were
Poynaunt and scharp, and redy al his gere. 352
 His *tabel dormaunt* in his hall' alwey
 Stood redy *cover'd* al the longe day.
 At *sessiouns* theer was he lord and *syre*.
 Ful ofte tym' he was knight of the schyre. 356
 An *anlas* and a *gipseer* al of silk
 Heng at his girdel, whyt as morne milk.
 A shyreev hadd' he been, and a *countour*.
 Was no wheer such a worthy *ravasour*. 360

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. THE HABERDASCHEER, CARPENTEEER, WEBBE,
DYEEER, AND TAPICEER.

- An Haberdascheer, and a *Carpenteeer*,
 A Webb', a Dyeer, and a *Tapiceer*,
 Wer' with us eek, clothed in oo *liv'ree*,
 Of a *solemn'* and greet *fraternite*. 364
 Ful fresch and new' her' ger' apyked was;
 Her' knyfes wer' *ychaped* not with bras,
 But al with silver wrowght ful clen' and weel
 Her' girdles and her' *pouches* ev'ry deel. 368
 Weel seemed' eek of hem a fayr *burgeys*
 To sitten in a yeld'hall' on the *deys*.

334 sop in wyn, so all six
 MSS., sop of wyn Ha.

348 So all six MSS. Ha. reads:
 He chaunged hem at mete and at
 soper, which is clearly wrong:

14. Dhe Fraqkelain.

A Fraqkelain was in -is kum'pani'e;
 Whiit was -is berd, as is dhe dai'esii'e. 332
 Of -is komplek'siun' -e was saqgwiin'.
 Weel luvd -e in dhe morn a sop in wiin'.
 To liiv'en in deliit' was eer -is wuun'e,
 For hee was Ee'piiky'rus ooun'e suun'e, 336
 Dhat heeld oop'i'niun' dhat plain deliit'.
 Was verailii' fee'li'sii'tee' per'fiit'.
 An huus'hooldeer, and dhat a greet was hee;
 Saint Dzhyy'liaan' -e was in his kun'tree'. 340
 His breed, his aale, was al'wai after oon;
 A bet'r- enviin'ed man was noo wheer noon.
 Withuut'e baak'e meet'e was neer -is huus
 Of fish, and flesh, and dhat soo plent'evuus 344
 It sneued in -is huus of meet and driqk'e.
 Of al'e dain'tees dhat men kuud'e thi'k'e.
 Aft'er dhe sun'drii' see'suunz' of dhe jeer,
 Soo tshaundzh'ed hee his meet and his suupeer'. 348
 Ful man'i a fat partritsh' -ad hee in myy'e,
 And man'i a breem and man'i a lyys in sty'ye'.
 Woo was -is kook, but if -is saus'e weer'e
 Puin'aunt' and sharp, and reed'ii' al -is geer'e. 352
 His taa'b'l dormaunt' in -is hal alwai'.
 Stood red'ii' kuv'erd al dhe loqe dai'.
 At ses'iuunz' dheer was -e lord and siir'e.
 Ful oft'e tiim -e was kni'kht of dhe shiir'e. 356
 An an'las and a dzhip'seer al of sil'k
 Heq at -is gi'r'd'l, whiit as morn'e mil'k.
 A shiir'reev' had -e been, and a kun'tuur'.
 Was noo wheer sutsh a wurdh'ii' vaa'vaasuur'. 360

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. Dhe Hab'erdash'eer, Karpenteer,
Webe, Diir'eer, and Taa'pii'seer.

An Hab'erdash'eer and a Karpenteer',
 A Web, a Diir'eer, and a Taa'pii'seer',
 Weer with us eek, cloodh'ed in oo liiv'ree',
 Of a soo'lem'n- and greet fraa'ter'niitee'. 364
 Ful fresh and neu -er geer apu'k'ed was;
 Her kniif'es wer itshaap'ed not with bras,
 But al with sil'ver wouk'wht ful kleen and weel
 Her gi'r'dles and -er puutsh'es ey'rii' deel. 368
 Weel seem'ed eetsh of hem a fair bur'dzhais'
 To sit'en in a jeld'hal on dhe dais'.

362 d'yeer, so the six MSS., Harl.
deyer, see *dyer*, p. 643.

365 apyked, so all six MSS.,
piked Ha.

- Ev'rich for the wisdom that he can,
 Was schaaply for to been an alderman. 372
 For *catel* hadde they ynough and *rente*,
 And eek her' wyfes wold' it weel *assente*;
 And elles *certayn* weren they to *blame*.
 It is ful fayr to be yeleft *Madame*, 376
 And goo to *vigilyes* al bifore,
 And haan a *mantel* really ybore.

20. THE COOK.

A Cook they hadde with hem for the nones,
 To *boyle* chicknes with the mary bones, 380
 And *poudre-marchawnt* tart, and *galingale*.
 Weel coud' he know' a drawght of London ale.
 He coude *roost'*, and seeth', and *broyl'*, and *frye*,
 Make *mortrewes*, and weel bak' a *pye*. 384
 But greet harm was it, as it semed' me,
 That on his schinn' a *mormal* hadde he;
 For *blankmangeer* that maad' he with the beste.

21. THE SCHIPMAN.

- A Schipman was ther, woning' fer by weste; 388
 For owght I woot, he was of Dertemouthe.
 He rood upon a *rouncy* as he couthe,
 — In a gown of falding' to the kne.
 A *daggeer* hanging' on a *laas* hadd' he 392
 About' his neck' under his arm adoun.
 iii The hootte sommer hadd' mad' his hew al broun;
 And *certaynly* he was a good felawe.
 iii Ful many a drawght of wyn hadd' he ydrawe 396
 From *Bourdeaux*-ward, whyl that the chapman sleep.
 Of *nyce conscienc'* he took no keep.
 If that he fowght, and hadd' the heygher hand,
 iii By water he sent' hem hoom to ev'ry land'. 400
 But of his craft to reken weel the tydes,
 His stremes and his *dawnger's* him bisydes,

371 everich, so all six MSS.,
 every man Ha.

375 weren they, so, or: they
 were, read all the six MSS., hadde
 they be Ha.

380 mary, ags. *nearh*, the *h* be-
 coming unusually palatalised to -y,
 instead of labialised to -we; the paren-
 thetical remark p. 254, n. 1. is wrong.

381 *poudre-marchawnt*, see
 Temp. Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of
 Chaucer, p. 96.

386 Prof. Child reads: That on
 his schyne—a mormal hadd' he, *supra*

p. 363. The Six MSS. render many
 of the examples there cited suspicious,
 see note on v. 120 for v. 1141. In v.
 1324, He. reads *moot*, and the line
 may be: Withouten dout' it mote
 stonden so. For v. 1337 all six MSS.
 read: And let him in his prisoun stille
 dwelle. For v. 2286 all six MSS.
 read: But hou sche did' hir' ryt' I
 dar not telle. For v. 2385, E. He.
 Ca. Co. L. read: For thilke peyn' and
 thilke hote fyr. In v. 2714, E. He.
 Ca. have: Somm' hadden salves and
 somm' hadden charmes. For v. 1766,

Ev'ritsh for dhe wis'doom dhat -e kan,
 Was shaap'lii for to been an al'derman. 372
 For kat'el had'e dhai inuuk'wh' and rent'e,
 And eek -er wiif'es wold it weel asent'e;
 And el'es sort'ain weeren dhai to blaam'e.
 It is ful fair to be i'klept' Ma a'da a'm'e, 376
 And goo to vii'dzhili'ies al bi'foore,
 And haan a man't'l ree'alii i'boore.

20. Dhe Kook.

A Kook dhai had'e with -em for dhe noon'es,
 To buil'e tshik'nes with dhe mar'i boones, 380
 And puud're mar'tshaunt' tart, and gaa'li'gual'e.
 Weel kuud -e knoon a drauk'wht of Lun'dun aal'e.
 He kuud'e roost, and seedh, and bruil, and fri'e, 384
 Maake mortreu'es, and weel baak a pii'e.
 But greet harm was it, as it seem'ed mee,
 Dhat on -is shi'n a mormaal' had'e hee;
 For bla'k'maan'dzheer dhat maad -e with dhe best'e.

21. Dhe Ship'man.

A Ship'man was dher, wuun'iq fer bii west'e; 388
 For ouk'wht li woot, he was of Der'temuuth'e.
 He rood upon a ruun'sii as -e kuuth'e,
 In a guon of fal'diq' too dhe knee.
 A dag'eer haq'iq on a laas -ad nee 392
 Abuu't -is nek un'der -is arm aduun'.
 Dhe hoot'e sum'er -ad maad -is heu al bruun;
 And sertain'lii -e was a good fel'au'e.
 Ful man'i a drauk'wht of wiin -ad hee idraue 396
 From Buur'deus-ward, whi'l dhat dhe tshap'man sleep.
 Of niis'e kon'siens' -e took noo keep.
 If dhat -e fouk'wht and had dhe haikh'er hand,
 Bii waa'ter -e sent -em hoon to ev'rii land. 400
 But of -is kraft to rek'en weel dhe tiid'es,
 His streem'es and -is daun'dzherz him bisiid'es,

E. He. Ca. Co. L. read: The trespass of hem both' and eek the cause. For v. 4377 (in which read *sight* for *night*) E. He. Pe. L. practically agree with Ha., but it would be easy to conjecture: Til that he hadd' al thilke sight' yseyn. For v. 4405, E. reads *rotie* in place of *rote*, but He. Pe. L. agree with Ha. The form *rotie*, which is more ancient, see Stratmann's Diet. p. 467, would save the open vowel. It is possible, therefore, that the other examples of open e preserved by *cæsura* in Chaucer, would disappear if more

MSS. were consulted. Again, in the first line cited from Gower, i. 143, we see in the example below that two MSS. read: he wept' and with ful woful teres. The practice is therefore doubtful. But final e often remains before *he* at the end of a line in Gower, *supra*, p. 361, art. 76, a. Hence the division in the text is justified. There is no variety in the readings of the MSS.

387 that maad' he, so all six MSS. Ha. he made.

391 falding, = vestis equi vil-

- His herbergh and his moon', his loodmanage,
 Ther was noon swich from Halle to Cartage. 404
Hardy he was; and wys to undertake;
 iii With many a *tempest* hath his berd been schake.
 He knew weel al the haven's, as they were,
 From Scotland to the caap' of *Fynistere*, 408
 And every cryk' in *Bretayn'* and in *Spayne*;
 His *barg'* ycleped was the *Mawdeleyne*.

22. THE DOCTOUR OF PHISYK.

- Ther was also a *Doctour* of *Phisyk*,
 In al this world ne was ther noon him lyk 412
 To spek' of *phisyk* and of *surgerye*;
 For he was grounded in *astronomye*.
 He kept' his *pacient* a ful greet deel
 In *houres* by his *magyk natureel*. 416
 — Weel coud' he *fortunen* th' *ascendent*
 Of his *images* for his *pacient*.
 He knew the *caws'* of ev'ry *maladye*,
 Wer' it of coold, or heet', or *moyst*, or drye, 420
 And wheer *engendred* and of what *humour*;
 He was a *verray parfyt practisour*.
 The *caws'* yknow', and of his harm the rote,
 Anoon he yaaf the syke man his bote. 424
 + Ful redy hadd' he his *apotecaryes*
 + To send' him *drogges*, and his *letuaryes*,
 For eech' of hem mad' other for to winne;
 Her' frendschip' was not newe to beginne. 428
 — Weel knew he th' old' *Esculapius*,
 And *Deiscorides*, and eek *Rufus*;
 Oold *Ipocras*, *Haly*, and *Galien*;
Serapion, *Razys*, and *Avycen*; 432
 iii *Averrois*, *Damascen*, and *Constantyn*;
Bernard and *Gatesden* and *Gilbertyn*.
 iii Of his *dyete mesurabel* was he,
 For it was of noon *superfluite*, 436
 But of greet *nourisching'* and *digestybel*.
 iii His *studie* was but lytel on the *Bybel*.
 In *sangwyn* and in *pers* he clad was al,
 Lyncd with *taffata* and with *sendal'*. 440
 And yit he was but *esy* in *dispence*;
 He kepte that he wan in *pestilence*.
 For goold in *phisyk* is a *cordial*;
 Theerfor' he loved' goold in *special*. 444

losa, see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Ch. p. 99.

403 loodmanage, pilotage, see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 98. A loodman must have been a pilot, or leading-man,

compare loadstone, loadstar. The -age is a French termination.

415 a ful greet deel, so all six MSS., wondurly wel Ha.

425 See Temp. Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 99.

His her'berkh and -is moon', -is lood'manaadzh'e,
 Dher was noon switsh from Hul'e too Kartaadzh'e. 404
 Hard'ii he was, and wiis to un'dertaak'e;
 With man'i a tem'pest hath -is berd been shaak'e.
 He kneu weel al dhe naa'venz, as dhai weere,
 From Skotland too dhe kaap of Fi'nistec'e, 408
 And ev'rii kriik in Bree'tain and in Spain'e;
 His baardzh i'klep'ed was dhe Mau'delain'e.

22. Dhe Dok'tuur of Fi'ziik.

Dher was alsoo a Dok'tuur of Fi'ziik,
 In al dhe world ne was dher noon -im liik 412
 To speek of fi'ziik and of sur'dzherii'e;
 For hee was grund'ed in astro'nomii'e.
 He kept -is paa'sient a ful greet deel
 In uures bi' -is maadzhiiik naa'tyy'reel. 416
 Weel kuud hee fortyyn'en dh-as'endent
 Of his imaadzh'es for -is paa'sient.
 He kneu dhe kauz of ev'rii maa'laadi'e,
 Weer it of kool'd, or heet, or muist, or dri'e, 420
 And wheer endzhen'dred, and of what nyy'muur';
 He was a ver'ai par'fiiit prak'tii'suur.
 Dhe kauz i'knou', and of -is harm dhe root'e,
 Anoon -e yaaf dhe siik'e man -is boot'e. 424
 Ful red'ii had -e his apoo'tee'kaa'ries
 To send -im droges, and -is let'yy'aa'ries,
 For eetsh of hem maad udher for to win'e;
 Her frend'shiip was not neure too begin'e. 428
 Weel kneu hee dh- oold Es'ky'laa'pius;
 And Dee,iskor'idees, and eek Ryy'fus;
 Oold Ipokras, Haalii', and Gaa'lieen';
 Seraa'pioon', Raa'ziis and Aa'viseen'; 432
 Aver'o, is, Daamaseen and Konstantiin';
 Bernard and Gaa'tesden and Gilbertiin'.
 Of his diieet'e mee'syy'raa'b'l was hee,
 For it was of noon syy'perfly'itee, 436
 But of greet nuur'ishiq and dii'dzhes'tii'b'l.
 His stud'ie was but lii't'l on dhe Bi'b'l.
 In saq'gwiin and in pers -e klad was al,
 Lin'ed with taf'ataa and with sendal. 440
 And jit -e was but eez ii in dispens'e;
 He kept'e dhat -e wan in pestilens'e.
 For goold in fi'ziik is a kordial';
 Dheerfoor -e luv'ed goold in spes'ial. 444

429 Suprà p. 341, l. 2 and 13, I treated this as a full line, thinking that the e in olde was to be preserved. Further consideration induces me to mark the line as having an imperfect

first measure, and to elide the e in the regular way, on the principle that exceptional usages should not be unnecessarily assumed.

23. THE WYF OF BATHE.

- A good Wyf was ther of bisyde Bathe,
 But sche was somdeel deaf, and that was skathe.
 Of cloothmaking' sche hadde swich an *haunt*,
 Sche *passed*' hem of *Ypres* and of *Gawnt*. 448
 In al the *parisch*' wyf ne was ther noon,
 That to th' offring' bifoorn her schulde goon,
 iii And if ther dide, *certayn* so wrooth was sche,
 That sche was out of alle *charite*. 452
 Hir' *keverchefs* ful *fyne* wer' of grounde;
 iii I durste swere they weygheden ten pounce
 That on a Sondag wer' upon hir' heed.
 Hir' hosen weren of *syn scarlet* reed, 456
 Ful *streyt*' ytey'd, and schoos ful *moyst*' and newe.
 Boold was hir' *faac*', and fayr, and reed of hewe.
 Sche was a worthy woman al hir' lyfe.
 Housbond's at chirche dore sche hadd' fyfe, 460
 Withouten other *company*' in youthe,
 But theerof nedeth nowght to spek' as nouthe.
 iii And thryes hadd' sche been at Jerusaleem;
 iii Sche hadde *passed* many a *strawnge* stream; 464
 At Rome sche hadd' been, and at *Boloyne*,
 In *Galic*', at *saynt Jaam*', and at *Coloyne*.
 Sche couthe moch' of wandring' by the weye.
 Gaat-tothed was sche, sooth'ly for to seye. 468
 Upon an *ambleer* esely sche sat,
 Ywimpled weel, and on hir' heed an hat
 As brood as is a *boucleer* or a *targe*;
 A foot-mantel about' hir' hippes *large*, 472
 And on hir' feet a *payr*' of spores scharpe.
 In felawship' weel coud' sche lawgh' and *earpe*.
 iii Of *remedy*'s of love sche knew *parchawnce*,
 For sche coud' of that *art* the oolde *daunce*. 476

24. THE PERSOUN.

- A good man was ther of *religioun*,
 And was a *pore Persoun* of a toun;
 But *rich*' he was of holy thowght and werk',
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk, 480
 That Cristes gôspel gladly wolde *preche*;
 His *parischens* devoutly wold' he teche.

452 was out, so the six MSS.,
 was thanne out Ha.

453 ful fyne wer', so the six
 MSS., weren ful fyne Ha.

454 weygheden, weyghede
 Ha. weyeden E. He. Co. P.,

weyedyd Ca. weiden L., hence
 all but Ha. give the plural en.

460 So E. He. Ca., atte, Co. Pe.,
 att þe L., housbondes atte
 chirche dore hadde sche
 fyfe Ha. which is unmetrical.

23. Dhe Wiif of Baath'e.

A good wiif was dher of bisiid'e Baath'e,
 But shee was sum'deel deef, and dhat was skaath'e.
 Of klooth-maak'iq' shee had'e switsh an haunt, 448
 Shee pas'ed nem of Ii'pres and of Gaunt.
 In al dhe par'ish wiif ne was dher noon,
 Dhat too dh- ofriq' bifoorn' -er shuld'e goon,
 And if dher did'e, ser'tain' so rwooth was shee,
 Dhat shee was uut of al'e tshaar'ii'tee'. 452
 Hiir kev'ertshcfs ful fiin'e weer of gruund'e;
 Ii durst'e sweer'e dhai waikh'eden ten puund'e
 Dhat on a Sun'dai weer upon' -iir heed.
 Hiir hooz'en weer'en of fiin skar'let reed, 456
 Ful strait itaid', and shoos ful muist and neu'e.
 Boold was -iir faas, and fair and reed of neu'e.
 Shee was a wurdh'ii wum'an al -iir liife.
 Huus'bondz' at tshirtsh'e door'e shee had fiife, 460
 Withuut'en udh'er kum'panii' in juuth'e,
 But dheer'of need'eth noukw'ht to speek as nuuth'e.
 And thri'es had shee been at Dzheeruu'saleem';
 Shee had'e pas'ed man'i a straundzh'e stream; 464
 At Room'e shee had been, and at Bolooine,
 In Gaa'liis', at saint Dzhaam, and at Kolooine.
 Shee kuuth'e mutsh of wand'riq' bii dhe waie.
 Gaat-tooth'ed was shee, sooth'lii for to saie. 468
 Upon' an am'bleer' ees'clii shee sat,
 Iwim'pled weel, and on -iir heed an hat
 As brood as is a buk'leer' or a tardzh'e;
 A foot'mantel' abut' -iir hip'es lardzh'e, 472
 And on -iir feet a pair of spuures sharp'e.
 In fel'aushii'p weel kuud shee laug'wh and karp'e.
 Of rem'ediiz' of luuv'e shee kneu partshauns'e,
 For shee kuud of dhat art dhe oold'e dauns'e. 476

24. Dhe Persuun'.

A good man was dher of reli'dzhiun',
 And was a poor'e Persuun' of a tuun;
 But ritsh -e was of nool'ii thoukw'ht and werk, 480
 He was alsoo' a lern'ed man, a klerk,
 Dhat Krist'es gosp'el glad'lii wold'e preetsh'e;
 His par'ishenz devuut'lii wold -e teetsh'e.

465, 466. Boloynes, Coloyne. The MSS. are very uncertain in their orthography. Boloynes, Coloyne, appear in Ha. He. Ca., and Boloynes in P. L., but we find Boloigne, Coloigne in E. Co., Coloigne in P., and Coloyngne in L. The

pronunciation assigned is quite conjectural. The following pronunciations of the termination are also possible: (-oon'e, -oon'e, -uin'e, uig'ne). The modern Cockneyism (Buloin', Koloine') points to (-uin'e). See also note on v. 634.

- Benygn'* he was and wonder *dylygent*,
 And in *adversite* ful *pacient*; 484
 And such he was *yprev*ed ofte sythes.
 Ful looth wer' him to curse for his tythes,
 But rather wold' he yeven out of *doute*,
 Unto his *pore parischens* aboute, 488
 Of his offring', and cek of his *substawnce*.
 He coud' in lytel thing haan *suffisaunce*.
 iii Wyd was his *parisch*, and houses fer asonder,
 But he ne lasse not for reyn ne thonder, 492
 In sikness' nor in *meschief'* to *visyte*
 The ferrest in his *parisch'*, moech' and lyte,
 Upon his feet, and in his hond a staaf.
 This *nob'l ensampel* to his scheep he yaaaf, 496
 That first he wrowght', and after that he tawghte.
 Out of the gospel he tho wordes cawghte,
 And this *figur'* he added' eek therto,
 That if goold ruste, what schuld' yren do? 500
 For if a preest be foul, on whoom we truste,
 No wonder is a lewed man to ruste;
 And scham' it is, if a preest take kep',
 A schyten schepperd and a clene scheep; 504
 Weel owght' a preest *ensampel* for to yive
 By his cleanness', hou that his scheep schuld' live.
 iii He sette not his *benefyce* to hyre,
 And left' his scheep *encomb'red* in the myre, 508
 aī And ran to London', unto *saynt Powles*,
 iii To seken him a *chawnterye* for sowles,
 Or with a bretherheed to been withhoolde;
 But dwelt' at hoom, and kepte weel his foolde, 512
 + So that the wolf ne mad' it not *miscarye*.
 +iii He was a schepperd, and not a *mercenarye*;
 And though he holy wer' and *vertuous*,
 He was to sinful man nowght *dispitous*, 516
 Ne of his speche *dawngerous* ne *dygne*,
 But in his teching' *discreet* and *benygne*.

493 *meschief*, so all but Ca., which reads *myschif*, and L. which has *meschef*. The old French forms, according to Roquefort, are *meschef*, *meschief*, *meschiés*, *meschiez*, *meschief*, *meschiés*.

499 eek E. He. Co. P., yit Ha., omitted in Ca., L. has eke he haddede. Ca. reads addede, but no particular value is attachable to its final e's.

503 So all six MSS., if that Ha. in which case *tak'* must be read,

but the omission of the subjunctive e is harsh. See the same rhyme and phrase in the imperative and hence *tak* not *take*, 6014, 13766. Only Ca., which is generally profuse in final e, reads *kep* *schep*, in accordance with ags. analogy.

504 It is a curious example of the different feeling attached to words of the same original meaning, that *schyten* is banished from polite society, and *dirty* (ags. *dritan* *cacare*) is used without hesitation.

Beniñ -e was and wund'er dii'liidzhent;
 And in aduersitee ful paa'sient, 484
 And sutsh -e was ipreeced oft'e siidh'es.
 Ful looth wer him to kurses for -is tiidh'es,
 But raadher wold -e jeeven uut of duute,
 Untoo -is poore par'ishenz abuute, 488
 Of his ofriq', and eek of his substauns'e.
 He kund in lii't'l thiȝ haan syfisauns'e.
 Wiid was -is par'ish, and muus'es fer asund'er,
 But hee ne laft'e not for rain ne thund'er, 492
 In sik'nes nor in mes'tsheef to vii'ziit'e
 Dhe ferrest in -is par'ish, mutsh and liit'e,
 Upon -is feet, and in -is nond a staaf.
 Dhis noo'bl- ensam'p'l too -is sheep -e jaaf, 496
 Dhat first -e wouk'ht, and after dhat -e tauk'ht.
 Uut of dhe gos'pel hee dho word'es kauk'ht.
 And dhis fiig'gyr -e ad'ed eek dhertoo,
 Dhat if goold rust'e, what shuld iir'en doo? 500
 For if a preest be fuul, on whom we trust'e,
 Noo wund'er is a lou'ed man to rust'e;
 And shaam it is, if a preest taak'e keep,
 A shii'ten shep'erd and a kleen'e sheep; 504
 Weel ouk'ht a preest ensam'p'l for to iiv'e
 Bi' his kleen'nes, muu dhat -is sheep shuld liiv'e.
 He set'e not -is ben'efi's'e to iii're,
 And left -is sheep enkum'bred in dhe miir'e, 508
 And ran to Lun'dun, un'to saa'nt Pooules,
 To seek'en him a tshaun'terii'e for sooules,
 Or with a breedher'need to been withhould'e;
 But dwelt at hoom, and kept'e weel -is foold'e, 512
 Soo dhat dhe wulf ne maad it not miskar'ie.
 He was a shep'erd, and not a mersenar'ie;
 And dhoouk'wh -e nool'ii weer and ver'tyy'uus;
 He was to sin'ful man nouk'ht dis'pii'tuus, 516
 Nee of -is speetsh'e daun'dzheruus' ne diin'e,
 But in -is teetsh'iq dis'kreet and beniñ'e.

509 saynt, Ha. and Co. add an e, thus seynte for the metre, the other five MSS. have no e, and the grammatical construction forbids its use. Tyrwhitt, to fill up the number of syllables, rather than the metre, (for he plays havoc with the accentual rhythm which commentators seem to have hitherto much neglected, but which Chaucer's ear must have appreciated,) changes the first to into unto, thus: And ran unto London, unto Seint Poules, but this is not sanctioned by any MS. The solution

of the difficulty is to be found in the occasional dissyllabic use of saynt, see note on v. 120. Powles, see *suprà* pp. 145, 148. Mr. Gibbs mentions that he knows (*Poolz*) as an existent Londoner's pronunciation in the phrase *as old as Powl's*, see *suprà* p. 266 for Chaucer's usage.

512 folde, the final e is exceptional, *suprà* p. 384, col. 1.

514 and not a, so all the six MSS., and no Ha.

- To drawn folk to heven by fayrnesse,
 By good *ensampel*, was his besinesse; 520
 But it wer' eny *persoun obstinaat*,
 Whatso he wer' of heygh or low' *estaat*,
 Him wold he snibbe scharply for the nones.
 iii A bett're preest I trowe ther nowheer noon is. 524
 iii He *wayted'* after no *pomp'* and *reverence*,
 Ne maked' him a *spyced conscience*,
 But Cristes loor', and his apostel's twelve,
 He tawght', and first he folwed' it himselve. 528

25. THE PLOUGHMAN.

- With him ther was a Ploughman, was his brother,
 iii That hadd' ylaad of dong' ful many a fother.
 A trewe swinker and a good was he,
 Living' in *pees* and *perfyt charite*. 532
 God lov'd' he best with al his hole herte
 At alle tymes, thowgh him gam'd' or smerte,
 And than his neyghebour right as himselve.
 He wolde thresch' and therto dyk' and delve, 536
 iii For Cristes sake, for ev'ry *pore* wighte,
 Withouten hyr', if it lay in his mighte.
 But tythes *payed'* he ful fayr' and weel,
 Booth of his *prop're* swink', and his *catel*. 540
 In a *tabbard'* he rood upon a meer'.

Ther was also a reev' and a miller,
 A *somnour* and a *pardoneer* also,
 A *mauncip'l* and myself, ther wer' no mo. 544

26. THE MILLEER.

- The Milleer was a *stout* earl for the nones,
 Ful big he was of *braun*, and eck of bones;
 That *proved'* weel, for ov'ral ther he cam,
 At wrastling' he wold' hav' away the ram. 548
 He was schort schuld' red, brood, a thlikke knarre,
 iii Ther n'as no dore that he n'old' heev' of hærre
 Or breck' it with a renning' with his heed.
 His berd as ony sou' or fox was reed, 552
 And theerto brood, as thowgh it wer' a spade.
 Upon the cop right of his noos' he hadde

519 fayrnesse E. He. Co. P.
 L., clennesse Ha. Ca., with Hc.,
 by, the rest.

525' and E. He. Co. P. L., ne
 Ha. Ca., but this would introduce two
 trissyllabic measures.

526 spyced conscience, com-

pare—

Ye schulde be al pacient and meke,
 And have a swete spiced consciens,
 Siththen ye preche so of Jobes pa-
 ciens. 6016.

529 was his, so all the six MSS.
 except Ca., which has that was
 hese, introducing a trissyllabic mea-

To drau'en folk to nev'en bi*ȝ* fairnes'e,
 Bi*ȝ* good ensam'p'l, was -is besines'e; 520
 But it wer en*ȝ* per'suun' ob'stinaat',
 What'soo' -e weer of haikh or loou estaat',
 Him wold -e snib'e sharp'li*ȝ* for dhe noon'es.
 A bet're preest *ȝi* troou'e dher noo wheer noon is. 524
 He wait'ed aft'er no pomp and reev'rens'e,
 Ne maak'ed him a sp'is'ed kon'siens'e,
 But Krist'es loor, and his apost'lz twelv'e,
 He tauk'ht, and f'irst -e fol'wed it himsely'e. 528

25. Dhe Pluukw'hman.

With him dher was a Pluukw'hman, was -is broodher,
 Dhat had *ȝ*laad' of duq ful man'i a foodher.
 A treu'e swiqr'er and a good was hee,
 Liiv'iq in pees and perf'it' tshaa'riitee'. 532
 God luvd -e best with al -is hool'e nert'e
 At al'e tiim'es, dhooukw'h -im gaamd or smert'e,
 And dhan -is naikh'ebuur rikht as -imselv'e.
 He wold'e thresh and dher-too diik and delv'e, 536
 For Krist'es saak'e, for ev'ri*ȝ* poo're wikhte',
 Withuuten niir, if it lai in -is mikhte'.
 But wiidhes paid' hee ful fair and weel,
 Booth of -is prop're swiqr and -is katel'. 540
 In a tab'ard' -e rood upon a meer.

Dher was alsoo' a reev and a mil'eer',
 A sum'nuur' and a pardoner' alsoo',
 A maun'sipl' and miiself', dher weer no moo. 544

26. Dhe Mil'eer'.

Dhe Mil'eer' was a stuut karl for dhe noon'es,
 Ful big -e was of braun, and eek of boon'es;
 Dhat preev'ed weel, for ov'ral' dheer -e kaam,
 At rwast'liq hee wold naav'awai' dhe ram. 548
 He was short shuld' red, brood, a thik'e knar'e,
 Dher n- -as no door'e dhat hee n- -old neev of nar'e
 Or brek it with a ren'iq' with -is need.
 His berd as on*ȝ* suu or foks was reed, 552
 And dheer-to brood, as dhooukw'h it weer a spaa'de.
 Upon dhe kop rikht of -is nooz -e nad'e

sure; his Ha. against the metre; the omission of the relative *that* before these words is curious, so that Ca. may have the proper reading.

537 for E. Ca. Co. P. L., with Ha. He.

541 meer', I have preferred eliding the essential final e (suprà, p. 388,

col. 1), to adding a superfluous e to milleer, suprà p. 254. The Icelandic *mar*, Danish *mar*, Swedish *mär* also omit the e. Chaucer generally uses the form *mare*.

548 hav' away, Co. P. L., ber' away Ha., hav' alwey E. He. Ca.

- A wert', and theeron stood a tuft of heres,
 Reed as the berstles of a soues eres. 556
 His nose-thirles blake wer' and wyde.
 A swerd and *boucleer* baar he by his syde.
 His mouth as greet was as a greet *fornays*.
 iii He was a *jangleer* and a *goliardeys*, 560
 And that was moost of sinn' and *harlotryes*.
 Weel coud' he stele corn, and tollen thryes;
 And yet he hadd' a thomb' of goold', *parde*!
 A whyt *coot*' and a blew hood wered he. 564
 A baggepype coud' he blow' and *soune*,
 And theerwithal he browght us out of toune.

27. THE MAWNCEIPEL.

- iii A *gentel Mawncipel* was ther of a *tempel*,
 Of which *achatours* mighten tak' *exempel*, 568
 For to be wys in bying' of *vitaille*.
 For whether that he *pay*'d' or took by *taille*,
 Algat' he *wayted*' so in his *achate*
 That he was ay bifoorn and in good *state*. 572
 Nou is not that of God a ful fayr *grace*,
 That swich a lewed mannes wit schal *pace*
 The wisdom of an heep of lern'de men?
 Of *mayster's* hadd' he moo than thryes ten, 576
 That wer' of law' *expert* and *curious*,
 Of which ther wer' a *doseyn* in that hous',
 Worthy to be stiwards of *rent*' and *londe*
 Of any lord that is in *Engelonde*, 580
 To mak' him lyve by his *propre* good'
 In *honour dett*' lees, but he were wood,
 Or lyv' as *scarsly* as he can *desyre*;
 And *abel* for to helpen al a schyre 584
 In any *caas*' that mighte fall' or happe;
 iii And yit this *mawncipel* sett' her' aller cappe.

28. THE REVE.

- iii The Reve was a sclender *colerik* man,
 His berd was schav' as neygh as e'er he can. 588
 His heer was by his eres *round* yschoorn.
 His top was docked lyk a preest bifoorn.
 Ful longe wer' his legges and ful lene,
 Ylyk a staaf, ther was no calf ysene. 592
 Weel coud' he keep a *gerner* and a binne,
 Ther was noon *awditour* coud' on him winne.
 Weel wist' he by the drought,' and by the reyne,
 The yeelding of his seed' and of his *grayne*. 596

559 *fornays*, see note to v. 202.569 bying, see *suprà*, p. 235.564 a blew, E. He. Ca., a
blewe P. L., blewe Ha.572 *state* has only a dative e.

A wert, and dheer'on stood a tuft of heeres,
 Reed as dhe bers'tles of a suues eer'es. 556
 His nooz'e thir'les blaak'e wer and wiid'e.
 A swerd and buk'leer' baar -e *bii* -is siid'e.
 His muuth as greet was as a greet for'nais'.
 He was a dzhaq'leer' and a gool'ardais', 560
 And dhat was moost of sin' and harlotrii'es.
 Weel kuud -e steel'e korn, and tol'en thrii'es ;
 And yet -e had a thuumb of goold, pardce !
 A whiit koot and a bleu hood weered hee. 564
 A bag'epi'pe kuud -e bloou and suun'e,
 And dheer'withal' -e broukw'ht us uut of tuun'e.

27. Dhe Maun'sip'l.

A dzhen't'l Maun'sip'l was dher of a tem'p'l,
 Of whitsh atshaa'tuurz' mikht'en taak eksem'p'l, 568
 For to be wiis in *bii*'iq of viitail'e.
 For whedher dhat -e paid or took *bii* tail'e,
 Algaat' -e wait'ed soo in his atshaat'e,
 Dhat hee was ai bi'foorn' and in good staat'e. 572
 Nuu is not dhat of God a ful fair graas'e,
 Dhat swi'tsh a leu'ed man'es wit shal paas'e
 Dhe wis'doom of an heep of lern'de men ?
 Of mais'terz' had -e moo dhan thrii'es ten, 576
 Dhat wer of lau ekspert' and kyy'rii'us',
 Of whitsh dher weer a duu'zain' in dhat ri'us,
 Wurdh'i'i to bee sti'wardz' of rent and lond'e
 Of an'i'i lord dhat is in E'q'elond'e, 580
 To maak -im liiv'e *bii* -is prop're good
 In on'uur' det'lees, but -e weer'e wood,
 Or liiv' as skars'lii' as -e kan desi're ;
 And aa'b'l for to help'en al a shiir'e 584
 In an'i'i kaas dhat mikht'e fal or hap'e ;
 And it dhis maun'sip'l set -er al'er kap'e.

28. Dhe Reeve.

Dhe Reeve was a sklend'er kol'erik man,
 His berd was shaav as nai'kh as eer -e kan. 588
 His heer was *bii* -is eer'es ruund ishoorn'.
 His top was dok'ed liik a preest bi'foorn'.
 Ful loqe weer -is leg'es and ful leen'e,
 /liik a staaf, dher was no kalf iseen'e. 592
 Weel kuud -e keep a gern'er and a bin'e,
 Dher was noon au'dituur' kuud on -im win'e.
 Weel wist -e *bii* dhe druukw'ht, and *bii* dhe rain'e,
 Dhe reeld'iq of -is seed and of -is grain'e. 596

578 that, so all six MSS., an Ha.
 587 sclender, all seven MSS.
 agree in the initial *sel* or *skl*.

592 vlyk, so all six MSS., al
 like Ha, ysene, supra, p. 357,
 art. 61.

- His lordes scheep, his neet, his deyerye,
 His swyn, his hors, his stoor, and his *pultrye*,
 Was hoodly in this reves governing',
 And by his *covenant*' yaf the rek'ning, 600
 Sin that his lord was twenty yeer of age;
 iii Ther coude no man bring' him in *arriage*.
 Ther n'as *ballyf*, ne herd', ne other hyne,
 That they ne knew' his sleight and his *covyne*; 604
 They wer' adraad of him, as of the dethe.
 His woning was ful fayr upon an hethe,
 With grene trees yschadwed was his *place*.
 He coude better than his lord *purchase*. 608
 Ful *rich*' he was *astored* *prively*,
 His lord weel couth' he plese *subtilly*,
 To yeev' and leen' him of his owne good',
 And hav' a thank, and yet a *coot*' and hood. 612
 In youth' he lerned hadd' a good *mesteer*;
 He was a weel good wright, a *carpenteer*.
 This reve sat upon a ful good stot',
 That was a *pomely* grey, and highte Scot. 616
 A long *surcoat*' of *pers* upon he hadd',
 And by his syd' he baar a rusty blaad.
 Of Northfolk was this reev' of which I telle,
 Bysyd' a toun men callen Baldeswelle. 620
 Tucked he was, as is a *freer*', aboute,
 And e'er he rood the hind'rest of the *route*.

29. THE SOMNOUR.

- A *Somnour* was ther with us in that *place*,
 That hadd' a fyr-reed cherubynes *face*, 624
 For *sawcestem* he was, with eyghen narwe.
 iii As hoot he was, and *leccherous*, as a sparwe,
 With skalled browes blak', and pyled berd;
 Of his *vysage* children wer' aferd. 628
 Ther n'as quiksilver, *lytarg*', or brimstoon,
 iii *Boras*, *ceruce*, ne *oyl* of *tarter* noon,
 Ne *oynement* that wolde clens' and byte,
 That him might helpen of his whelkes whyte, 632
 Nor of the knobbes sitting' on his chekes.
 Weel lov'd' he garleek, *oynouns*, and eek lekes,

597 deyerye, the termination seems borrowed from the French, for *dey* see Wedgwood's Etym. Dict. 1, 424.

598 stoor, I am inclined to consider this a form of *steer*, ags. *steor*, rather than *store*, as it is usually interpreted, as the swine, horse, steer, and poultry go better together. On the interchange of (ee) and (oo) see *suprà* p. 476.

612 so He. Ca. Co. P.; and an hoo de L., a thank, a cote, and eek an hood Ha., a thank, yet a gowne and hood E.

615 ful E. Ca. Co. L., wel the others.

618 blaad, *suprà*, p. 259.

623 somnour Ca. P., somp-

His lord'es sheep, -is neet, -is dai'eri'e,
 His swiin, -is hors, -is stoor, and his pultri'e,
 Was nool'li in dhis reev'es guv'erniq',
 And bi' -is kuv'enaunt' jaaf dhe rek'niq', 600
 Sin dhat -is lord was twen'tii jeeer of aadzhe;
 Dher kuud'e noo man briq' -im in ar'ee'raa'dzhe.
 Dher n- -as bal'iif, nee neerd, nee udher min'e,
 Dhat dhai ne kneu -is slaikht and his kov'in'e; 604
 Dhai weer adraad' of him, as of dhe deeth'e.
 His wuun'iq' was ful fair upon' an neeth'e,
 With green'e treez ishad'wed was -is plaas'e.
 He kuud'e bet'er dhan -is lord pur'tshaas'e. 608
 Ful ritsh -e was astoor'ed priv'eli,
 His lord weel kuuth -e pleez'e sub'til'li,
 To jeev and leen -im of -is ooun'e good,
 And naav a thaqk, and jet a koot and hood. 612
 In juuth -e lern'ed had a good mes'teer;
 He was a weel good wwikht, a karpenteer'.
 Dhis reev'e sat upon' a ful good stot,
 Dhat was a pum'eli' grai, and rikht'e Skot. 616
 A loq syrkoot' of pers upon' -e had,
 And bi' -is siid -e baar a rust'ii blaad.
 Of North'folk was dhis reev of whitsh Ti tel'e,
 Bisid' a tuun men kal'en Bal'deswel'e. 620
 Tuk'ed -e was, as is a freer, abuut'e,
 And eer -e rood dhe hind'rest of dhe ruut'e.

29. Dhe Sum'nuur.

A Sum'nuur was dher with us in dhat plaas'e,
 Dhat had a fii'rreed tsheerubiin'es faas'e, 624
 For sau'seflem -e was, with aik'en nar'we.
 As noot -e was and letsh'ereus, as a spar'we,
 With skal'ed broou'es blaak, and pil'ed berd;
 Of his vasaadzhe tshil'dren weer aferd'. 628
 Dher n- -as kwik'sil'ver, lii'tardzh', or brim'stoon',
 Boraas', seryys'e, ne uil of tart'er noon,
 Ne uin'ement dhat wold'e klenz and biit'e,
 Dhat him mikht help'en of -is whelkes whiit'e, 632
 Nor of dhe knob'es sit'iq' on -is tsheek'es.
 Weel luvd -e gar'leek', un'juunz', and cek leek'es,

nour Ha., somonour E. He.,
 somynour Co. L. See Temp.
 Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer,
 p. 100, under *citator*.

625 sawceflem, from *salsum*
phlegma, Tyrwhitt's Glossary.

629 or Co. P. L.; this is more
 rhythmical than ne Ha. E. He. Ca.,
 which would introduce a very inhar-
 monious trissyllabic measure.

634 oynons Ha. E. He. Co.,
 onyons L., onyounnys Ca.,
 oynouns P. The pronunciation
 (un'juunz) is, of course, quite con-
 jectural, and moulded on the modern
 sound, though the more common
 oynons might lead to (uin'unz),
 which seems hardly probable. Com-
 pare the modern vulgar (iq'nz) and
 note on v. 465.

- And for to drinke strong wyn reed as blood.
 Than wold' he spek' and *cry'* as he wer' wood. 636
 And whan that he weel dronken hadd' the wyn,
 Than wold' he speke no word but Latyn.
 A fewe *termes* hadd' he, two or thre,
 That he hadd' lerned out of som *decre* ; 640
 No wonder is, he herd' it all the day ;
 And eek ye knowe weel, how that a *jay*
 Can clepe Wat, as weel as can the pope.
 But whoso coud' in other thing' him grope, 644
 Than hadd' he spent al his *philosophye*,
 Ay, *QUESTIO QUID JURIS?* wold' he *crye*.
 He was a *gentel harlot*, and a kinde ;
 A bett're felawe schulde men not finde. 648
 He wolde *suffer* for a *quart* of wyne
 iii A good felawe to haan his *concubyne*
 A twelvemoon'th, and *excus'* him atte fullc.
 And *prively* a finch eek coud' he pulle. 652
 And if he fond cowheer a good felawe,
 He wolde techen him to haan noon awe
 In swich *caas* of the archedek'nes curs,
 But if a mannes sowl wer' in his purs ; 656
 For in his purs he schuld' *ypunisch'd* be.
 Purs' is the archedek'nes hel, sey'd' he.
 But weel I woot he lyeth right in dede ;
 Of cursing' owght cech gilty man to drede ; 660
 For curs wol sle right as *assoyling saveth* ;
 iii And also war' him of a *SIGNIFICAVIT*.
 In *dawnger'* hadd' he at his owne *gyse*
 The yonge girles of the *dyocyse*, 664
 And knew her' *counseyl*, and was al her' reed.
 A *garland* hadd' he set upon his heed,
 As greet as it wer' for an alestake ;
 A *boucleer* hadd' he maad him of a cake. 668

30. THE PARDONEER.

- With him ther rood a *gentel Pardoneer*
 Of *Rounceival*, his freend and his *compeer*,
 That *streyt* was comen from the *court* of Rome.
 Ful loud' he sang, Com hider, love, to me ! 672

648 not, the six MSS., now her
 Ha. felawe, compare v. 395, 650,
 and 653. Hence it seems best to leave
 felawe in 648, although felaw fre-
 quently occurs, see *supra* p. 383, col. 2.

655 such a caas Ha. only.

656 purs, see *supra* p. 367, art.
 91, col. 1, l. 13, it is spelled without
 an *e* in all MSS. but L.

657 *ypunisch'd*; *ypunysshed*
 E. He., *punyssched* Ha. Co., *pun-*
yschede L., *ponyschid* Ca.,
punshed P. The two last readings,
 in connection with the modern pro-
 nunciation (*pan'isht*), lead me to adopt
 (*ipun'isht*) for the old pronunciation,
 notwithstanding the French origin of
 the word. Compare note on v. 184.

And for to driq'ke stroq wiin reed as blood.
Dhan wold -e speek and krii as hee weer wood. 636
And whan dhat hee weel druq'ken had dhe wiin,
Dhan wold -e speek'e noo word but Latiiin'.
A feu'e term'es nad -e, twoo or three,
Dhat hee -ad lern'ed uut of sum dekree'; 640
Noo wund'er is, -e herd it al dhe dai;
And eek je knoo'e weel, nuu dhat a dzhai
Kan klep'e Wat, as weel as kan dhe poop'e.
But whoo'soo kuud in udh'er thi'q -im groop'e, 644
Dhan nad -e spent al -is fii'loo'soo'fii'e,
Ai, Kwest'ioo kwid dzhyr'is? wold -e krii'e.
He was a dzhen't'l nar'lut, and a kind'e;
A bet're felau'e shuld'e men not find'e. 648
He wold'e sufer for a kwart of wiin'e
A good felau'e to naan -is kon'kyybiin'e
A twelv'moonth, and ekskyyz' -im at'e ful'e.
And priv'eli a fintsh eek kuud -e pul'e. 652
And if -e fund oowheer a good felau'e,
He wold'e teetsh -im for to naan noon au'e
In switsh kaas of dhe artsh'edeek'nes kurs,
But if a man'es sooul weer in -is purs; 656
For in -is purs -e shuld ipun'isht bee.
Purs is dhe artsh'edeek'nes nel, said nee.
But weel li woot -e lii'eth rikht in deed'e;
Of kurs'iq ouk'ht eetsh gilt'ii man to dreed'e; 660
For kurs wol slee rikht as asuil'iq saav'eth;
And al-soo waar -im of a signif'ikaav'ith.
In daun'dzheer nad -e at -is ooun'e giis'e
Dhe juq'e girl'es of dhe dii'osi'e, 664
And kneu -er kuun'sail, and was al -er reed;
A gar'land nad -e set upon -is need,
As greet as it wer for an aa'lestaak'e;
A buk'leer nad -e maad -im of a kaak'e. 668

30. Dhe Pardoneer.

With nim dher rood a dzhen't'l Par'doneer
Of Ruun'sival; his freend and his kompeer,
Dhat strait was kum'en from dhe knurt of Room'e.
Ful luud -e saq, Kum hid'er, luv'e, too me!

658 sey'd', so all six MSS., quoth
Ha.

662 see *suprà* p. 259.

663 gys'e, so all six MSS.,
assise Ha.

672 to me. To the similar
rhymes on p. 318, add:

As help me God, it wol not be, com,
ba me!

I love another, and elles were I to
blame, 3709.

On p. 254, n. 3. I marked the
usual reading *compane* as doubtful,
and gave the readings of several MSS.
The result of a more extended compa-
rison is as follows: *compane* Lans.
851, Harl. 1758, Reg. 18. C. ii, Sloane
1685 and 1686, Univ. Cam. Dd. 4, 24,

- This *somnour* baar to him a stif *burdoun*,
 Was never *tromp'* of half so greet a *soun*.
 This *pardoneer* hadd' heer as yelw' as wex,
 But smooth' it heng, as dooth a stryk' of flex, 676
 By *ounces* heng' his lockes that he hadde,
 And theerwith he his schuld' res overspradde,
 Ful thinn' it lay, by *colpoun's* oon and oon,
 And hood, for *jolite*, ne wer'd' he noon, 680
 For it was *trussed* up in his walet.
 Him thowght' he rood al of the newe *get*,
Dischevel', *sawf* his capp', he rood al bare.
 Swich glaring' eyghen hadd' he as an hare. 684
 A *vernik'l* hadd' he sowed on his cappe.
 His walet lay bifoorn him in his lappe,
 Brendful of *pardoun* com' of Rom' al hoot.
 A *voys* he hadd' as smaal as eny goot. 688
 No berd n' hadd' he, ne never schold' he have,
 As smooth' it was as it wer' laat' yschave;
 I trow' he weer' a gelding or a mare.
 But of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware, 692
 Ne was ther swich another *pardoneer*:
 For in his *maal'* he hadd' a pilwebeer,
 Which that, he seyde, was our' lady *reyl*:
 He seyde' he hadd' a *gobet* of the seyl 696
 ai That *saynt* Peter hadd', whan that he wente
 Upon the se, til Jhesu Crist him hente.
 He hadd' a cros of *latoun* ful of stones,
 And in a glass' he hadde pigges bones. 700
 But with thys' *relyques*, whan that he fond
 A *pore persoun* dwelling' upon lond',
 Upon a day he gat him mor' *moneye*
 Than that the *persoun* gat in mon'thes tweye. 704
 And thus with *feyned flatery'* and japes,
 iii He made the *persoun* and the *pep'l* his apes.
 But trewely to tellen atte laste,
 He was in chirch' a *nob'l ecclesiaste*. 708

and Mm. 2, 5, Bodl. 686, Christ Church, Oxford, MS. C. 6, Petworth, —*cūpame*, Univ. Cam. Gg. 4, 27—*com pame* Harl. 7334, Reg. 17, D. xv, Corpus,—*come pame*, Oxf. Barl. 20, and Laud 600—*com pa me*, Hengwrt —*combame*, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3, 15, Oxf. Arch. Seld. B. 14, New College, Oxford, MS., No. 314, —*come bame* Harl. 7335, Univ. Cam. Li. 3, 26, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 33, Rawl. MS. Poet. 141, —*cum bame*, Bodl. 414. —*bame* Oxf. Hatton 1.—*come ba me*, Rawl. Misc. 1133 and Laud 739. The verb

ba occurs, in:

Come ner, my spouse, let me *ba* thy cheke, 6015, and the substantive *ba* in Skelton (Dyce's ed. i. 22), where a drunken lover lays his head in his mistress' lap and sleeps, while

With *ba, ba, ba*, and *bas, bas, bas*,
 She cheryshed hym both cheke and chyn.

To *ba* basiare (Catullus 7 & 8) was distinct from to *kiss*, *osculari*, compare: Thanne kisseth me, syn it may be no bett. 3716.

Dhis sum-nuur baar to him a stiff burduun,	673
Was never trump of half so greet a suun.	
Dhis pardoneer had neer as tel-w- as weks,	
But smooth it heq, as dooth a strik of fleks;	676
Bii uns-es heq -is lok'es dhat -e had-e,	
And dheer-with nee -is shuld-res oversprad-e,	
Ful thin it lai bii kul-puunz oon and oon,	
And hood, for dzhol-itee, ne weerd -e noon,	680
For it was trused up in his wal-et.	
Him thouk-wht -e rood al of dhe neure dzhet,	
Dishevel, sauf -is kap, -e rood al baar-e.	
Switsh glaa-riq aikhen had -e as an naar-e.	684
A ver-nikl- -ad -e soored on -is kap-e.	
His wal-et lai biiform -im on -is lap'e,	
Breerful of par-duun kum of Room al root.	
A vuiss -e had as smaal as en-ii goot.	688
Noo berd n- -ad nee, ne never shuld -e naav-e,	
As smooth it was as it wer laat ishaav-e,	
Li troou -e weer a geld-ig or a maa-re.	
But of -is kraft, fro Ber-wik un-to Waare,	692
Ne was ther switsh anudher pardoneer.	
For in -is maal -e had a pil-webeer,	
Whitsh dhat, -e said-e, was uur laa-di-i vail:	
He said, -e had a gob-et of dhe sail	696
Dhat saaynt Peeter had, whan dhat -e wente	
Upon dhe see, til Dzhee-sy Krist -im nent-e.	
He had a kros of laa-tuun ful of stoon-es,	
And in a glas -e had-e pig-es boon-es.	700
But with dhiiz rel-ii-kes, whan dhat -e fond	
A poo-re per-suun dwel-ig upon lond,	
Upon a dai -e gat -im moor munai-e	
Dhan dhat dhe per-suun gat in moon-thes twai-e.	704
And dhus with fain-ed flaterii and dzhaap-es,	
He maad-e dhe per-suun and dhe pee-pl- -is aap-es.	
But treu-el-ii to tel-en at-e last-e,	
He was in tshirtsh a noo-bl- eklee-siast-e.	708

Com ba me! was probably the name of a song, like that in v. 672, or the modern "Kiss me quick, and go, my love." It is also probable that Absolon's speech contained allusions to it, and that it was very well known at the time.

677 ounces, so all six MSS., unces Ha., which probably meant the same thing, *suprà* p. 304, and not inches.

679 colpoun's, I have adopted a systematic spelling, culpons Ha. P., colpons E. He., culpones

L., culpounys Ca., colpouns ? Co., modern French *coupons*.

687 breerful, the MSS. have all an unintelligible *bret ful* or *bretful*, probably a corruption by the scribes of Orrmin's *breerful* = *brimful*; *breird*, *breer* are found in Scotch, see Jamieson.

697 So all the MSS. Either *saynt* is a dissyllable, see note to v. 120, or the line has a defective first measure, to which the extremely un-accented nature of that is opposed.

- + Weel coud' he reed' a *lessoun* or a *storie*,
 + But altherbest he sang an *offertorie*;
 For weel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
 He moste *prech'*, and weel *affyl'* his tonge, 712
 To winne silver, as he right weel coude;
 Theerfoor' he sang so mery' and so loude.

CHAWCERES PREYER.

- Nou hav' I toold you schortly in a *clawse*
 Th' *estaat*, th' *array*, the *nomb'r*, and eek the *cause* 716
 Why that *assembled* was this *companye*
 In Southwerk at this *gentel hostelrye*,
 That hight the *Tabbard*, faste by the Belle.
 But nou is tyme to you for to telle 720
 Hou that we baren us, that ilke night,
 Whan we wer' in that *hostelry'* alight;
 And after wol I tell' of our' *vyage*,
 And al the *rem'naunt* of our' *pilgrimage*. 724
 But first I *prey'* you of your' *curteysye*
 That ye ne rett' it nat my *vilaynye*
 Though that I *playnly* spek' in this *matere*,
 To tellen you her' wordes and her' *chere*; 728
 Ne though I spek' her' wordes *properly*.
 For this ye knowen al so weel as I,
 Whoso schal tell' a taal' after a man',
 He moost' *rehers'*, as neygh as e'er he can, 732
 — Ev'ry word, if it be in his *charge*,
 Al spek' he ne'er so *rudely* or *large*:
 Or elles he moot tell' his taal' untrewce,
 Or *feyne* thing, or find' his wordes newe. 736
 He may not spare, though he wer' his brother;
 He moost' as weel sey oo word as another.
 Crist spaak himself ful brood' in holy writ,
 And weel ye woot no *vilayny'* is it. 740
 Eek' *PLATO* seyth, whoso that can him rede,
 The wordes moot be *cosin* to the dede.
 Also I *prey'* you to foryeev' it me,
 Al haav' I not set folk in her' *degre* 744
 Her' in this taal' as that they schulde stonde;
 My wit is schort, ye may weel understonde.

711 weel he wiste, so all the six MSS., wel wist he Ha.

714 so merily P., ful meriely Ha. so meriely Co., the murierly E., the murerly He., the meryerely Ca., so merely L., the regular form would be merie, as in loude, which

follows; compare *thude*, *murie* in the Cuckoo Song, *suprà* p. 427. Hence the above conjectural reading.

727 I playnly spek', so all the six MSS., I speke al pleyn Ha.

733 ev'ry word Ha., eueriche word P., the other MSS. insert a,

Weel kuud -e reed a les'uun or a stoor'ic,
 But al'dherbest -e saq an ofertoor'ic;
 For weel -e wist'e, whan dhat soq was suq'e,
 He moost'e preetsh, and weel afil' -is tuq'e, 712
 To win'e sil'ver, as -e rikht weel kuud'e;
 Dheer'four' -e saq soo mer'i and soo luud'e.

Tshau'scer'es Prai'eer.

Nuu naav *li* toold ju short'lii in a klauz'e
 Dh-estaat, dh-arai, dhe num'br-, and eek dhe kauz'e 716
 Whii dhat asem'bled was dhis kumpanii'e
 In Suuth'werk at dhis dzhen't'l ostelrii'e,
 Dhat rikht dhe Tab'ard, fast'e bii dhe Bel'e.
 But nuu is tii'me too ju for to tel'e 720
 Huu dhat we baaren us dhat ilk'e rikht,
 Whan wec wer in dhat ostelrii' alikht;
 And after wol *li* tel of uur vii'aadzhe,
 And al dhe rem'naunt of uur pil'grimaadzhe. 724
 But first *li* prai juu of juur kurtaisii'e
 Dhat jee ne ret it nat mii'vii'lai'nii'e,
 Dhooukwh dhat *li* plain'lii speak in dhis matce're.
 To tel'e juu -er word'es and -er tsheere; 728
 Ne dhooukwh *li* speak -er word'es proper'lii.
 For dhis je knoou'en al so weel as *li*,
 Whoosoo shal tel a taal after a man,
 He moost rehers', as naikh as eer -e kan, 732
 Ev'rii word, if it bee in -is tshardzhe,
 Al speek -e neer so ryyd'elii or lardzhe;
 Or el'es nee moot tel -is taal untreu'e,
 Or fain'e thiq, or find -is word'es neu'e. 736
 He mai not spaare, dhooukwh -e wer -is broodh'er;
 He moost as weel sai oo word as anoodh'er.
 Krist spaak -imself' ful brood in hoo'li rovit,
 And weel je woot noo vii'lai'nii' is it. 740
 Eek Plaa'too saith, whoosoo dhat kan -im reed'e,
 Dhe word'es moot be kuz'in too dhe deed'e.
 Alsoo *li* prai juu to forveev' it mee,
 Al naav *li* not set folk in ner degree' 744
 Heer in dhis taal, as dhat dhai shuld'e stond'e;
 Mii wit is short, je mai weel un'derstood'e.

as euerich a word E., apparently to avoid a defective first measure.

738 another. I have throughout pronounced *other* as (udh'er), because of the alternative orthography *outher*, *suprà* p. 267. This rhyme, however, shews that there must have also been a sound (oodh'er), which is historically

more correct. Orrmin writes *oþerr* for the adjective, and both *oþerr* and *oþþr* for the conjunction. That distinction has been carried out in the pronunciation of the Proclamation of Henry III., *suprà* pp. 501-3-5.

744 not set folk, so all the six MSS., folk nat set Ha.

THE HOOSTE AND HIS MERTH.

- Greet *chere* maad' our' *hoost'* us ev'rychoon,
 And to the *soupeer* sett' he us anoon; 748
 And *served* us with *vytayl'* atte beste.
 Strong was the wyn, and weel to drink' us leste.
 A seem'ly man our' *hooste* was withalle
 For to haan been a *marschal* in an halle; 752
 A *large* man was he with eyghen stepe,
 A fair're *burgeys* is ther noon in Chepe :
 Boold of his spech', and wys, and weel ytaught,
 And of manhode lacked' him right nawght. 756
- iii Eek theerto he was right a merye man,
 And after *soupeer* pleyen he bigan,
 And spaak of merv' amonges other thinges,
 Whan that we hadde maad our' rekeninges; 760
 And seyde thus : Lo, lording's, trewely,
 Ye been to me weelcomen hertely,
 For by my trouth', if that I schul not lye,
- vi iii I ne sawgh not this yeer so mery a *companye* 764
 At ones in this herbergh, as is nou.
 Fayn wold I do you merthe, wist' I hou,
 And of a merv' I am right nou bithowght,
 To doon you *ees'*, and it schal *coste* nowght. 768
 Ye goon to Cawnterbery : God you spede,
 The blisful martyr *quyte* you your' mede!
 And weel I woot, as ye goon by the weye,
 Ye schapen you to talken and to pleye; 772
 For trewely *comfort* ne merv' is noon
 To ryde by the weye domb' as stoon;
 And theerfoor' wol I make you *dispoort*,
 As I seyde' erst, and do you som *comfort*. 776
- iii And if you lyketh alle by oon *assent*
 — For to standen at my *juggement*;
 And for to werken as I schal you seye,
 To morwe, whan ye ryden by the weye, 780
 Nou by my fader sowle that is deed,
- iii But ye be merye, smyteth of myn heed.
 Hoold up your hond withoute more speche.
 Our' *counseyl* was not longe for to seche; 784
 Us thought' it n'as not worth to maak' it wys,
 And *graunted* him withoute mor' *avys*,
 And bad him sey' his verdyt', as him leste.
 Lording's, quoth he, nou herk'neth for the beste, 788

756 lacked' him, this is conjectural; lakkede ho Ha., him lackede the six MSS. variously spelled, in which case the final *e* must be pronounced, which is so unusual that I have preferred adopting the order of Ha. and the construction of the other MSS.

759 amanges E. He. Co.
 764 I ne sawgh not, this is a composite reading; I ne saugh Ha., I sawgh not the other MSS. variously spelled. The Ha. has therefore a trissyllabic first measure, which is unusual and doubtful; to write both *ne* and *not* introduces an Alexandrine.

Dhe Oost and his Merth.

Greet tsheer'e maad uur Oost us ev'riitshoon,
 And too dhe suup'eer set -e us anoon; 748
 And serv'eth us with vii'tail at'e best'e.
 Stroq was dhe wiin, and weel to driqk us lest'e.
 A seem'lii man uur oost'e was withal'e
 For to naan been a mar'shal in an hal'e; 752
 A lar'dzhe man was nee with aikh'en steep'e
 A fair're bur'dzhais is ther noon in Tsheep'e:
 Boold of -is speetsh, and wiis, and weel itaukw'ht,
 And of man'hood'e lak'ed him rikht naukw'ht. 756
 Eek dheer-too nee was rikht a mer'ic man,
 And aft'er suup'eer plai'en nee bigan,
 And spaak of merth amuq'es udh'er thi'q'es,
 Whan dhat we had'e maad uur rek'eniq'es; 760
 And said'e dhus: Loo, lord'iqz, treu'eli,
 Je been to mee weel-kum'en her'teli,
 For biï miï truuth, if dhat Ii shul not li'e,
 Ii nee sauk'wh not dhis jeer so mer'i a kumpani'e 764
 At oon'es in dhis her'berkh, as is nuu.
 Fain wold Ii duu ju merth'e, wist Ii nuu,
 And of a merth Ii am rikht nuu bihoukw'ht,
 To doon juu ees, and it shal kost'e noukw'ht. 768
 Je goon to Kaunt'erber'ii: God juu speed'e,
 Dhe blis'ful martiir kwit'e juu juur meed'e!
 And weel Ii woot, as jee goon biï dhe waie,
 Je shaap'en juu to talk'en and to plai'e; 772
 For treu'eli kumfort ne merth is noon
 To riid'e biï dhe waie dumb as stoon;
 And dheer'foor wold Ii maak'e juu dispoort;
 As Ii said erst, and doo ju sum kumfort. 776
 And if ju liik'eth al'e biï oon asent
 For to stand'en at miï dzhyydzhe'ment;
 And for to werk'en as Ii shal ju sai'e,
 To mor'we, whan je riid'en biï dhe waie, 780
 Nuu biï miï faad'er sooule, dhat is deed,
 But jee be mer'ic, smit'eth of miin need.
 Hoold up juur hond withuut'e moor'e speetsh'e.
 Uur kuun'sail was not loqe for to seetsh'e; 784
 Us thoukw'ht it n -as not worth to maak it wiis,
 And graunt'ed him withuut'e moor'awiis;
 And bad -im sai -is ver'diit as -im leste.
 Lor'diqz; kw'oth nee, nuu herk'neth for dhe best'e, 788

We might read the Ha. I ne sawgh this yeer, as an Alexandrine with a defective first measure. Perhaps I is a mistake, and ne sawgh this yeer, or this yeer sawgh not, may be correct, but there is no authority for it. Tyrwhitt reads: I saw not

this yere swiche a compaignie, which is probably conjectural. See p. 649.
 782 smyteth of myn heed
 Ha, I wol yeve you myn heed
 E. He. Co. P. and Sloane MS. 1685,
 variously spelled, I jeue jowc
 Mine hede L. But if ye E.

- But taak'th it not, I *prey*' you, in *disdeyn*,
 This is the *poynt*, to speken schort and *playn*;
 That eech of you to schorte with your' weye,
 iii In this *vyage* schal telle tales tweye, 792
 To Cawnterbery-ward, I meen' it so,
 And hoomward he schal tellen other two,
 Of *aventur's* that whylom haan bifalle.
 And which of you that beer'th him best of alle, 796
 That is to seyn, that telleth in this *caas*
 Tales of best *sentenc'* and moost *solaas*,
 Schal han a *soupeer* at your' alther *cost*
 Heer' in this *place*, sitting' by this *post*, 800
 Whan that we com' ageyn from Cawnterbery.
 And for to make you the more mery,
 I wol myselfen gladly with you ryde,
 Right at myn ow'ne *cost*, and be your' *gyde*. 804
 And whoso wol my *juggement* withseye
 iii Schal *paye* for al we spenden by the weye.
 And if ye *vouchesawf* that it be so,
 Tel me anon, withouten wordes mo, 808
 And I wol erly schape me theefore.
 This thing was *grawnted*, and our' othes swore
 With ful glad hert', and *prey*'den him also
 He wolde *vouchesawf* for to doon so, 812
 And that he wolde been our' *governour*,
 And of our' tales *jug'* and *reportour*,
 And sett' a *soupeer* at a *certayn prys*;
 We wolde *reuled* be at his *devys* 816
 In heygh and low', and thus by oon *assent*
 We been *accorded* to his *juggement*.
 And theerupon the wyn was fet anon;
 We dronken, and to reste went' eech oon, 820
 Withouten eny leng're *taryinge*.

WE RYDEN FORTH.

- A morwe whan the day bigan to springe,
 Up roos our' *hoost*, and was our' alther cok,
 And gader'd us togider in a flok, 824
 And forth we ryd' a lytel moor' than *paas*,
 Unto the watering' of *Saynt Thomas*.
 And theer our' *hoost'* bigan his hors *arest*,
 And seyde, Lordes, herk'neth, if you leste. 828
 Ye woot your' fooward, I it you *recorde*,
 If evesong and morwesong *accorde*,

795 whylom E. He. Co. P. L., and so Tyrwhitt, Sloane MS. 1685, omits the word; of adventures that ther han bifalle Ha, which would refer only to the second stories and imply that they should relate to adventures at Canterbury,

which is unlikely, as they must have all known them; whylom is suitable for both sets of tales, and a word of that kind is wanted. The Sloane MS. 1685 also spells adventures, see p. 633, note 1. The passage is wanting in Ca.

But taakth it not, *li* prai juu, in diſdain;
 Dhis is dhe puint, to ſpeek'en ſhort and plain;
 Dhat eetsh of juu to ſhort'e with juur wai'e,
 In dhis vii'aadzh'e ſhal tel'e taal'es twai'e, 792
 To Kaunt'erber'iiward, *li* meen it ſoo,
 And hoom'ward nee ſhal tel'en udh'er twoo,
 Of aa'ventyryr' dhat whiil'om naan bifal'e.
 And whitsh of juu dhat beerth -in beſt of al'e, 796
 Dhat is to ſain, dhat tel'eth in dhis kaas
 Taal'es of beſt ſentens' and moost ſoolaas',
 Shal naan a ſuup'eer' at juur al'dher koſt,
 Heer in dhis plaas'e, ſit'iq' bii dhis poſt, 800
 Whan dhat we kum again' from Kaun'terber'ii.
 And for to maak'e juu dhe moore mer'ii,
li wol miiselv'en glad'lii with juu riid'e,
 Rikht at miin oou'ne koſt, and bee juur giid'e. 804
 And whoo'soo wol mi dzhyydz'ement wiſſai'e
 Shal pai'e for al we ſpend'en bii dhe wai'e.
 And if je vuutsh'esauſ' dhat it be ſoo,
 Tel me anoon' withuut'en word'es moo, 808
 And *li* wol er'lii ſhaape mee dheerfoor'e.
 Dhis thi'q was graunt'ed, and uur ooth'es ſwoor'e
 With ful glad hert, and praid'en miin alſoo.
 He wold'e vuutsh'esauſ' for to doon ſoo, 812
 And dhat -e wold'e been uur guu'venuur',
 And of uur taal'es dzhyydz' and rep'ortuur',
 And ſet a ſuup'eer' at a ſert'ain' priis;
 We wold'e ryy'led bee at his deviis' 816
 In haikh and loou; and dhus bii oon aſent'
 We been akord'ed too -is dzhyydz'ement'.
 And dheer-upon' dhe win was fet anoon;
 We dru'gk'en, and to reſt'e went eetsh oon, 820
 Withuut'en en'ii leq're tar'iq'e.

We riid'en forth.

A mor-we whan dhe dai bigan' to ſpri'q'e,
 Up roos uur oost, and was uur al'dher kok,
 And gad'erd us togid'er in a flok, 824
 And forth we riid a lii't'l moor dhan paas,
 Untoo' dhe waa'ter'iq' of Saint Toomaas'.
 And dheer uur oost bigan' -is hors areſt'e,
 And ſaid'e, Lord'es, herk'neth, if juu leſt'e. 828
 Je woot jur foor'ward, *li* it juu rekord'e,
 If eev'esog and mor'wesoq akord'e,

798 moost, ſo all the ſix MSS.,
of Ha.

sworne, and if the ellipsis be not
assumed before swore it must at
least occur before prey'den.

810 our' othes swore, Prof.
Child points out an ellipsis of we as
in v. 786, ſee ſuprà p. 376, art. 111,
Ex. b. The paſt participle would be

824 in a flok He. P. L., Sloane
MS. 1685, the others have alle in
a flock, with various ſpellings

- Let see nou who schal telle first a tale.
 As ever' moot I drinke wyn or ale, 832
 Whoso be *rebel* to my *juggement*
 iii Schal *paye* for al that by the wey' is spent.
 Nou draweth out, eer that we forther twinne;
 And which that hath the schortest schal beginne. 836
Syr' knight, quoth he, my *mayster* and my lord,
 Nou draweth out, for that is myn *accord*.
 Com'th neer, quoth he, my lady *pygoresse*,
 And ye, *syr'* clerk, lat be your schamfastnesse, 840
 iii Ne *studieth* nat; ley hand to, ev'ry man!
 Anoon to drawen ev'ry wight bigan,
 And schortly for to tellen as it was,
 Wer' it by *aventur'*, or *sort*, or *caas*, 844
 The sooth is this, the cut fil to the knight',
 Of which ful blyth' and glad was ev'ry wight,
 And tell' he moost' his tal' as was *resoun*,
 By foorward and by *composicioun*, 848
 As ye haan herd; what nedeth wordes mo?
 And whan this gode man sawgh it was so,
 As he that wys was and *obedient*
 To kep' his foorward by his fre *assent*, 852
 iii He seyde: Sin I schal beginne the game,
 What! Weelcom be the cut, in Goddes name!
 Nou lat us ryd', and herk'neth what I seye.
 And with that word we ryden forth our' weye; 856
 iii And he bigan with right a merye *chere*
 His tal' anoon, and scyd' in this *manere*.

854 the cut, so all the six MSS.,
 thou cut Ha.

858 So E.; his tale and seide
 right in this manere Ha.;

In correcting the proofs of this text and conjectured pronunciation of Chaucer's Prologue I have had the great advantage of Mr. Henry Nicol's assistance, and to his accuracy of eye and judgment is due a much greater amount of correctness and consistency than could have been expected in so difficult a proof.¹ Owing to suggestions made by Mr. Nicol, I have reconsidered several indications of French origin. One of the most remarkable is *Powles* v. 509,

¹ Some trifling errors escaped observation till the sheets had been printed off, which the reader will have no difficulty in correcting, such as e, o, i for ee, oo, y, etc. The following are more important. Read in *Text*, v. 15 *specially*, v. 69 *poort'*, v. 123 *entuned*, v. 152 *streyt*, v. 208 *Frere*, v. 260 *pore*, v. 289 *soberly*, v. 365 *fresch*, v. 569 *vytaylor*, v. 570 *tailer*, v. 599 *governing*, v. 601 *age*. Read in the *Pronunciation*, v. 14 *sundrii*, v. 23 *kum*, v. 35 *whiilz*, v. 48 *ferre*, v. 53

Abur'en, v. 66 *Avain'*, v. 71 *al*, v. 72 *dzhen't'l*, v. 107 *fedh'res*, v. 144 *sak'eh*, v. 181, *Dhis*, v. 210 *kan*, v. 241 *ev'ritish*, v. 265 *his tuq'e*, v. 284 *men*, v. 292 *world'lii*, v. 334 *bii dhe mor'w-*, v. 414 *grund'ed*, v. 424 *jaaf*. Read in the *Footnotes*, on v. 60, l. 3 *noh'l*, on v. 120, l. 1 *saynt*, on v. 120, last line but three, "all the six MSS. except L.", and add at the end of the note "and L. omits also," on v. 247, l. 1 *noon*, on v. 305, l. 1 *He*, on v. 512, l. 1, *foolde*.

Let see nuu whoo shal tel'e first a taal'e.
 As ev'er moot *li* driq'ke wiin or aal'e, 832
 Whoo'soo' be reb'el too *mii* dzhyydz'ement
 Shal pai'e for al dhat *bii* dho wai is spent.
 Nuū drau'eth kut, eer dhat we furdh'er twi'n'e ;
 And whitsh dhat hath dhe short'est shal bigi'n'e. 836
 Sür knikht, kwoth nee, *mii* maist'er and *mii* lord,
 Nuū drau'eth kut, for dhat is *mii*n akord'.
 Kumth neer, kwoth nee, *mii* laa'dii prii'ores'e,
 And jee, sür klerk, lat bee sür shaam'fastnes'e, 840
 Nee stud'iet' nat; lai hand too, ev'rii man!
 Anoon' to drau'en ev'rii wikh't bigan',
 And short'lii for to tel'en as it was,
 Wer it *bii* aa'ventyyr', or sort, or kaas, 844
 Dhe sooth is dhis, dhe kut fil too dhe knikht,
 Of whitsh ful bliidh and glad was ev'rii wikh't,
 And tel -e moost -is taal as was ree'suun',
 Bii foor'ward and bii komposiis'iuun', 848
 As jee naan merd; what need'eth word'es moo?
 And whan dhis good'e man sauk'wh it was soo,
 As nee dhat wiis was and obeed'ient'.
 To keep -is foor'ward *bii* -is free asent', 852
 He said'e: *Sin li* shal bigi'n'e dhe gaam'e,
 What! weel'kum' bee dhe kut, in God'es naam'e!
 Nuū lat us riid, and merk'neth what *li* saie.
 And with dhat word we riid'en forth uur waie.; 856
 And nee bigan with rikht a mer'ie tsheer'e
 H'is taal anoon', and said in dhis man'eer'e.

his tale anoon, and seyde MSS. in various spellings.
 as ye may heere, the other

which seemed to have a French pronunciation, but which ought perhaps to be marked Pow'les, the form Powel appearing in v. 13938, *suprà* p. 266, a direct derivative from Orrmin's Pawell with a long *a*. The alterations thus admitted affect the calculation on p. 651, which was made from the MS. As now printed (making the corrections just mentioned), the numbers are as follows:—

Lines containing no French word . . .	286,	per cent.	33·3
" only one " " . . .	359,	"	41·7
" two French words . . .	179,	"	20·9
" three " " . . .	29,	"	3·5
" four " " . . .	4,	"	0·5
" five " " . . .	1,	"	0·1
Lines in Prologue . . .	858		100·0

These numbers are not sensibly different from the former. The number of Trissyllabic measures after correction appears as 76, the numbers in the six classes on p. 648 being respectively 25, 6, 3, 4, 29, 9. The number of lines with defective first measures, p. 649, remains 13, as before. The number of lines with two superfluous syllables, p. 649, is now 8, vv. 709, 710, having been added.

§ 2. *Gower.*

Johan Gower, died, a very old man, between 15 August and 24 October 1408, having been blind since 1400, the year of Chaucer's death. His three principal works are *Speculum Meditantis*, written in French, which is entirely lost; *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin, still preserved; and *Confessio Amantis*, in English, of which there are several fine MSS., and which was printed by Caxton in 1483. In this edition Caxton calls him: "Johan Gower squyer borne in Walys in the tyme of kyng richard the second." The district of Gowerland in S. W. Glamorganshire, between Swansea bay and Burry river, a peninsula, with broken limestone coast, full of caves, and deriving its name from the Welsh *gwyrr* = (*guu'yr*) oblique, crooked, traditionally claims to be his birth place. Now Gower's own pronunciation of his name results from two couplets, in which it is made to rhyme with *power* and *reposer*. The first passage, according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, is

Sche axeþ me what was my name
Madame I seyde Johan Gower.
Now Johan quod sche in my power,
Thou muste as of þi loue stonde. iii 353¹

The other will be found below, pp. 738-9. The sound was therefore (*Guu'cer*), which favours the Welsh theory. The modern form of the name is therefore (*Geuer*), and Gowerland is now called (*Gowerland*) in English.

But the correctness of this Welsh derivation has been disputed. Leland had heard that he was of the family of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkshire, ancestors of the present Duke of Sutherland. The Duke has politely informed me that the family and traditional pronunciation of his patronymic *Gower* is a dissyllable rhyming to *mower*, *grower*, that is (*Goo'er*). Now this sound could not be the descendant of (*Guu'cer*), and hence this pronunciation is a presumption against the connection of the two families, strengthening the argument derived from the difference of the coats of arms.²

He was certainly at one time in friendly relations with Chaucer, who, in his *Troilus and Cryseyde*, writes:—

O moral Gower, this boke I directe
To the, and to the philosophical Strode,
To vouchensauf, ther nede is, to correcte,
Of youre benignites and zeles goode. 577

And Gower, in some manuscripts, makes Venus send a message to Chaucer, as her disciple and poet, which is printed as an example below, pp. 738-9.

The text of Gower has not yet been printed from the manuscripts,

¹ These references throughout are to Pauli's edition, as explained *suprà*, p. 256.

² For other particulars of the life of Gower, derived from legal papers, shewing that he was possessed of land in Kent, see the life prefixed to Pauli's

edition of the *Confessio Amantis*, and Sir Harris Nicolas's Notice of Gower, in the *Retrospective Review*, N. S., vol. ii. No weight is to be attributed to his calling himself *English*, when asking to be excused for faults in French, in a French poem. He would have no

or from any one MS. in particular. Pauli's edition is founded on Berthelette's first edition, 1532, "carefully collated throughout" with the Harl. MSS. 7184 and 3869. Of the first Pauli says: "This volume, on account of its antiquity and its judicious and consistent orthography, has been adopted as the basis for the spelling in this new edition." Pauli says that he has also used Harl. MS. 3490, and the Stafford MS. where it was important, and that his "chief labour consisted in restoring the orthography and in regulating the metre, both of which had been disturbed in innumerable places by Berthelette." As the result is eminently unsatisfactory, it has been thought best, in giving a specimen of Gower, to print the original in precise accordance with some MSS.

The following MSS. of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* are described by Pauli. At Oxford, having the verses to Richard II, and those on Chaucer: MS. Laud. 609, Bodl. 693, Selden, B. 11, Corp. Chr. Coll. 67;—without these verses: MS. Fairfax 3, Hatton 51, Wadham Coll. 13, New Coll. 266;—with the first and without the second, MS. Bodl. 294;—dedicated to Henry of Lancaster, and with verses on Chaucer; MS. New Coll. 326. In the British Museum, Harl. 7184, 3869, 3490. MS. Stafford, in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland. Pauli does not mention the MS. 134, of the Society of Antiquaries.

The MSS. most accessible to me were the four cited *suprà* p. 253. Of these the orthography of Harl. 3869 appeared to me the best, and I have therefore printed it in the first column. In the second column I have given the text of Harl. 7184, which Pauli professes to follow; and in the third the text of the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 134.¹ The fourth column contains the conjectural pronunciation. By this means the diversities of the orthography and the uniformity of the text will be made evident. It is the former in which we are most interested. The passage selected for this purpose is the story of Nebuchadnezzar's punishment, as being unobjectionable in detail, and sufficient in length to give a complete conception of the author's style.

But as the Message from Venus to Chaucer possesses great interest from its subject, I have added a copy of it according to Harl. MS. 3869, from which Pauli states that he has taken the copy printed in his edition. In the second column I have annexed the same text according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, and, since the passage does not occur in the other two MSS., in the third column I have added my own systematic orthography, and in the fourth column the conjectured pronunciation. For these two last columns a composite text has been chosen, founded on a comparison of the two MSS.

In all cases the phonetic transcript has been constructed on the same principles as that of Chaucer in the preceding section.

doubt considered himself an Englishman, as he spoke English and was an English subject and landowner, even if he had been born in Wales.

¹ As this MS. makes no distinction

between z ȝ, but writes the guttural with the same z that it uses in Nabudonozor, I have used z throughout its transcription.

THE PUNISHMENT OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Harl. MS. 3869, *folio* 49b to 52a.*Harl. MS.* 7184, *folio* 23, a, 1 to 24, a, 2.

i 136

Ther was a kinge þat mochel myhte
 Which Nabugodonosor hihte
 Of whom þat I. spak hier tofore
 ȝit in þe bible his name is bore
 For al þe world in Orient
 Was hol at his comandement
 As þanne of kinges to his liche
 Was non so myhti ne so riche
 To his empire and to his lawes
 As who seiþ al in þilke dawes
 Were obeissant and tribut bere
 As ȝogh he godd of Erþe were
 Wiþ strengþe he putte kynges vnder
 And wroghte of pride many a wonder
 He was so full of veine gloire
 That he ne hadde no memoire
 That þer was eny good bot he
 For pride of his prosperite
 Til þat þe hihe king of kinges
 Which seiþ and knoweþ alle þinges
 Whos yhe mai noþing asterte
 The priuetees of mannes herte

i 137

Thei speke and sounen in his Ere
 As ȝogh þei lowde wyndes were
 He tok vengeance vpon þis pride
 Bot for he wolde a while a bide
 To loke if he him wolde amende
 To him aforetokne he fende
 And þat was in his slep be nyhte
 This proude kyng a wonder syhte
 Hadde in his sweuene þer he lay
 Him ȝoght vpon a merie day
 As he behield þe world a boutē
 A tree fulgrowe he syh þeroute
 Whiche stod þe world amidde enene
 Whos heihte straghte vp to þe heuene
 The lenes weren faire and large [fol. 50]
 Of fruit it bar so ripe a charge
 That alle men it mihte fede
 He sih also þe bowes spriede
 A boue al Erþe in which were
 The kynde of alle briddes þere
 And eke him ȝoght he sih also
 The kynde of alle bestes go
 Vnder þis tree a boutē round
 And fedden hem vpon þe ground
 As he þis wonder stod and sih
 Him ȝoghte he herde a vois on hih
 Criende and seide a bouen alle
 Hew down þis tree and lett it falle
 The leues let defoule in haste
 And do þe fruit destruye and waste

i 136

Ther was a king that mochel myhte
 Which Nabugodonosor highte,
 Of whom that I spak hier tofore.
 Yit in the bible his name is bore
 For al the world in the orient
 Was holl at his commandment
 And of kinges to his liche
 Was non so myti ne so riche
 To his empire and to his lawes
 As who seiþ all in thilke dawes
 Were obeissant and tribut bere
 As thou; he god of erthe were
 With strengthe he put kinges vnder
 And wrouht of pride many a wonder,
 He was so full of veingloire,
 That he ne had no memoire,
 That ther was any good but he
 For pride of his prosperite .
 Til that the high king of kinges
 Which seth and knoweth alle thinges
 Whoz yhe may no thing asterte
 The priuitees of mannes herte

i 137

To speke and sounen in his here
 As thou; thei loude wyndes were
 He toke vengeance vpon this pride
 But for he wolde a while abide
 To loke if he wolde him amende
 To him a fore tokene he fende [fo. 23, a, 2]
 And that was in his slep be nyte
 This proude king a wonder sighte
 Hadde in his sweuene ther he lay
 Him thouht vpon a mery day
 As he behield the world aboute
 A tree full growe he sih theroute
 The which stode the world amidde euene
 Whoz heighte straught vp to the heuene
 The lenes weren faire and large
 Of fruit it bar so ripe a charge
 That alle men it might fede
 He sih also the bowes spriede
 About all erthe in which were
 The kinde of alle briddes there
 And eke him thouht he sih also
 The kinde of alle bestes go
 Vnder the tre aboute round
 And fedden hem vpon the ground
 As he this wonder stode and sih
 Him thouhte he herde a vois on high
 Criend and seide abouen alle
 Hewe down this tree and let it falle
 The leues let defoule in haste
 And do the fruit destroe and waste

FROM GOWER'S "CONFESSIO AMANTIS," LIB. 1.

Society of Antiquaries, MS. 134, folio
56, b, 2 to 58, a 2.

i 136

There was a kinge þat mocheill myzte
Whiche Nabugodonozor hyzte
Of whom þat .y. spak here to fore
Zit in þe bible his name is bore
For all þe orient world in orient
Was hool at his comaundement
As þanne of kinges to his liche
Was noun þo myzty ne so riche
To his empire and to his lawis
As who fayep all in þilke dawis
Were obeyfant and tribute bere
As þouz he god of erpe were
With strengþe he putte kynges vndir
And wrouzte of pride many awondir
He was so full of vayne glorye
That he ne hadde no memorye
That þer was eny god but he
For pride of his prosperite.
Till þat þe hyze kinge of kinges
Whiche seep and knowep all þinges
Whos ye may no þynge asterte
The priuete of mannis herte

i 137

They speke and fownen in his ere
As þouz þey loude wyndis were
He tok veniaunce vp on þis pride
But for he wole awhile abyde
To loke yf he him wolde amende
To him a fore token he fende
And þat was in his slepe benyzte
This proude kyng a wondir fyzte
Hadde in his fweuen þer he lay [fo. 57,
Him þouzte vp on a mery day a, 1]
As he behelde þe world aboute
A tre full growe he fyze þeroute
Whiche stod þe world amiddis euene
Whos heyzte strauzte vp to þe heuene
The leuis weren fayre and large
Of frute it bare so ripe a charge
That all men it myzte p' fede
He fyze also þe bowis sprede
Aboue all erþe in whiche were
The kynde of all briddis þere
And eek him þouzte he fyze also
þe kynde of all bettis goo
Vndir þis tre aboute rounde
And fedden hem vp on þe grounde
As he þis wondir stod and fyze
Him þouzte ho herde auoys on hyze
Criende and feyde abouen alle
How down þis tre and lete it falle
The leuis let do foule in hafte
And to þe frute destruiue and wafte

Conjectured Pronunciation.

i 136

Dher was a kīg dhat mutsh'el mīkht'e,
Whitsh Naa'buugoo'doonooz'or mīkht'e,
Of whom dhat *I* spak heer tofoore.
Jet in dhe Bibl- -is naam is boore,
For al dhe world in Oo'rient
Was hool at his komaundement.
As dhan of kīq'es too -is lītsh'e
Was noon soo mīkht'īi nee soo rītsh'e;
To his empiir and too -is laures,
As whoo saith, al in dhis'ke daures
Wer oobaisaunt, and tri'byyt beere,
As dhoouk'eh -e God of Erth'e weere.
With strength -e putte kīq'es under,
And rēouk'ht of prīde man'ī a wūnder.
He was so ful of vain'e gloori'e
Dhat hee ne nad'e noo memoori'e
Dhat dher was en'īi God but nee,
For prīd of his prosperitee.
Til dhat dhe mīkht'e Kīq of kīq'es,
Whitsh saith and knou'eth al'e thīq'es,
Whoos ī'e mai noo'thiq' asterte,—
Dhe prī'veteez' of man'es herte,

i 137

Dhai speek and sunnen in -is er'e,
As dhoouk'eh dhai lund'e wind'es weere—
Hee took vendzhauns' upon dhis' prīde.
But, for -e wold a whīl abīde
To look īf hee -īm wold amende,
To him a fooretok'n -e send'e,
And dhat was, in -is sleep bīi nīkht'e,
Dhis' prūde kīq a wūnder sīkht'e
Had, in -is swee'ne dheer -e lai.
Hīm thouk'ht upon a mer'īi dai,
As hee beneeld' dhe world about'e,
A tree fulgroun' -e sīkht' dheerunt'e
Whitsh stood dhe world amid'es eev'ne,
Whoos hāikht'ēstrauk'ht up too dhe heev'ne
Dhe leev'es weeren fair and lardz'le,
Of fryyt īt baar soo rīip a tshardzh'e
Dhat al'e men īt mīkht'e feed'e.
He sīkht al'soo' dhe boou'es spred'e
Abuv' al erth, in whitsh'e weere
Dhe kind of al'e brīd'es dheer'e.
And eek -īm thouk'ht -e sīkht al'soo'
Dhe kind of al'e beest'es goo
Under dhis' tree about'e roun'd
And feed'en hem upon' dhe grund.
As nee dhis' wūnder stood and sīkht,
Hīm thouk'ht -e herd a vuis on mīkht'
Cri'end', and said abuv'en al'e:
"Heu duun dhis' tree, and let īt fal'e!
"Dhe leev'es let defuul' īn naste,
"And doo dhe fryyt destrui' and wast'e!

Harl. MS. 3839.

i 138

And let of schreden euery branche
 Bot a Rote let it staunche
 Whan al his Pride is cast to grounde
 The rote schal be faste bounde
 And schal no mannes herte bere
 Bot euery lust he schal forbere
 Of man, and lich an Oxe his mete
 Of gras he schal pourchache and ete
 Til pat he water of þe heuene
 Hauē waifthen him be times seuene
 So pat he be þurghknowe ariht
 What is þe heueneliche myht
 And be mad humble to þe wille
 Of him which al mai saue and spille
 This kyngē out of his swefene abreide

And he vpon þe morwe it feide
 Vnto þe clerkes which he hadde
 Bot non of hem þe soþe aradde
 Was non his sweuene cowþe vndo
 And it stod þilke time fo
 This kyng hadde in subieccion
 Jude, and of affection
 A boue alle oþre on Daniel
 He louch. for he cowþe wel
 Diuine þat non oþer cowþe
 To him were alle þinges cowþe
 As he it hadde of goddes grace
 He was before þe kinges face
 Asent, and bode þat he scholde
 Vpon þe point þe king of tolde

i 139

The fortune of his sweuene expounde
 As it scholde afterward be founde
 Whanne Daniel þis sweuene herde [fo.
 He stod long time er he answerde 506]
 And made a wonder heuy chiere
 The king tok hiede of his manere
 And bad him telle þat he wiste
 As he to whom, he mochel triste
 And feide he wolde noght be wroþ
 Bot Daniel was wonder loþ
 And feide vpon þi fomen alle
 Sire king þi sweuene mote falle
 And napeles . touchende of this
 I wol þe tellen how it is
 And what defese is to þee schape
 God wot if þou it schalt ascape
 The hihe tre which þou hast sein
 Wij lef and fruit so wel besein
 The which stod in þe world amidde
 So pat þe bestes and þe briddes
 Gouerned were of him al one
 Sire king betokeneþ þi persone
 Which stant a boue all erþli þinges
 Thus regnen vnder þe þe kinges
 And al þe poeple vnto þe loutē
 And al þe world þi pouer doubtē

Harl. MS. 7184.

i 138

And let of shreden euery branche
 But atc roote let it staunche
 Whan all his pride is cast to grounde
 The roote shall be fast bounde
 And shall no mannes hert bere
 But eueri lust he shall forbere
 Of man and lich an hoxe his mete
 Of gras he shall purchace and ete
 Til that the water of the heuene
 Hauē waffthen him be tymes seuene
 So that he throuȝ knowe ariht
 What is the heuenlich might
 And be mad humble to the wille
 Of him which al may saue and spille
 This king out of his sweuene abreide

And he vpon the morwe it feide
 Vnto the clerkes which he hadde
 But non of hem the soth aradde
 Was non his sweuene couthe vndo
 And it stode thilke time foo
 This king had in subieccion
 Judee, and of affection
 Aboue al othir oon Daniell
 He loueth, for he couthe well
 Diuine that non othir couthe [fo. 23, b,
 To him were all thinges couthe 1]
 As he it hadde of goddes grace
 He was before the kinges face
 Asent and bode that he shulde
 Vpon the point the king of tolde

i 139

The fortune of his sweuene expounde
 As it shuld aftirward be founde
 Whan Daniel this sweuene herde
 He stod long tyme or he answerde
 And made a wonder heuy chiere
 The king took hiede of his manere
 And bad him telle that he wiste
 As he to whom that mochel triste
 And feid he wolde nouȝt be wroth
 But Daniel was wonder loth
 And feide vpon thi fomen alle
 Sir king thi sweuene mot falle
 And natheles touchend of this
 I wol the tellen how it is
 And what defese is to the shape
 God wot if thou it shall escape
 The high tree which thou hast sein
 With lef and fruit so wel besein
 The which stood in the world amidde
 So that the bestes and the briddes
 Gouerned were of him alone
 Sir king betokeneth thi persone
 Which stant aboue all ertheli thinges
 Thus reigen vnder the kinges
 And all the people vnto the louteth
 And all the world thi power doubteth

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

i 138

And lett of schreden euery branche
But at rote lete it staunche.
Whan all þis pride is caste to grounde
The rote schall be faste bounde
And schall no mannis herte bere.
But euery luste he schall forbere
Of man and liche an oxe his mete
Of gras he schall purchace and ete
Till þat þe water of þe heuen
Haue waschen him be timis seuen.
So þat hee þurgh knowe aryzte
What is þe heuen liche myzte.
And he made vmbles to þe wille,
Of him whiche all may faue and spille.

This kyng oute of his sweuen
abreyde.

And hee vp on þe morow it seyde
Vn to þe clerkis whiche he hadde
But none of hem þe soþe aradde.
Was nonn his sweuen couþe vndoo,
And it stood pilke tyme soþ [fo. 57, a, 2]
This kyng hadde in subieccioun
Jude and of affectioun
Above alle oþer onn daniell
He louep for he couþe well
Diuise þat nonn oþer couþe
To him were all þinges couþe
As he hadde of goddis grace
He was tofore þe kyngis face
Asent and bode þat he schulde
Vp on þe poynte þe kyng of tolde

i 139

The fortune of his sweuen expoude
As it schulde aftirwarde be founde
Whan daniell þis sweuen herde
He stood longe tyme er he anwerde
And made a wondir heuy chere
Þe kyng tok hede of his manere
And bad him telle þat he wiste.
And he to whom he mochel triste
And seyde he wolde nouzt be wroþ
But daniel was wondir loþ
And seyde vp on þy fomen alle
Sere kyng þy sweuen mot falle
And napeles touchende of þis
I wol þe tellen how it is
And what defese is to þe schape
God wot yf .þou. it schall afchape
The hyz tre which .þou. hast feyne
With leef and frute so wel befeyne
The whiche stod in þe world auiddes
So þat þe bestis and þe briddis.
Gouernid were of him allone
Sere kyng bitokenep þy persone
Whiche stante aboue all erþely þynges
Thus regnen vndir þe þe kynges
And of þe peple vn to þe loutep
And all þe world þy power douted

Conjectured Pronunciation.

i 138

"And let of schreden ev'ry brauntsh'e,
"But at'e root'e let it stauntsh'e.
"Whan al -is priid is kast to grund'e,
"Dhe root'e shal be fast'e bund'e.
"He shal noo man'es hert'e beere,
"But ev'ry lust -e shal forbeere
"Of man, and liitsh an oks -is meet'e
"Of gras -e shal purtshaas', and eet'e,
"Til dhat dhe waa'ter of dhe heev'n'e
"Haav waish'en him bi tiim'es seev'ne,
"Soo dhat he bee thurk'ch'knou' arikt,
"What is dhe heev'enliitsh'e mikht,
"And bee maad um'b'l tooo dhe wil'e
"Of Him, whitsh al mai saav and spil'e."
Dhis kiq uut of -is sweev'n- abraid'e.

And hee upon' dhe mor'w- it said'e
Untoo' dhe klerk'es whitsh -e nad'e,
But noon of hem dhe sooth arad'e,
Was noon -is sweev'ne kuuth undoo'.
And it stood dhi'k'e tiim'e so,
Dhis kiq nad in subdzhek'siun'
Dzhyydeco', and of afek'siun'
Abuv' al udh'r- oon Daa'niel'
He luv'eth, for he kuuth'e wel
Divi'ne dhat noon udh'r'er kuuth'e.
To him weer al'e thi'q'es kuuth'e
As hee it nad of God'es graa'se.
He was befoor' dhe kiq'es faa'se
Asent, and boorde dhat -e shold'e
Upon' dhe pint dhe kiq of toold'e,

i 139

Dhe for'tyyn' of -is sweev'n- ekspuun'de,
As it shold afterwar'd be fun'de

Whan Daa'niel' dhis sweev'ne herd'e
He stood loq tiim eer hee answerd'e,
And maad a wun'der hev'ii' theere,
Dhe kiq took heed of his maneer'e
And baad -im tel'e dhat -e wist'e,
As hee to whom -e nutsh'e trist'e,
And said -e wold'e nouk'ht be ruooth,
But Daa'niel' was wun'der looth,
And said: "Upon' dhi' foomen al'e,
"Siir kiq, dhi' sweev'ne moo'to fal'e!
"And, naa'dheelees, tutsh'end' of dhis,
"Ii wol dhee tel'en nuu it is,
"And what disceez' is to dhee shaa'pe,
"God wot if dhuu it shalt eskaa'pe!
"Dhe ni'k'h'e tree whitsh dhuu hast sain
"With leef and fryrt soo wel besain',
"Dhe whitsh stood in dhe world amid'es,
"So dhat dhe beest'es and dhe brid'es
"Guvern'd weer of him aloon',
"Siir kiq, betook'neth dhi' persoun',
"Whitsh stant abuv' al erth'lii thi'q'es,
"Dhus reen'en under dhee dhe kiq'es,
"And al dhe peep'l- untoo' dhee luut'eth,
"And al dhe world dhi' puu'er' duut'eth,

Harl. MS. 3869.

So þat wiþ vein honour deceiued
 Thou haft þe reuerence weyued
 Fro him which is þi king a bone
 That þou for drede ne for loue

i 140

Wolt noþing knowen of þi godd
 Which now for þe haþ mad a rodd
 Thi veine gloire and þi folie
 With grette peines to chaffie
 And of þe vois þou herdest speke
 Which bad þe bowes for to breke
 And hewe and felle down þe tree
 That word belongeþ vnto þee
 Thi regne ſchal ben ouerþrowe
 And þou despoiled for a þrowe
 Bot þat þe Rote ſeholde ſtonde
 Be þat þou ſchal wel vnderſtonde
 Ther ſchal a biden of þi regne
 A time ayein whan þou ſhalt regne

And ek of þat þou herdest ſeie
 To take a mannes herte a weie
 And sette þere a beſtial
 So þat he lich an Oxe ſchal:
 Paſture. and þat hebe bereined
 Be times ſefne and fore peined
 Til þat he knowe his goddes mihtes
 [fol. 51]

Than ſeholde he ſtonde ayein vprihtes
 Al þis betokeneþ þin aſtat
 Which now wiþ god is in debat
 Thi mannes forme ſchal be laſſed
 Til ſeuene yer ben ouerpaſſed
 And in þe likneſſe of a beſte
 Of gras ſchal be þi real feſte
 The weder ſchal vpon þe reine
 And vnderſtond þat al þis peine

i 141

Which þou ſchal ſoffre þilke tide
 Is ſchape al only for þi pride
 Of veine gloire and of þe ſinne
 Which þou haft longe ſtonden inne
 SO vpon þis condicion
 Thi ſweuene haþ expoficion
 Bot er þis þing beſalle in dede
 Amende þee. þis wolde .I. rede
 3if and departe þin almeſſe
 Do mercy forþ wiþ rihtwiſneſſe
 Beſech. and prei. þe hihe grace
 For ſo þou miht þi pes purchace

Wiþ godd. and ſtond in good acord
 Bot Pride is loþ to lene his lord
 And wol noght ſoffre humilite
 Wiþ him to ſtonde in no degree
 And whan a ſchip haþ loſt his ſtiere
 Is non ſo wys þat mai him ſtiere

Harl. MS. 7184.

So that with vein honour deceiued
 Thou haft the reuerence weyued
 Fro him which is thi king aboute
 That thou for drede ne for loue

i 140

Wolt no thing knowen of this god
 Which now for the hath made a rod
 Thi veingloire and thi folie
 With gret peines to chaffie
 And of the vois thou herdest speke
 Which bad the bowes for to breke
 And hewe and felle down the tree
 That word belongeth vnto the
 Thi reigne shall be ouerthrowe
 And thou despoiled for a throwe
 But that the roote shall stonde
 But that thou shalt wel vnderſtonde
 Ther shall a biden of thi reigne
 A tyme ayein whan thou shalt regne
 [fol. 23, b, 2]

And eke of that thou herdest ſeie
 To take a mannes hert aweie
 And sette there a beſtial
 So that he like an oxe ſhall
 Paſture. and that he be bereined
 Be tymes ſefne and fore peined,
 Till that he knowe his goddes mihtes,

Than ſhuld he ſtonde ayein vprightes
 All this betokeneth thine estat
 Which now with god is in debat
 Thi mannes forme ſhall be laſſed
 Til ſeven yere ben ouerpaſſed
 And in the likneſſe of a beſte
 Of gras ſhall be thi roiall feſte
 The weder ſhall vpon the rayne
 And vnderſtonde that all his peine

i 141

Which thou ſhalt ſuffre thilke tide
 Is ſhape all only for thi pride
 Of veingloire and of the ſinne
 Which thou haft longe ſtonden inne
 So vpon this condicion
 Thi ſweuene hath expoficion
 But er this thing beſalle indede
 Amende the this wold I rede
 Yif and departe thine almeſſe
 Doth mercy forth with rihtwiſneſſe
 Beſeche and praie the high grace
 For ſo thou miht thi pees purchace

With god and ſtonde in good acord.
 But pride is loth to lene his lorde
 And wol not ſuffre humilite
 With him to ſtonde in no degree
 And whan a ſhip hath loſt his ſtiere
 Is non ſo wys that may him ſtiere

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

So þat with veyne honour deceyued.
Thou hast þe reuerence weyued
Fro him whiche is þy kyng above
That þou for drede ne for loue.

i 140

57, b, 1]

Wolte no þyng knowen of þy god [fo.
Whiche now for þe haþ made arod
Thy vayne glory and þy folye
Wiþ gret peynis to chaſtaye
And of þe voyce þou herdest ſpeke.
Whiche bad þe bowis for to breke
And hewe and falle down þe tre
That worde bilongeþ vn to þe
Thy regne ſchall ben ouerþrowe
And þou deſpouled for a þrowe
Bot þat þe rote ſchulde ſtonde
Be þat .þou. ſchalt wel vnderſtonde
Ther ſchall abiden of þy regne
A tyme azen whan þou ſchalt regne

And eek of þat þou herdest ſay.
To take amans herte away
And sette þer a beſtiall
So þat he liche an oxe ſchall
Pasture and þat he be bereynid
Be tymes ſeuene and ſore peyned
Till þat he knowe his goddis myztis

Than ſchulde he ſtonde azen vpryztis
All þis betokeneþ þyne aſtate
Whiche now with god is indebate
Thy mannis forme ſchall be laſtid
Til ſeuene zere ben ouerpaſtid
And in þe likneſſe of a beſte
Of gras ſchall be þy rial feſte
The wedir ſchall vp on þe reyne
And vnderſtonde þat all þis peyne

i 141

Whiche .þou. ſchalte ſuffre þilke tyde
Is ſchape all only for þy pryde
Of vayne glory and of þy fynne
Whiche .þou. haſte longe ſtonden in
So vp on þis condicioun
Thi ſweuen haþ expoſicioun
But er þis þyng be falle in dede
Amende þe þis wolde y rede
Zif and departe þyn almeſſe
Do mercy forþ with ryztwiſneſſe
Beſeeche and preye þe hyze grace.
For ſo .þou. myzte þy pees purchace

[fo. 57, b, 2]

With god and ſtonde in good acorde
But pride is loþ to leue his lorde
And wolde nouzt ſuffre humilite
With him to ſtonde in nodegre
And whanne a ſchip haþ loſte his ſtere
Is nouw ſo wiſ. þat may him ſtere

Conjectured Pronunciation.

"Soo dhat, with vain on-uur' deſaiv'ed,
"Dhuu haſt dhe reuerens'e waiv'ed,
"Froo him, whitsh is dhiu kiq abuv'e,
"Dhat dhuu for dreed'e nee for luv'e

i 140

"Wolt noo-thiq knoo'en of dhis God,
"Whitsh nuu for dhe hath maad a rod,
"Dhiu vain'e gloo'ri and dhiu foli'e
"With greet'e pain'es to tshasti'e.
"And of dhe vuus dhuu herd'est ſpeek'e,
"Whitsh baad dhe boou'es for to breek'e,
"And neu and ſel'e duun dhe tree,—
"Dhat word beloq'eth un-to dhe.
"Dhiu reen'e ſhal been overthroou'e,
"And dhuu deſpouled for a throou'e.
"But dhat dhe root'e ſhold'e ſtond'e,
"Bi dhat dhuu ſhalt wel underſtond'e,
"Dher ſhal abid'en of dhiu reen'e
"A tiim aſain' whan dhuu ſhalt reen'e.

"And eek of dhat dhuu herd'est ſai'e,
"To taak a man'es hert awai'e,
"And set'e dheer a bees'tiaal',
"So dhat -e liik an oks'e ſhal
"Paſtyr', and dhat -e bec berain'ed
"Bi tiim'e ſeev'n- and soor'e pain'ed
"Til dhat -e knoo -is God'es miht'es.

"Dhan ſhold -e ſtond aſain' upriht'es—
"Al dhis betook'neth dhiu eſtaat',
"Whitsh nuu with God is in debaat',
"Dhiu man'es form'e ſhal be laſed
"Til ſeev'ne zee' been overpaſ'ed,
"And in dhe liik'nes' of a beest'e
"Of gras ſhal bee dhiu ree'al feest'e
"Dhe wed'er ſhal upon dheer rain'e.
"And underſtond' dhat al dhis pain'e

i 141

"Whitsh dhuu ſhalt ſufer dhiik'e tiid'e,
"Is ſhaap al con'li' for dhiu priid'e
"Of vain'e gloo'ri and of dhe ſinc'e
"Whitsh dhuu haſt loq'e ſtond'en in'e.
"Soo up'on dhis kondi'sioun
"Dhiu ſweev'n- -ath eksposi'sioun.
"But eer dhis thiq beſal' in ded'e
"Amend'e dhe. Dhis wold Is reed'e,
"Jiv, and departe dhiu almeſ'e,
"Doo merſii' forth with riht'wiſneſ'e,
"Beſeeht' and prai dhe miht'e graas'e.
"For soo dhuu miht dhiu pees purtshaas'e

"With God, and ſtond in good akord'."
"But priid is looth to leev -is lord,
"And wol noukht ſuf'r- yymi'lii-tee'
"With him to ſtond in noo deegree'
"And when a ſhip hath loſt -is ſteer'e
"Is nouw soo wiis dhat mai -im ſteer a

Harl. MS. 3869.

Ayein þe wawes in a rage
 This proude king in his corage
 Humilite haþ so forlore
 That for no fweene he fiþ tofore
 Ne jit for al þat Daniell
 Him haþ counseiled eueridel
 He let it passe out of his mynde
 Thurgh veine gloire. and as þe blinde
 He seþ no weie. er him be wo
 And fell wiþinne a time so
 As he in Babiloine went
 Þe vanite of pride him hente

i 142

His herte aros of veine gloire
 So þat he drowh into memoire
 His lordschipe and his regalie
 Wiþ wordes of Surquiderie
 And whanne þat he him most anaunteþ
 That lord which veine gloire daunteþ
 Al fodeinliche as who feith treis [fo.
 Wher þat he stod in his Paleis 516]
 He tok him fro þe mennes fihte
 Was non of hem. so war þat mihte
 Sette yhe. wher þat he becom
 And þus was he from his kingdom
 Into þe wilde Forest drawe
 Wher þat þe mihti goddes lawe
 Thurgh his pouer dede him transforme
 Fro man into a bestes forme
 And lich an. Oxe vnder þe fot
 He graseth as he nedes mot
 To geten him his liues fode
 Tho þoght him colde grafes goode
 That whilom eet þe hote spices
 Thus was he torned fro delices
 The wyn whiche he was wont to drinke

He tok þanne of þe welles brinke
 Or of þe pit or of þe flowh
 It þoghte him þanne good ynowh
 In stede of chambres wel arraied
 He was þanne of a buiffh wel paied
 The harde grounde he lay vpon
 For oþre pilwes haþ he non

i 143

The stormes and þe Reines falle
 The wyndes blowe vpon him alle
 He was tormented day and nyht
 Such was þe hihe goddes myht
 Til seuene yer an ende toke
 Vpon himself þo gan he loke
 In stede of mete gras and stres
 In stede of handes longe cles
 In stede of man a bestes lyke
 He feih and þanne he gan to fyke
 For cloþ for gold and for perrie
 Which him was went to magnifie

Harl. MS. 7184.

Ayein the wawes in a rage
 This proude king in his corage
 Humilite hath so forlore
 That for no fwenene he figh tofore
 Ne yit for all that Daniell
 Him hath counseiled eueridell
 He let it passe out of his mynde
 Throu; veingleire and as the blinde
 He seth no weie er him be wo
 And fel withinne a tyme so
 As he in Babiloine wente
 The vanite of pride him hente

i 142

His herte aros of veingloire
 So that he drough into memoire
 His lordship and his regalie [fo. 24,
 With wordes of furquideie a, 1]
 And whan that he him most anaunteth
 That lord which veingloire daunteth
 Al fodeinlich as who feith treis
 Wher that he stood in his paleis
 He took him fro the mennes fighte
 Was non of hem so war that miȝte
 Sette yhe wher that he becom
 And was he from his kingdom
 In to the wilde forest drawe
 Wher that the mighti goddes lawe
 Throu; his pouer dede him transforme
 Fro man in to a bestes forme
 And lich an oxe vnder the fote
 He graseth as he nedes mote
 To geten him his lyues fode
 Tho thout him colde grafes goode
 That whilom eet the hote spices
 Thus was he torned fro delices
 The wyn which he was wont to drinke

He took thanne of the welles brinke
 Or of the pit or of the slough
 It thout him thanne good Inouy
 In stede of chambres well arraied
 He was thanne of a buiffh wel paied
 The harde ground he lay vpon
 For othir pilwes had he non

i 143

The stormes and the reines falle
 The windes blowe vpon him alle
 He was tormented day and night
 Such was the high goddes miȝt
 Til seuene yere. and ende took
 Vpon him self tho gan he look
 In stede of mete gras and tres
 In stede of handes long cles
 In stede of man a bestes like
 He figh and thanne he gan to fike
 For cloth of gold and of perrie
 Which him was wont to magnifie

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

Azen þe wawis in a rage
 This proude kynge in his corage
 Humilite hap fo for lore
 That for no fweuen he syze to fore
 Ne zit for all þat daniell
 Him hap counseylid *every* deell
 He lete it passe oute of his mynde
 Thorow wayne glorie and as þe blynde
 He seþ no wele er him be woo
 And fell *with*inne a tyme soo
 As he in babylone wente
 Þe vanite of prið him hente

i 142

His herte aros of wayne glorie
 So þat he drow in to memorye
 His lordshipe and his regaliye
 With wordis of surquidrye
 And whanne þat he him most auaunteþ
 That lordhe whiche wayne glorie daunteþ
 All fodeynelihe as who sayeth treis
 Where þat he stood in his paleys
 He toke him fro þe menis syze
 Was nonn of hem so war þat myzte
 Sette ye where þat he bicomæ
 And þus was he from his kingdomm
 In to þe wilde forest drawe
 Where þat þe myzty goddis lawe
 Thorow his power did him transforme
 Fro man in to abetis forme
 And liche an oxe vndir þe fote
 He grafeþ as he nedis mot
 To geten him his livis foodo
 The þouzte him colde graffis goode
 That whilom eet þe hoot spicis
 Thus was he turnid fro delicis.
 The wyne whiche he was wonte to
 drynke [fo. 58, a, 1]
 He tok þanne of þe wellis brynke
 Or of þe pitte or of the sloghe
 It þouzte him þanne good y nowæ
 In stede of chambris wel arrayed
 He was þanne of a busche wel payed
 The harde grounde he lay vp on
 For oþer pilowis hap he none

i 143

The stormis and þe raynis falle
 The wyndis blowe vp on him alle
 He was turnementid day and nyzte
 Whiche was þe hyze goddis myzte
 Til seuen zere an ende tok
 Vp on him selfe þo gan he loke
 In stede of mete gras and treis
 In stede of handis longe clees
 In stede of man a bestis like
 He syze and þanne he gan to sike
 For cloþ for golde and þe perry
 Whiche him was wonte to magnifye

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Azain: dhe wau:es in a raadzhre.
 Dhis prund'e kiq in his koorandzhre
 Yymi:litee: nath soo forloore:
 Dhat for noo sweev'n - e sikh to foore
 Ne sit for al dhat Daarnieel:
 Him nath kunsailed ev'rii deel—
 He let it pas uut of -is mind'e
 Thrukech vain'e gloori:, and, as dhe blind'e,
 He seeth noo wal, eer him be woo.
 And fel with'in a tiim'e soo,
 As hee in Babiloonie went
 Dhe vaarnitee of priid -im hent.

i 142

His hert arooz: of vain'e gloori:,
 So dhat he droouk'eh intoo: memoor'e,
 His lord'shiip, and -is ree-gaali'e
 With word'es of syrk'i'der'i'e,
 And, whan dhat hee -im moost avaunt'eth,
 Dhat Lord, whitsh vain'e gloori:e daunt'eth,
 Al sud-ainliitsh, as who saith: Trais!
 Wheer dhat -e stood in his palais,
 He took -im froo dhe men'es sykhte.
 Was noon of hem soo waar, dhat miht'e
 Set i'e wheer that hee bekoom,
 And dhus was hee from his kiq'doom:
 Intoo: dhe wilde forest draue,
 Wheer dhat dhe miht'ii God'es laur'e
 Thurk'eh his pu'er, ded him transform'e
 Fro man intoo: a beestes form'e.
 And liitsh an oks under: dhe foot'e
 He graaz'eth, as -e need'es moot'e
 To geten him -is liiv'es food'e.
 Dhoo thouk'eh -im kool'd'e gras'es good'e,
 Dhat whiil'oom eet dhe hoot'e sp'is es,
 Dhus was -e turn'ed froo deliis'es.
 Dhe wiin, whitsh -e was wont to driq'ke,

He took dhan of dhe wel'es briq'ke,
 Or of dhe pit, or of dhe sluuk'eh.
 It thouk'eh -im dhan'e good inuuk'eh.
 In steed of tshaumb'ez wel araid,
 He was dhan of a bush wel paid.
 Dhe hard'e grund -e lai upon
 For udh're pil'wes nath -e noon.

i 143

Dhe storm'es and dho rain'es fal'e,
 Dhe wind'es bloow upon -im al'e.
 He was torment'ed dai and niht—
 Sutsh was dhe niht'e God'es mkht—
 Til seev'ne zeer an end'e took'e.
 Upon -imself dhoo gan -e look'e.
 In steed of meet'e gras and streez,
 In steed of hand'es loqe' kleez,
 In steed of man a beestes lik'e
 He sikh, and dhan -e gan to sik'e
 For klooth of goold and for per'i'e,
 Whitsh him was wont to magnifi'e.

Harl. MS. 3869.

Whan he behield his Cote of heres
 He wepte. and with fulwoful teres
 Vp to þe heuene he caste his chiere
 Wepende. and þoghte in þis manere
 Thogh he no wordes mihte winne
 Thus feide his herte and spak withinne
 O myhti godd þat al haft wroght
 And al myhte bringe aȝein to noght
 Now knowe .I. wel. bot al of þee
 This worlde haþ no prosperite.
 In þin aspect ben alle liche [fo. 52]
 Þe pouere man and ek þe riche
 Wiþoute þee þer mai no wight
 And þou a boue alle oþre miht
 O mihti lord toward my vice
 Thi mercy medle wiþ iustice
 And .I. woll make a couenant
 That of my lif þe remenant

i 144

I schal it be þi grace amende
 And in þi lawe so depende
 That veine gloire I schal eschue
 And bowe vnto þin hefte and fwe

Humilite. and þat .I. vowe
 And so þenkende he gan downbowe
 And þogh him lacke vois and speche
 He gan vp wiþ his feet a reche
 And wailende in his bestly steuene
 He made his pleignte vnto þe heuene
 He kneleþ in his wife and braieþ
 To seche merci and affaieþ
 His god. whiche made him noþing
 strange

Whan þat he fih his pride change
 Anon as he was humble and tame
 He fond toward his god þe fame
 And in a twinklinge of alok
 His mannes forme aȝein he tok
 And was reformed to the regne
 In which þat he was wont to regne
 So þat þe Pride of veine gloire
 Euere afterward out of memoire
 He let it paffe. and þus is schewed
 What is to ben of pride vnpewed
 Aȝein þe hihe goddes lawe
 To whom noman mai be felawe.

Harl. MS. 7184.

Whan he behield his cote of heres
 He wepte. and with wofull teres
 Vp to the heuene he cast his chiere
 Wepend and thouȝt in this manere
 Thouȝt he no wordes miȝte winne
 Thus said his hert and spak withinne
 O mighti god that haft all wrouȝt
 And al miȝt bringe aȝein to nought
 Now knowe I wel but all of the
 This world hath no prosperite [fol. 24,
 In thine aspect ben alle liche a, 2]
 The pouer man and eke the riche
 Withoute the ther may no wight
 And thou aboue all othere miȝt
 O miȝti lord toward my vice
 Thi mercy medle with iustice
 And I woll make a couenant
 That of my lif the remenant

i 144

I shall be thi grace amende
 And in thi lawe so depende
 That veingloire I shall escheue
 And bowe vnto thine hefte and fwe

Humilite. and that I vowe
 And so thenkend he gan down bowe
 And thouȝt him lacke vois and speche
 He gan vp with his feet areche
 And weiland in his bestli steuene
 He made his pleinte vnto the heuene
 He kneleth in his wife and braieth
 To seche mercy and affaieth
 His god. which made him nothing
 strange

Whan that he figh his pride change
 Anon as he was humble and tame
 He fond toward his god the fame
 And in a twinkeling of a look
 His mannes forme aȝein he took
 And was reformed to the regne
 In which that he was wont to reigne
 So that the pride of veingloire
 Euere afliward out of memoire
 He let it paffe and thus is shewed
 What is to ben of pride vnthwed
 Aȝein the high goddes lawe
 To whom noman may be felawe.

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

Whan he bihilde his cote of heris
 He wepte and *with* fulwofull teris
 Vp to þe heuen he caste his chere
 Wepende and þouzte in þis manere
 Thouz he no wordis myzte wyne
 Thus seyde his herte and spak *withinne*
 O myzty god þat all hast wrouzte
 And all myzte brynge azen to nouzt
 Now knowe .I. well but all of þee
 This world hap no prosperite
 In þyn aspet ben all liche
 Þe pouere men and eek þe riche
With oute þe þer may no wyzte
 And þou. aboute all oþer myzte
 O myzty lorde towarde my vice
 Thy mercy medle *with* iustice
 And .I. wol make a couenaunte
 That of my lyf þe remenaunte

i 144

I schall it be þy *grace* amende
 And in þy lawe so despende
 That vayne glorye .y. schall efchiue
 And bowe vn to þyne hefte and fiue

[fo. 58, a, 2]

Humilite and þat .y. vowe
 And so þenkende he gan down bowe
 And þouz him lacke voys of speche
 He gan vp *with* his feet areche
 And waylende in his bestly steuen
 He made his playnte vn to þe heuen
 He kneleþ in his wise and prayeþ
 To seehe mercy and affayeth
 His god whiche made him no þynge
 straunge

When þat he fyze his pride chaunge
 Anoon as he was ymble and tame
 He fonde towarde his god þe fame
 And in a twynkelynge of a loke
 His mannis forme azen he tok
 And was reformid to the regno
 In whiche þat he was wonte to regne
 So þat þe pryde of vayne glorye
 Euer affirwarde oute of memorye
 He lete it paffe and þus it schewid
 What is to ben of pride vnþewid.
 Azen þe hyze goddis lawe
 To whom no man may be felawe.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Whan hee beneeld -is koot of heeres,
 He wept, and with ful woo-ful teeres
 Up too dhe heevn- -e kast -is tsheere,
 Weep-nd, and thoukwt in dhis maneere.
 Dhooukwt hee noo word'es mikht'e win'e,
 Dhus said -is hert, and spaak *withi'ne*.
 "Oo mikht-i God! dhat al hast rwoukzht,
 "And 'al mikht briq' arain' to noukzht!
 "Nuu knoou *Ii* wel, but uut of 'dhee
 "Dhis world -ath noo prosper-iitee'.
 "In dhiin aspekt' been al'e liitsh'e,
 "Dhe poov're man, and eek dhe ritsh'e.
 "Withuute 'dhee dher 'mai noo wikt,
 "And dhuu abuv' al udh're mikht.
 "Oo mikht-i Lord, toward' mii viis'e,
 "Dhi' mersii med-'l with dzhytsii's'e,
 "And *Ii* wol maak a kuu'venaunt',
 "Dhat of mii liif dhe rem'venaunt'

i 144

"*Ii* shal it bi' dhiu graas amend'e,
 "And in dhiu laur'e soo despend'e,
 "Dhat vain'e gloori *Ii* shal estshyy'e,
 "And buu untoo' dhiin hest, and syy'e

"Yymii-liitee', and dhat *Ii* vuure!"
 And soo theq'end' -e gan duun buure,
 And dhooukwt -im lak'e vuus and speetsh'e,
 He gan up with -is feet areetsh'e,
 And wail-nd in -is beest-lii steev'ne,
 He maad -is plaint untoo' dhe heev'ne.
 He kneel'eth in -is wiis and brai'eth,
 To seetsh'e mersii, and asai'eth
 His God, whitsh maad -im noo-thiq'
 straundzh'e,
 Dhan dhat -e sikh -is priid'e tshaundzh'e.
 Anoon' as hee was um'bl- and taam'e
 He fund toward' -is God dhe saam'e,
 And, in a twiq'liq' of a look,
 His man'es form avain' -e took,
 And was reform'ed too dhe reev'e,
 In whitsh dhat hee was woont to reev'e,
 Soo dhat dhe priid of vain'e gloori'e
 Eer af-terward' uut of memoori'e
 He let it pas. And dhus is shew'ed
 What is to been of priid unthue'ed
 Avain' dhe rik'h'e God'es laur'e,
 To whom noo man mai bee felawe.

MESSAGE FROM VENUS TO CHAUCER

Harl. MS. 3490, fo. 214, b, 2.

iii 373

Myn holy Fader graunt mercy.
 Quod I to hym. And to the qweene.
 I felle on knees vppon the grene.
 And toke my leue for to wende.
 Bot she that wolde make an ende.
 As therto with I was moste able.
 A peire of bedes blakke as fable.
 She tooke and henge my nekke aboute.
 Vppon the gaudes al withoute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pour repofir.
 Lo thus she seide Johan Gower.
 Now thou art at the laste caste.
 This haue I for thyn ease caste.
 That thou no more of loue seeche.
 Bot my wille is that thou besech.
 And prey here aftir for the pees.

* * * *

For in the lawe of my comune.
 We benot shapen to comune.

iii 374

Thi self and I neuer aftir this.
 Nowe haue I seide althat ther is.
 Of loue as for thy fynal ende.
 A dieu for I mote fro the wende.
 And grete welle Chaucer whan ye mete.
 As my disciple and my poete. [fo. 215,
 For in the flouris of his youth. a, 1]
 In sondry wife as he wel couthe.
 Of dytees and of songes glade.
 The wich he for my sake made.
 The londe fulfilled is ouer alle.
 Whereof to hym in specielle.
 Aboue alle othir I am most holde.
 For thi nowe in his daies olde.
 Thou shalle hym telle this meffage.
 That he vppon his later age.
 To sett an ende of alle his werke.
 As he wich is myn owne clerke.
 Do make his testement of loue.
 As thou hast do thie shrifte aboue.
 So that my court it may recorde.

Madame I can me wel acorde.

Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
 And with that worde it so bitidde.
 Oute of my sight alle sodeynly.
 Enclofed in a sterrie skye.
 Vp to the heuene venus strauht.
 And I my riht wey caht.
 Home fro the wode and forth I wente.
 Where as with al myn hole entente.
 Thus with my bedes vpon honde.
 For hem that true loue fonde.
 I thenke bidde while I lyue.
 Vppon the poynt wich I am shriff.

Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 134. fo. 248, a. 1.

iii 372

Myn holy fadir graunt mercy.
 Quod I to him and to þe quene.
 I fel on kneis vp on þe grene.
 And took my leue for to wende.
 But sche þat wolde make an ende
 As þerto whiche I was most able
 A peyre of bedis blak as fable.
 Sche took and hinge my necke aboute.
 Vp on þe gaudis al with oute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pur repofor.
 Lo þus sche seyde Johan Gower.
 Now þou arte at þe laste caste
 This haue I for þine ese caste.
 That þou no more of loue seeche.
 But my wille is þat þou biseche.
 And praye here aftir for þe pees.

* * * *

For in þe lawe of my comune. [fo. 248,
 We be not schapen to comune. a, 2]

iii 374

Thi selfe and I neuer aftir þis
 Now haue I seyde all þat þer is:
 Of loue as for þi final ende.
 A dieu for I mot fro þe wende.
 And grete wel chaucer whan ze mete.
 As my disciple and my poete
 For in þe flouris of his zoupe
 In sondry wife as he wel coupe
 Of diteis and of songis glade.
 The whiche he for my sake made.
 The londe fulfild is ouer al.
 Whereof to him in speciall.
 A boue alle oþer I am most holde.
 For þi now iu his dayes olde.
 Thou schalt him telle þis meffage.
 That he vp on his latter age.
 To sette an ende of all his werke
 As he whiche is myn owen clerke.
 Do make his testement of loue.
 As þou hast do þi schryfte aboue.
 So þat my courte it may recorde.

Madame I can me wel acorde.

Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
 And with þat world it so bitidde.
 Oute of my syzte all sodeynly. [fo. 248,
 Enclofid in a sterrid sky. b, 1]
 Vp to þe heuene venus strauzte
 And I my ryzt wey cauzte.
 Hom fro þe wode and forþ I wente
 Where as with all myn hool entente.
 Thus with my bedis vp on honde.
 For hem þat trewe love fonde.
 I thenke bidde while I lyue.
 Vp on þe poynte which I am schryue.

SENT THROUGH GOWER AFTER HIS SHRIFT.

Systematic Orthography.

iii 372

"Myn holy Fader grawnd mercy!"
 Quod I to him, and to the quene
 I fel on knees upon the grene,
 And took my leve for to wende.
 But sche, that wolde mak' an ende,
 Ar theertowith I was most abel,
 A pair' of bedes blak' as sabel
 She took, and heng my nekk' aboute.
 Upon the gawdes al withoute

iii 373

Was writ of gold' *Pour repser*.
 "Lo!" thus she seyde, "John Goucer,
 "Nou thou art at the laste caste,
 "This have I for thy nese caste.
 "That thou no moor' of love seche,
 "But my will' is that thou biseche,
 "And prey' herafter for thy pees.

* * * * *
 "For in the law' of my comune,
 "We be not shapen to comune,

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"Thyself and I, never after this,
 "Nou have I seyde al that ther is
 "Of lov' as for thy fynal ende.
 "Adieu! for I moot fro the wende.
 "And greet wel Chawcer, whan ye mete,
 "As my discypl', and my poete.
 "For in the floures of his youthe,
 "In sondry wys', as he wel couthe,
 "Of dytees and of songes glade,
 "The which he for my sake made,
 "The lond fulfil'd is overal.
 "Wherof to him, in special,
 "Abov' all' oth'r' I am moost holde.
 "Forthy nou in his dayes oolde
 "Thou shalt him telle this message:
 "That he upon his later age
 "To sett' an end' of al his werk,
 "As he which is myn ow'ne clerk,
 "Do mak' his testament of love,
 "As thou hast do thy schriff' above,
 "So that my court it mai recorde."
 "Madam', I can me wel acorde,"
 Quod I, "to tell' as ye me bidde."
 And with that word it so bitidde,
 Out of my sight', al sodainly
 Enclosed in a stered sky
 Up to the heven Venus strawghte.
 And I my righte wey [then] cawghte
 Hoom fro the wod', and forth I wente
 Wheeras, with al myn hool entente,
 Thus with my bedes upon hende,
 For hem that trewe love fonde
 I thinke bidde, whyl' I lyve,
 Upon the poynt, which I am schryve.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

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"Miin hoo-lii Faa'der, graund mer'sii!"
 Kwod Ii to him, and too dho kwene
 Ii fel on kneez up'on dho green'e,
 And took mi leev'e for to wend'e.
 But shee, dhat wold'e maak an end'e
 As dheer'towith Ii was most aa'b'l,
 A pair of beed'es blak as saa'b'l
 She took, and heq mi nek about'e.
 Up'on dho gaud'es al withuute

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Was writ of goold, Puur reepoo'seer'.
 "Loo!" dhus she said'e, "Dzho Guureer",
 "Nuu dhuu art at dhe last e kast'e,
 "Dhis haav Ii for dhiin eeze kast'e,
 "Dhat dhuu noo moor of luv'e seetsh'e,
 "But mi w'l is dhat dhuu biseetsh'e,
 "And prai -ceerafter for dhiin pees.

* * * * *
 "For in dhe lau of mi komynn'e
 "We bee not shaap'en too komynn'e,

iii 374

"Dhiself and Ii, neer after dhis.
 "Nuu haav Ii said al dhat dher is
 "Of luv', as for dhiin fiin'al ende.
 "Adeu for Ii moot froo dhe wende.
 "And greet weel Tshau'seer, whan ye meet'e,
 "As mi di'si-pl- and mi pooet'e.
 "For in dhe fluures of -is juuth'e,
 "In sun'drii wiis, as hee wel kuuth'e,
 "Of dii'tees and of soq'es glad'e,
 "Dhe whitsh -e for mi saak'e maad'e,
 "Dhe lond fulfil'd is overal'.
 "Wherof to him, in spes'iaal'
 "Abuv' al udh'r- Ii am moost hold'e.
 "Fordhi: nuu in -is daies oold'e
 "Dhuu shalt -in tel'e dhis mesaa'dzhe:
 "Dhat hee upon -is laa'ter aardzhe
 "To set an end of al -is werk,
 "As hee whitsh is miin oour'ne klerk,
 "Doo maak -is test'ament of luv'e,
 "As dhuu hast doo dhiin shrift abuv'e,
 "Soo dhat mi kuurt it mai rekord'e."
 "Madaam, Ii kan me wel akord'e,"
 Kwod Ii, "to tel as jee me bid'e."
 And with dhat word it soo bitid'e,
 Uut of mi sikht, al sud'ainlii
 Enklooz'ed in a stered skii,
 Up too dhe neeven Veenus straukht'e.
 And Ii mi rikht'e wai [dhen] kauk'icht'o
 Hoom froo dhe wood, and forth Ii went'e,
 Wheeras, with al miin hool entent'e,
 Dhus with mi beed'es upon hond'e,
 For nem dhat trewe luv'e fond'e
 Ii thiak'e bid'e, whil Ii liiv'e,
 Up'on dhe pint, which Ii am shriv'e.

§ 3. *Wycliffe.*

John Wycliffe born 1324, died 1384, is supposed to have commenced his version of the Scriptures in 1380, just as Chaucer was working at his Canterbury Tales. We are not sure how much of the versions which pass under his name, and which have been recently elaborately edited,¹ are due to him, but the older form of the versions certainly represents the prose of the xivth century, as spoken and understood by the people, on whose behoof the version was undertaken. Hence the present series of illustrations would not be complete without a short specimen of this venerable translation. The parable of the Prodigal Son is selected for comparison with the Anglosaxon, Icelandic, and Gothic versions already given (pp. 534, 550, 561), and the Authorized Version, with modern English pronunciation, inserted in Chap. XI., § 3.

The system of pronunciation here adopted is precisely the same as for Chaucer and Gower, and the termination of the imperfect of weak verbs, here *-ide*, has been reduced to (*id*), in accordance with the conclusions arrived at on p. 646-7.

OLDER WYCLIFFITE VERSION, LUKE XV. 11-32.

Text.

11. Forsothe he seith, Sum man hadde tweye sones;

12. and the ȝongere scide to the fadir, Fadir, ȝyue to me the porcioun of substaunce, *ethir catel*, that byfallith to me. And the fadir departide to him the substaunce.

13. And not aftir manye dayes, alle thingis gederid to gidre, the ȝongere sone wente in pilgrymage in to a fer cuntree; and there he wastide his substaunce in lyuynges lecherously.

14. And aftir that he hadde endid alle thingis, a strong hunger was maad in that cuntree, and he began to haue nede.

15. And he wente, and cleuyde to oon of the citeseyns of that cuntree. And he sente him in

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11. Forsooth: -e saith, Sum man had: e twai: e sun: nes;

12. and the ȝu: ȝere said: e to dhe faa: dȃr, Faa: dȃr, ȝi: u: e to mee dhe por: siun of sub: stauns, edh: ȃr kat: el; dhat bi: fal: eth to mee. And dhe faa: dȃr depart: id to him dhe sub: stauns.

13. And not aftȃr man: ie dai: es, al: e thi: ȝ: is ged: erid to gid: re, dhe ȝu: ȝere su: ne went in pil: grimaadzh in to a fer kun: tree; and dher -e was: tid -is sub: stauns in li: u: ȝe letsh: erusli: i.

14. And aftȃr dhat -e had end: id al: e thi: ȝ: is, a stroȝ nu: ȝ: gir was maad in dhat kun: tree, and -e bigan: to haav need: e.

15. And -e went: e, and klee: vid to oon of dhe sit: ȝ: ainz of dhat kun: tree. And hee sent

¹ The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers, edited by the Rev. Josiah For-

shall, F.R.S., etc., late fellow of Exeter College, and Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., F.R.S., etc., keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, Oxford, 1850, 4to., 4 vols.

Text.

to his toun, that he schulde feede hoggis.

16. And he coueitide to fille his wombe of the coddis whiche the hoggis eeten, and no man gaf to him.

17. Sothli he, turned aȝen in to him silf, seyde, Hou many hirid men in my fadir hous, han plente of looues; forsothe I perische here thurȝ hungir.

18. I schal ryse, and I schal go to my fadir, and I schal scie to him, Fadir I haue synned aȝens heuene, and bifore thee;

19. now I am not worthi to be elepid thi sone, make me as oon of thi hyrid men.

20. And he rysinge cam to his fadir. Sothli whanne he was ȝit fer, his fadir syȝ him, and he was stirid by mercy. And he rennyge to, felde on his necke, and kiste him.

21. And the sone seyde to him, Fadir, I haue synned aȝens heuene, and bifore thee; and now I am not worthi to be elepid thi sone.

22. Forsoth the fadir seyde to his seruautis, Soone bringe ȝe forth the firste stooles, and clothe ȝe him, and ȝyue ȝe a ring in his hond, and schoon in to the feet;

23. and brynge ȝe a calf maad fat, and sle ȝe, and ete we, and plenteuously ete we.

24. For this my sone was deed, and hath lyued aȝen; he perischide, and is founden. And alle bigunnen to eat plenteuously.

25. Forsoth his eldere sone was in the feeld; and whanne he cam, and neiȝede to the hous,

Conjectured Pronunciation.

-im in to -is tuun, dhat -e shuld'e feed'e hog'is.

16. And -e kuv'ait'id to f'il -is womb'e of dhe kod'is whi'tsh'e dhe hog'is eet'en, and noo man ȝaav to him.

17. Sooth'lii hee, turn'id aȝen in to him silf, said'e, Huu man'i hiirid men in mi faa'dir huus, naan plent'e of loo'vis; forsooth'e Ii per'ishe heer thurk'wh huq'g'r.

18. Ii shal ri'ise, and Ii shal goo to mi faa'dir, and Ii shal saie to him, Faa'dir, Ii -aav sin'ed awens' heev'ene, and bi-foo're dhec;

19. nuu Ii am not wurdh'ii to be klep'id dhi' suu'ne, maa'ke mee as oon of thii hiirid men.

20. And hee, riis iq kaam to his faa'dir. Sooth'lii whan -e was ȝit fer, his faa'dir sikh -im, and hee was stir'id bii mer'si. And hee, ren'iq to, feld on -is nek'e, and kist -im.

21. And dhe suu'ne said'e to him, Faa'dir, Ii -aav sin'ed awens' heev'ene, and bi-foo're dhec; and nuu Ii am not wurdh'ii to be klep'id dhi' suu'ne.

22. Forsooth dhe faa'dir said'e to -is ser'vaunt'is, Soone briq'e ȝe forth dhe first'e stoo'le, and kloodh'e ȝe him, and ȝiiv ȝe a riq in -is mond, and shoon in to dhe feet;

23. and briq'e ȝe a kalf maad fat, and slee ȝe, and ete we, and plen'tevuslii eete we.

24. For dhi's mi' soo'ne was deed, and nath liv'ed aȝen; hee per'ish'id, and is fund'en. And al'e bi'gun'en to eet'e plen'tevuslii.

25. Forsooth his el'dere suu'ne was in dhe feeld; and whan -e kaam, and nai'h'id to dhe huus,

Text.

he herde a symphonie and a crowde.

26. And he elepide oon of the seruauntis, and axide, what thingis thes weren.

27. And he seide to him, Thi brodir is comen, and thi fadir hath slayn a fat calf, for he receyuede him saf.

28. Forsoth he was wroth, and wolde not entre. Therefore his fadir, gon out, bigan to preie him.

29. And he answeringe to his fadir, seide, Lo! so manye jeeris I serue to thee, and I brak neuere thi comaundement; thou hast neuere ȝouun a kyde to me, that I schulde ete largely with my frendis.

30. But aftir this thi sone, which deuouride his substaunce with hooris, cam, thou hast slayn to him a fat calf.

31. And he seide to him, Sone, thou ert euere with me, and alle myne thingis ben thyne.

32. Forsothe it bihofte to ete plenteuously, and for to ioye; for this thy brother was deed, and lyuede aȝeyn; he peryschide, and he is founden.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

he herd a sim'foni'e and a kruud.

26. And -e klep'id oon of dhe ser'vaun'tis, and ak'sid, what thi'q'is dheez weeren.

27. And -e said'e to him, Dhi' broo'dir is kuun'en, and dhi' faa'dir hath slain a fat calf, for hee resaiv'id -im saaf.

28. Forsooth hee was wrooth, and wold'e not entre. Dheer-foore his faa'dir, goon uut, bigan to prai -im.

29. And hee aun'sweriq to -is faa'dir, said'e, Loo! soo man'ie jee'r's I serv to dhe, and I braak nev're dhi' komaun'de-ment; dhuu nast nev're ȝoo'ven a kid'e to mee, dhat I shuld'e eet'e laardzheli' with mi' freend'is.

30. But aft'ir dhis dhi' suu'ne, whitsh devuur'id -is sub'stauns with hoor'is, kaam, dhuu -ast slain to him a fat calf.

31. And -e said'e to him, Suu'ne, dhuu ert ev're with me, and al'e mi'ne thi'q'is been dhi'n'e.

32. Forsooth it bi'roofte to eerte plen'tevusli', and for to dzhui'e; for dhis dhi' broo'dir was deed, and liv'id aven'; he per'ish'id, and -e is fund'en.

CHAPTER VIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1.

William Salesbury's Account of Welsh Pronunciation, 1567.

THE account which Salesbury furnished of the pronunciation of English in his time being the earliest which has been found, and, on account of the language in which it is written, almost unknown, the Philological and Early English Text Societies decided that it should be printed in extenso, in the original Welsh with a translation. This decision has been carried out in the next section, where Salesbury's treatise appropriately forms the first illustration of the pronunciation of that period. But as it explains English sounds by means of Welsh letters, a previous acquaintance with the Welsh pronunciation of that period is necessary. Fortunately, the appearance of Salesbury's dictionary created a demand to know the pronunciation of Welsh during the author's lifetime, and we possess his own explanation, written twenty years later. The book containing it is so rare, that it is advisable to print it nearly in extenso, omitting only such parts as have no phonetic interest. Explanatory footnotes have been added, and the meaning of the introduced Welsh words when not given by Salesbury, has been annexed in Latin, for which I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Benjamin Davies of the Philological Society. It has not been considered necessary to add the pronunciation of the Welsh words as that is fully explained in the treatise, and the Welsh spelling is entirely phonetic. A list of all the English and Latin words, the pronunciation of which is indicated in this tract, will form part of the general index to Salesbury given at the end of the next section.

There are two copies of this tract in the British Museum, one in the general and the other in the Grenville library. The book is generally in black letter (here printed in Roman type,) with certain words and letters in Roman letters (here printed in italics). The Preface is Roman, the Introductory letter italic. It is a small quarto, the size of the printed matter, without the head line, being $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and including the margin of the cut copy in the general library, the pages measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It contains $6\frac{3}{4}$ sheets, being 27 leaves or 54 pages, which are unpagged and

unfolioed. In this transcript, however, the pages of the original are supposed to have been numbered, and the commencement of each page is duly marked by a bracketed number. The title is lengthy and variously displayed, but is here printed uniformly. In the Roman type (here the italic type) portion, VV, vv, are invariably used for W, w, and as there is curious reference to this under the letter W, this peculiarity has been retained in the following transcript. Long f is not preserved except in the title.

[1] A playne and a familiar Introductiõ, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welfhe, whereby an Englysh man shall not onely wyth ease reade the sayde tonge rightly: but marking the same wel, it shal be a meane for hym wyth one labour to attayne to the true pronounciation of other expedient and most excellent languages. Set forth by VV. Salesbury, 1550. And now 1567, pervfed and augmētēd by the same.

This Treatise is most requisite for any man, yea though he can indifferently well reade the tongue, who wyl be thorowly acquainted with anie piece of translation, wherein the sayd Salesbury hath dealed. (*)

Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, for Humfrey Toy, dwellyng at the fygne of the Helmet in Paules church yarde. The .xviij. of May. 1567.

[3] *To my louing Friends Maister Humfrey Toy.*

[4] . . . Some exclaimed . . . that I had peruerted the whole Ortographie of the [English] tounge. Wher in deede it is not so: but true it is that I altered it very litle, and that in very few wordes, as shall manifestlye appeare hereafter in the latter end of this booke. No, I altered it in no mo wordes, but in suche as I coule not fynde in my hart to lende my hand, or abuse my penne to wryte them, otherwyse than I haue done. For who in the time of most barbarousnes, and greatest corruption, dyd euer wryte euery worde as he soulded it: As for example, they than wrate, *Ego dico tibi*, and yet read the same, *Egu deicu teibei*, they wrate, *Agnus Dei qui tollis*, but pronounced *Angnus Deeī quei toullys*.¹ And to come to [5] the English tung. What yong Seoler did euer write *Byr Lady*, for *by our Lady*? or *nunkle* for *enkle*? or *mychgoditio* for *much good do it you*? or *sein* for *signe*?²

¹ These Latin mispronunciations were therefore (egru dei'ku tei-bei, Agnus Dee-i kwei toouli's). Probably (Dee-i) should be (Dee-ei), but it is not so marked. The phonetisation is not entirely Welsh. The pronunciation (toouli's) was in accordance with the

general sound of long o before l, see *supra* p. 194.

² The English examples were probably pronounced (bei'r laa'di, nu'k'l, m'itsh-gud-it-yu, sein). It seems scarcely probable that an (o) should have been used in a familiar pronunciation of

And thus for my good wil molested of such wranglers, shal I condescend to confirme their vnskyful eustome . . . Or shall I proude what playne Dame Truth, appearing in hir owne lykenes can worke against the wrynekled face neme¹ Custome? Soiurning at your house in Paules Churchyarde, the 6, of Maij. 1567. *Your, assuredly, welwyller W. Salesbury.*

[6] ¶ To hys louing Friende Maister Richard Colyngborne, Wylliam Salesburie wyseth prosperous health and perfect felicitie.

[These two pages have no interest. They are dated—] [7] At Thauies Inne in Holburne more hastily, then speedily. 1550.

[8] Wylliam Salesbury to the Reader.

[These two pages set forth that after the publication of his dictionary persons wanting to know Welsh asked him whether his dictionary would serve their purpose, and] [9] . . . amongst other communication had, they asked, whither the pronounciation of the Letters in Welsh, dyd dyffer from the Englysh sounding of them: And I sayde very muche. And so they perceiuing that they could not profite in buildyng any further on the Welsh, lackyng the foundation and ground worke (whyche was the Welsh pronounciation of the letters) desired me eftsoones to write vnto them (as they had herd I had done in Welsh to my Country men, to introduct them to pronounce the letters Englysh lyke) a fewe English rules of the naturall power of the letters in our tounge.

And so than, in as much as I was not onelye induced wyth the premises, but also further perswaded, that neither any inconuenience or mischiefe might ensue or grow thereof, but rather the encrease of mutual amitie and brotherly loue, and continuall friendship (as it ought to be) and some commodity at the least wyle, to suche as be desirous to be occupied there aboutes. As for all other, euen as it shall neuer worke them pleasure, so shall it no displeasure.

Euen therefore at the last, I haue bene so bolde as to enterprise (condescending to such mens honest request) to inuent and wryte these playne, simple, and rude rudimentes of the Welsh pronounciation of the letters, most humbly desiring the Readers to accept them with no lesse benouolent humanitie, then I hartily pretended towarde them, when I went about to treate of the matter.

[10 Blank.]

[11] ¶ *The pronounciation of the Letters in the Brytysh tungue.*

The letters in the British tungue, have the same figure and fashion as they haue in Englysh, and be in number as here vnderneath in the *Alphabet* appeareth.

good, you, which was not pronounced in the sustained form. See p. 165, l. 24, for Cotgrave's account of this phrase. Salesbury does not recognize (j, w) as different from (i, u), but I have always used (j, w), as the difference of orthography is merely theoretical (p. 185).

¹ Thus printed in the original; the word has not been identified. Wright quotes William de Shoreham for *kepe neme*, pay attention.—Dict. of Obs. and Prov. English.

A. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g.¹ h. i. k.² l. ll. m. n. o. p.³ r.
s. t. th. v. u. w. y.⁴

¶ w. in auncient bookes hath the figure of 6: and perhaps because it is the sixt vowell.⁵

¶ These be the vowels.

a e i o u w y.

These two vowels

a. w. be mutable.⁶

¶ The diphthonges be these, and be pronounced wyth two soundes, after the verye Greeke pronunciation.

Ae ai au aw ay

ei ew

ia ie io iw

oe ow oy

uw

wi

wy⁷

¶ These letters be called consonautes;

b. c. ch. d. dd. f. g. ff. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. t. th. v.

[12] ¶ An aduertisement for Writers and Printers.

¶ Ye that be young doers herein, ye must remember that in the lynes endes ye maye not deuide these letters *ch*, *dd*, *ff*, *ll*, *th*: for in this toungue euery one of them (though as yet they haue not proper figures) hath the nature of one entiere letter onely, and so as vn-naturall to be deuided, as *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, or *t*, in English.

¶ *The pronunciation of A.*

A In the British in euerye word hath y^e true pronounciation of *a* in Latine.⁸ And it is neuer sounded like the diphthong *au*, as

¹ Here the modern Welsh alphabet introduces *ng*=(*g*).

² Not used in Modern Welsh.

³ Here *ph* (*f*) is introduced in modern Welsh but only for proper names, and as a mutation of *p*.

⁴ Salesbury's explanations give the following values to these letters,—A aa a, B b, C k, CH kh, D d, DD dh, E ce e, F v, FF f, G g, NG q, H h, I ii i, K k, L l, LL lh, M m, N n, O oo o, P p, PH f, R r, S s, T t, TH th, V v, U u, W u, Y y. The pronunciation of the Welsh U and Y will be specially considered hereafter.

⁵ This is of course merely fanciful.

⁶ The vowel *o* is also mutable: "Compare the German *Umlaut*, thus *bardd* [sacerdos], pl. *beirdd*; *corn* [cornu], pl. *cyrn*; *dwyn* [pugnus], pl. *dyrnau*.—B.D."

⁷ This is by no means a complete list of modern Welsh diphthongs, and no notice has been taken of the numerous Welsh triphthongs. The Welsh profess to pronounce their diphthongs with each vowel distinctly, but there is much difficulty in separating the sounds of *ae ai au ay* from (*ai*), and *io* from *uo* (*iu, yu*), *oe, oy* fall into (*oi*), and *ei* sounds to me as (*ai*). In *ia ie io* initial, Welshmen conceive that they pronounce (*ja je jo*), and similarly in *wi, wy* they believe they say (*wi, wy*). This is doubtful to me, because of the difficulty all Welshmen experience, at first, in saying *ye woo* (*ji wuu*), which they generally reduce to (*i uu*).

⁸ That is the Welsh pronounce Latin *a* as their own *a*. Wallis evidently heard the Welsh *a* as (*æ, æ*), *supra* p. 66, l. 18. Compare p. 61, note.

the Frenchmen sounde it commyng before *m* or *n*, in theyr tounge,¹ nor so fully in the mouth as the Germaines sound it in this woord wagen:² Neyther yet as it is pronounced in English, whan it commeth before *ge*, *ll*, *sh*, *tch*. For in these wordes and such other in Englyshe, domage, heritage, language, ashe, lashe, watch, calme, call, *a* is thought to decline toward the sound of these diphthonges *ai*, *au*, and the wordes to be read in thys wyse, domage, heritaige, language, aische, waitche, caul, caulme.³ But as I sayd before *a* in Welsh hath alwayes but one sound, what so euer letter it folow or go before, as in these wordes ap, cap, whych haue the same pronounciation and signification in both the tongues.⁴

[13] Much lesse hath *a*, such varietie in Welshe, as hath *Aleph* in Hebrue (which alone the poynts altered) hath the sound of euerye vowell.⁵ Howbeit that composition, and deriuation, do oft tymes in the common Welsh speache chaunge *a* into *e*, as in these wordes, *unvreith* [semel] *seithfed* [septimus]. So they of olde tyme turned *a* into *e* or *ai* in making their plural number of some wordes reseruing the same letter in the termination, and the woord not made one sillable longer, as *apostol* [apostolus], *epestyl* [apostoli]: *caeth* [servus], *caith* [servi]: *dant* [dens], *daint* [dentes], *map* [filius], *maip* [filii]; *sant* [sanctus], *saint* [sancti]: *tat* [pater], *tait* [patres], etc., where in our tyme they extend them thus, *apostolion*, or *apostolieit*, *caethion*: *dunnedd* or *dannedde*: *maibion*, *santie* or *seinie*: *taidie* or *tadeu*. But now in Northwales *daint* & *taid* are become of the singuler number, *taid* [avus] being also altered in signification. Neuertheles *e* then succedeth, & is also wrytten in the steede of *a*: so that the Reader shall neuer be troubled therewith.

¶ The sound of *B*.

B in Welsh is vniuersally read and pronouced as it is in Englyshe. Albeit whan a woorde begynneth wyth *b*, and is ioyned wyth moe woordes commyng in a reason, the phrase and maner of the Welshe speach (mucho like after the Hebrue idiome) shal alter the sound of that *b*, into the sound of the Hebrue letter that they call *Beth* not daggeded, or the Greek *Veta*,⁶ either els of *v* being consonant in Latine or English: as thus where as *b*, in thys

¹ Suprà p. 143, l. 1, and p. 190.

² Meant to be sounded as (vaag'en, vaabg'en, vaag'en)? The ordinary pronounciation of modern Saxony sounds to me (bhaagh'en).

³ Probably (dum'aidzh, her'itaidzh, laq'waidzh, aish, waitsh, kaul, kaulm). For the change to *ai* see pp. 120, 190; for that to *au* see pp. 143, 194.

⁴ Probably *ap* means *ape*; it does not occur in Salesbury's own dictionary, but he has "*ab ne siak ab* An ape," and "*kap a cappe*." The word *siak* is meant for (shak), and (shak) for (dzhak).

The Welsh now sometimes pronounce *si* as (sh), as *ceisio* petere (kai'sho), and they use it to represent English (sh, tsh; zh, dzh), which sounds are wanting in their language. Hence the passage means (ab ne dzhak-ab), an ape or a Jack-ape, as I learn from Dr. Davies.

⁵ As *aleph* is only (ʾ) or (ʿ) in pointed Hebrew, (p. 10,) it has no relation to any vowel in particular.

⁶ The Greek β, is called (vii'ta) in modern Greek (pp. 518, 524). Salesbury seems to have pronounced (vee'ta).

So doe these welsh words
cuvit, cucicul, vieses, which
be derived of *cubitus, cu-*
biculum, bisextus.

Walshe [14] word *bys* a fynger, is the primitiue (or if I should borow the Hebrue terme) the radical letter, which comming in the context of a reason, shall not than be calle d *b*, but *v*, as in thys text: *ei vvs* his finger. And sometyme *b* shall be turned into *m*, as for an example: *vymys* my fynger: *dengmlvrydd* for *decbvlvrydd*, ten ycare old. And yet for all the alteration of thys letter *b*, and of diuers other (as ye shall perceyue hereafter) whych by their nature be chaungeable one for an other, it shall nothyng let nor hynder anye man, from the true and proper readyng of the letters so altered.

For as soone as the ydiome or proprietic of the tungue receyue the one lettter for an other, the radical is omitted and left away: and the accessorie or the letter that commeth in steede of the radical, is forthwith written, and so pronounced after his own nature and power, as it is playne inough by the former example. Whych rule, wrytyng to the learned and perfectly skylled in the idiome of the tongue, I do not alwayes obserue, but not vnblamed of some, but how iustly, let other some iudge.

Prouided alwayes that such transmutation of letters in speakyng (for therein consisteth all the difficultie) is most diligently to be marked, obserued, and taken hede vnto, of him that shall delite to speake Welsh a right.¹

¶ How C. is pronounced.

C maketh *k*, for look what power hath *c* in Englishe or in Latine, when it commeth before *a, o, u*, that same shall it haue in Welshe [15] before any vowell, diphthong, or consonant, whatsoever it be. And as *M. Melancthon* affirmeth, that *c. k. q.* had one sound in times past wyth the Latines: so do al such deducted wordes thereof into the Welsh, beare witnes, as, accen of *accentu*, Caisar *Cesare*, cicut of *cicuta*, cist of *cista*, croc of *cruce*, raddie of *radice*, Luc of *Luca*, lluc also of *luce*, Lluci of *Lucia*, llucern of *lucerna*, Mauric of *Mauricio*: natalic of *natalicis*.

How be it some of our tyme doe vse to wryte *k*. rather than *c*. where Wryters in tymes past haue left *c*. wrytten in their auncient bookes, specially before *a, o, u*, and before all maner consonantes, and in the latter end of wordes. Also other some there be that

¹ The initial permutations in the Welsh (and Celtic languages generally) are a great peculiarity. Some consonants have three, some two, and some only one mutation, and the occasions on which they have to be used do not seem capable of being reduced to a general principle. The mutations in Welsh are as follows:—

radical	p	t	c	b	d	g	ll	rh	m
vocal	b	d	g	f	dd	-	l	r	f
nasal	mh	nh	ngh	m	n	ng			
aspirate	ph	th	ch						

The (-) indicates the entire loss of *g* as *gafr* goat, *dy afr* thy goat; *mh nh ngh* are not (*mh, nh, gh*), but (*mnh, nnh, ngh*) and consequently if there is no

preceding vowel which can be run on to the (*m, n, q*), a murmur is inserted as (*mnh, nnh, 'qn*).

sound now *c*, as *g*, in the last termination of a word: Example, *oc* [juventus], *coc* [moles], *lloc* [agger]: whych be most commonly read, *og*, *cog*, *llog*.¹

Furthermore, it is the nature of *c*. to be turned into *ch*, and other whyles into *g*. But I meane thys, when a word that begynneth wyth *c*. commeth in construction as thus: *Carvv* a Hart, *Ervic a' Charvv*, a Hynde and a Hart. Either els when *c*. or *k*. (for they be both one in effect) is the fyrst letter of a word that shall be compounded, as for an example, *Angraff*, *angred*, *angrist*, which be compounded of *an* and of *craff*, *cred*, *Christ*.²

Constructiō is taken here for the ioyning together of wordes otherwise called a reason. Carw is the absolut word.

¶ The sound of Ch.

CH doth wholly agree with the pronounciatiō of *ch* also in the Germaine³ or *Scottyshe⁴ toungue, of the Greeke *Chy*,⁵ or the Hebrue [16] *Cheth*,⁶ or of *gh* in English.⁷ And it hath no affinitie at all wyth *ch* in Englysh, except in these wordes, *Mychael*, *Mychaelmas*,⁸ and a fewe such other. *ch* also when it is the radical letter in any Welsh woorde, remayneth immutable in euery place. But note that their tongue of Southwales giueth them to sound in some wordes *h* onely for *ch*,⁹ as *hvech*, for *chvech* [sex], *hvaer* for *chvaer* [soror]. Further *ch* sometyme sheweth the feminine gender, as well in Verbes as in Nownes, as *ny thal hon y chodi* [non digna illa quæ levetur]: *y char hi* [amator illius mulieris]: for if the meanyng were of any other gender, it shuld haue been sayd *i godi* and not *i chodi*, *i gar*, and not *i char*. &c.

Namely as the Scotishe Scriueners obserue, as richt, mycht, &c.

¶ The sound of D.

D is read in Welshe none otherwyse then in Englyshe, sauynge onelye that oftentimes *d* in the fyrst syllables shalbe turned into *dd*, resembling much *Daleth* the Hebrue *d*.¹⁰ And sometyme

¹ Mr. E. Jones observes that "this is in accordance with a general tendency in modern Welsh to use the medial for the tenuis." Dr. Davies doubts this tendency.

² The modern Welsh forms are *annggraff* hebes, *anngfred* infidelitas, *anngrist* anti-Christus.

³ Where it has really three sounds (*kh*, *kh*, *kwh*) dependent on the preceding vowel (p. 53). Probably Salesbury only thought of (*kh*).

⁴ The Scotch words cited in the margin, are pronounced (*rekht mekht*).

⁵ The modern Greek *χ*, according to one account I received, is always (*kh*), never (*kh*), but Prof. Valetta (p. 517, n. 2) used both (*kh*, *kh*).

⁶ The Hebrew *ד* and *דא* are by Euro-

peans confounded as (*kh*); taking the Arabic pronunciation of the corresponding *ط* *ت* they are (*h*, *krh*).

⁷ This therefore confirms the existence of a sufficiently distinct (*kh*) in English, which may have been occasionally (*kh*).

⁸ It is not to be supposed that *ch* in these words was (*kh*) at that time. But the text certainly implies that the *ch* was not (*tsh*), and was therefore probably (*k*) as at present. All that is meant, then, probably, is that (*kh*) is more like (*k*) than (*tsh*).

⁹ The modern use in South Wales is to say (*wh*) initially for (*kwh*), as (*whekh*) for (*kwhekh*).

¹⁰ Hebrew *ד* *דא* = (*d*, *dh*).

when a word begynnyng wyth *d*, is compounded wyth *an*: the *d* shall slyp away, as *anavrn* [in-donum] of *an* [in] and *davrn* [donum]; *anoeth* [in-doctus] of *an* [in] and *doeth* [doctus].

Dd is nothing lyke of pronounciation to *dd* in Englysh or Latine. For the double *dd* in Welsh hath the very same sound of *dhelta*¹ or *dhalet*, dashed wyth *raphe*,² or of *d* betwyxt .ij. vowels in the Hispanish tongue,³ eyther els of *th*, as they be comonly sounded in these Englysh wordes, the, that, thys, thyne.⁴ Neither do I meane nothyng lesse then that *dd* in Welshe is sounded at any tyme [17] after the sound of *th* these wordes of Englishe, wyth thynne, thanke.⁵ But ye shall fynde in olde wrytten Englysh bookes, a letter hauing the fygure of a Romyne *y*, that your auncesters called *dhorn*, which was of one efficacie wyth the Welsh *dd*.⁶ And this letter *y*⁷ I speake of, may you see in the booke of the Sermon in the Englyshe Saxons tonge, which the most reuerend father in God D. M. P. Archbishop of *Canturbury* hath lately set forth in prynt.⁸ And ther be now in some countries in England, that pronounce *dd* euen

An instrument
of a Cooper in these wordes **addes*, *fedder*,⁹ according as they
be pronouced in the Welsh. And ye must note
that *dd*, in Welsh is not called double *dd*, neither

is it a double letter (though it seemeth so to be) wherefore it doth not fortify nor harden the sillable that it is in, but causeth it to be a great deale more thyeke, soft, and smoothe. For he that first added to, the second *d*, ment thereby to aspirate the *d*,⁹ and signifie that it should be more lyghtly sounded, and not the contrary.

¹ Modern Greek *δ* is (dh). This, and the sound given above to *β* (p. 747 note 6), shews that the present modern Greek system of pronounciation (p. 523) was then prevalent in England, see pp. 529-530 and notes. Sir Thomas Smith's book, advocating the Erasmian system of pronouncing Greek, was not published till 1568, a year after this second edition of Salesbury's book.

² "Formerly, when *Dogesh* was not found in a ry of the *דגש* letters, a mark called *דגש* *Rā-phē*, was placed above it, in order to shew that the point had not been omitted by mistake. With the ancient Syrians this was nothing more than a point made with red ink. The Hebrews probably wrote it in the same way; but, as this point might be mistaken for the vowel *Kiōlēm*, when printed, or, for one of the accents, the form of it was altered for a short line thus (-), which is still found in the Hebrew manuscripts, though very rarely in printed books." *S. Lee*, Grammar of the Hebrew Language, 3rd edit. p. 21. Hence *דגש* with *raphe* was equivalent to the ordinary *דגש* = (dh).

³ If the Spanish *d* in this place is not true (dh), it is so like it that Spaniards hear English (dh) as that sound, and English that sound as (dh). Don Mariano Cubi i Soler, a good linguist, who spoke English remarkably well, in his *Nuevo Sistema . . . para aprender a leer i pronunciar . . . la lengua inglese*, Bath, 1851, gives (p. 8) the Spanish *deidad* deity, as a threefold example of (dh). Yet the Spanish sound may be (c), p. 4.

⁴ Pronounced (dhe, dhat, dhia, dhein).

⁵ Pronounced (with, thin, thaq).

⁶ This alludes to the common practice of printing *y* for *þ*, which letter is usually called (thorn) not (dhorn), but see p. 541, note 2.

⁷ As this was first written in 1550, the Archbishop must have been Cranmer.

⁸ *Addis addice*, now written *adze*, is generally called (*ædz*). *Fedder* is perhaps meant for *feather* (*fedhri*) but may be *father*, provincially (*fee'dhri*).

⁹ The Welsh has *dd*, *ff*, *ll* (dh, f, lhh), all meant as so-called aspirations of their *d*, *f*, *l* (d, v, l). Similarly Salesbury has *rr* for modern *rh* (*infrā*

But I thynke it had be casier, more meete, and lesse straunge to the Reader, if that he had put *h*, after the former *d*, in a signe of asperation, than to adde an other *d* thereto.

And as it semeth it is not passing thre or foure C. yeares ago, synce they began to double their *d*, for before that tyme by lykely-hood they vsed one constant maner of pronounciation of their letters euen as the Hebrues did at the beginning.

[18] *Dd* also begynning a word, sheweth that it commeth in construction: for there is no woord commyng absolutely that his fyrst syllable begynneth wyth *dd*.

Moreouer, *dd* relateth the masculyne gender, as (*Ai ddeuvraich ar ei ddrvyron*) [illius hominis brachia duo super illius hominis pectora duo] for in an other gender, it would be sayd, *Ai deuvraich ar ei drvyron* [illius mulieris, &c. ut supra].

How E ought to be sounded.

E without any exception hath one permanent pronounciation in Welsh,¹ and that is the self pronounciation of *Epsilon* in Greke,² or of *e* in Latine, being sounded aryght, or *e* in Englyshe, as it is sounded in these woordes, a *vvere*, *vvereke*, *breke*, *vvereste*.³

And the learner must take good hede that he neuer do reade the said *e* as it is red in these English wordes, *vve*, *beleue*:⁴ For than by so doing shall he eyther alter the signification of the word wherin the same *e* is so corruptly reade, either els cause it to betoken nothing at all in that speche. Example: *pe* [si] signifieth in English and if, now, ye rede it *pi*, than wil it betoken this letter *p*, or the byrd that ye call in Englyshe a Pyc. And so *geve* is, a webbe: but if ye sound *e* as *i* reading it *gvi*, then hath it no signification in the Welsh.

And least peradventure the foresayd example of the Welch or straunge tong be somewhat obscure, [19] then take this in your own mother tong for an explanation of that other: wherby ye shall perceiue that the diuersitie of pronounciation of *e* in these Englysh woordes subscribed hereafter, wyll also make them to haue diuers significatiōs, and they be these wordes, *bere*, *pere*, *hele*, *mele*.⁵

p. 758); and Dan Michel and others use *ss* for (sh), (supra pp. 409, 441) which many consider as an aspirate of *s*. Of course there is no aspiration, though the writing (dh), as Salesbury goes on to suggest, has arisen from this old error. Compare the Icelandic *hj, hl, hn, hr, hv*, supra p. 544.

¹ The modern Welsh *e* is, and seems to have always been (ee, e) and never (ee, e), and hence I so transcribe it.

² Meaning (e) of course.

³ (Weer, wreck *rweek*, breech, wrest, *rwest*).

⁴ (Wii, biliiv) as appears from what immediately follows.

⁵ (Biiir) bier or beer, (beer) bear, (piir) peer, (peer) pear, (uiiil) heel, (ueel)

heal, (miil) meel = meddle?, (meel) meal, p. 79. Mr. Murray suggests that *meal* in the sense of food consumed at one time, German *mahl*, ags. *mæl*, Scotch (miel) may have been (neel), and *meal* in the sense of flour, German *mehl*, ags. *melu*, Scotch (mil) may have been (miil) and that these were the two sounds Salisbury meant to distinguish. This is à priori most likely, but the orthographies leave the matter in great perplexity. Promptorium: meel of mete; mele or mete, *commestio cibatus*; meele of corne growndyn', *farina far*. Palsgrave: meale of corne *farine*, meale of meate *repast*. Levins: meale *farina*, hy flock meale *minutum*, meele *cæna*, which would seem to indi-

Neither yet doe we vse in Welsh at any time to write *e* in the middle or last sillables, & to leaue it vnspoken in reading: as it is done by *scheua* in Hebrue, or as the maner of wrytyng and reading of the same is accustomed in Englysh, as it shall be more manifest by these wordes that followe: *golde, sylke, purenes, Chepe-syde*: wherein (as I suppose) *e* is not written to the entent it might be read or spoken, but to mollifye the syllable that it is put in.¹

But now I am occasioned to declyne and stray somewhat from my purpose, and to reueale my phantasie to yong wryters of Englishe, who (me thinketh) take ouer muche paynes, and bestowe vnrequisite cost (hauing no respect to the nature of the Englysh ending

e) in doubling letters to harden the syllable, and immediatly they adde an *e*, which is a signe of mittigatyng and softning of the syllable, after the letters so doubled, as thus: *manne, vvorshippe, Godde, vrotte, vryshe, goodnesse, hemme, uette*:² which woordes wyth such other lyke, myght with lesse labour, and as well for the purpose, be wrytten on thys wyse: *maun, vvorshypp. Godd, vrott, vrysh, goodness, hemm, nett*: or rather thus: *man vvorshyp, God, vrott, goodness, hem, net*.

[20] And though thys principle be most true *Frustra id fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora*, that is done in vayne by the more, that maye be done by the lesse: yet the Printers in consideration for iustifying of the lynes, as it is sayde of the makers to make vp the ryme, must be borne wythall.³

How F. is commonly sounded.

F In Welsh being syngle, and *v* when it is consonant in Welsh, English, or Latine, be so nygh of sounde, that they vse moste commonly to wryte in Welsh indifferently the one for the other. And I my selfe haue heard Englysh men in some countries of England sound *f*, euen as we sound it in Welsh.⁴ For I haue marked their maner of pronounciation, and specialllye in soundyng these woordes:

cate the difference (meel, mill) in an exactly opposite direction, but as Levins has: eale eel *anguilla*, beale beel *spe-lunca*, deale deele *portio*, he may have meant to imply that these words were in a transition state. The meaning of the two words (mill, meel) then, intended by Salesbury, must remain doubtful.

¹ The utter extinction of the feeling for the final *e* is here well shewn. How a syllable can be "mollified" without any utterance, is not apparent. The words are (goold, silk, pyrrnes, Tsheep-seid').

² (Man, wurship, God, wot, wish, gud'nes, hem, net), since *uette* must be a misprint for *nette*.

³ This may be partly an explanation of the varieties of orthography in the xvth century in printed books, but will not explain the nearly equal varieties in manuscript. I have noted at least ten ways of spelling *tongue* in in Salesbury's own book: *tongue, tonge, tong, tounge, tounge, toung, tounge, tunge, tung, toug*; ags. *tunge*.

⁴ This is west country, still heard in Somersetshire and Devonshire. In early English books of the West of England *u* is constantly used for *f*. We also find it in Dan Michel's Kentish dialect 1340 (p. 409). The same places give also *z* for *a*.

voure, viue, disfigure, vish, vox: where they would say, *foure, fiue, disfigure, fysh, Fox, &c.*¹

But who soeuer knoweth the sounde of the letter called *Digamma* (whose figure is much lyke F, but ouerwhelmed Eolicum ¶ vpsydedowne, as ye see here ¶) he shall also know thereby the verye sounde of the syngle f in Welsh.² They of South-wales rather vse *v*,³ where Northwales writers commonly occupye *f*.

¶ *The sound of ff.*

ff In Welsh hath but the same sounde that the syngle *f* hath in Englysh. And they are faine to vse the double *ff* for the syngle *f*, because [21] they haue abused *f* in steede of *v* a consonant. But in such wordes as haue *p* for the fyrst letter of their originall (for to keepe the *orthographie*) the Learned wryte *ph*, and not *ff*, as thus, *Petr a' Phawr*, Peter and Paule.

¶ *The pronounciation of G.*

G In euery word in Welsh soundeth as the Hebrue *Gymel*:⁴ or *g* in Dutche,⁵ or as *g* in Englyshe soundeth before *a, o, u*. And marke well that *g* neuer soundeth in Welshe as it doth in Englysh in these woordes, *George, gynger*.⁶ G also in Welsh sometyme (when it commeth in a reason) shall be turned into *ch*, and somtyme elided or left cleane out of the word as thus, *a chvedy hynny* [ac postquam] *iavnn ne'vrad* [satisfactio vel sanguis]: *koch* *ne'las* [rufus vel viridis]: and not *koch ne glas*: *dulas* [viridis nigrescens] of *du* [niger] and *glas* [viridis].

G is but very seldom
turned into *ch*. *Gweddy*
Gwad, Glas

And otherwhyle wordes compounded shall put away *g*, as these do, *eerloyvv, dulas*: whose symple be these, *ser* [aster], *gloyvv* [purus], *du* [niger] *glas* [viridis].

Also *g* is added to the beginning of such words as be deriued of the Latine, whych begyn wyth *v*, as *Gevilim, gvvic, gvynt, Gvrent, gvin, gosper* of *VVilhelmus, vicus, ventus, Venta, vinum, vesper*.⁷

Moreouer, *g* intrudeth wrongeously into many wordes, namely after *n*, as *Llating* for *Llatin*, *Katering* for *Katherin*, *pring* for *prin* [vix].

[22] *Of the aspiration of H.*

H In euery word that is wrytten in Welshe, hath hys aspiration in speakyng also, and is read, euen as in these woordes of Englysh, *hard, heard, hart, hurt*:⁸ And therefore whersoever *h* is wrytten in Welshe, let it be read wythall, and not holden styll,

¹ (Foour, feiv, *disfig*-yyr, fish, foks).

² That is, when the sound of the digamma has been previously settled. Was it (f, v, wh, bh)? See *supra* p. 518, note 3.

³ "Not now.—B.D."

⁴ *g* = (g), *g* = (gh).

⁵ *G* in *high* Dutch or German generally = (g) and occasionally = (gh, gh),

in *low* Dutch or Dutch of Holland = (gh), or more nearly (grh, r). *Supra* p. 209, note.

⁶ (Dzhordzh, dzhin'dzher.)

⁷ This is common in French and Italian. In endeavouring to say (wa) they say (*gwa*), and then (*ga*).

⁸ (Hard, herd, hard, hart, hurt).

as it is done in French and Englysh, in such wordes as be deriued out of Latyne, as these: *honest, habitation, humble, habite*.¹ &c. Except when *h* is settled betwene two vowels in Welshe, wordes: for then it forceth not greatlye whether *h* be sounded or not, as in these wordes that followe: *deheu* [dexteritas], *kyhyr* [musculus] *mehein* [adept], *grveheu, heheu*,² *grvehydd* [textor], *gohir* [mora]. &c.

Moreouer, *h* sometime sheweth the gender, & somtyme the number of the word that it is set before, as in this word, *Ar y hael*: vpon her, or their brow. Further, *h* oftentimes is caused or engendred of the concourse of vowels, *oi herveydd*, for *oi ervvydd*, and sometimes by accenting, as *trugarha*, for *trugará*. Then becaus *eh* is not of the essence of the word, I leaue it for most part vnwrytten.

The sound of I.

I In Welsh hath the mere pronounciation of *i* in Latine, as learned men in our time vse to soūd it, and not as they y^t with their Iotacisme corrupting the pronounciation make a [23] diphthong of it, saying: *veidei, teibei* for *vidi, tibi*. But looke how *i* soundeth in Englysh, in these words, *singing, ringing, drinking, vinking, nigh, sight, might, right*.³ So then *i* in euery syllable in Welshe hath euen the same sounde as *e* hath in Englyshe in these wordes, *vvee, see, three, bee*. And *i* is neuer sounded so broad in Welsh as it is in thys English word *I.⁴ And besyde that *i* is neuer consonant in Welsh,⁵ but euer remaining a vowel, as it doth in y^o * *Ego* Germaine tonge, or as *Iota* in the Greke. And because they that haue not tasted of the preceptes of Grammer do not lightly vnderstande what thys terme consonant meaneth: I wyll speake herein as playne as I can, for to induce them to vnderstand my meanyng.

when <i>i</i> is consonant, when <i>i</i> is vowel.	Therefore when we say in spellyng <i>ma a, ma: i e, ie: st e, ste: maiste:</i> or <i>I e, Ie: s u s, sus: Jesus:</i> now in these two wordes, <i>maiste</i> , and <i>Jesus</i> , <i>i</i> is consonant. But when I spell on thys wyse: <i>i per se i, o r k, ork,</i> and wyth doying them togyther, reade <i>iork:</i> then <i>i</i> is not called consonant, but hath the name of a vowell.
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¹ (On·cst, abiteer·shun, um·bl, ab·it). See above p. 220.

² The words *gucheu, heheu*, have not been identified.

³ (Sig·iq, rig·iq, driq·iq, wiq·iq, nikh, sikh, mikh, rikht). Salesbury here however means (i) not (i), which he generally marks by *y* Welsh. Yet Welshmen at present do not seem acute in distinguishing (i, i), but use sometimes one sound and sometimes the other, suprā p. 112, note 1. The (nikht) and not (nei) or (neikht) sound of *nigh* is here pointed out by the context.

⁴ Meaning (ci).

⁵ That is, never has the sound of *i* consonant or *j* in English, that is, (dzh). Salesbury never thinks of (j) as a consonant, but only as the vowel (i). This must be borne in mind in reading what follows, in which a curious example of the mode of spelling out words in old English is presented. Of course his argument is perfectly worthless. There is a dispute, as already mentioned, concerning the Welsh *i* preceding another vowel. Mr. E. Jones and Dr. Davies both consider Welsh *i* to be (j) in such words *iawon iach, Iesus*. In English, Smith and Hart consider (j) and (i) to be the same sounds, suprā p. 185.

And therefore if ye lyst to reade ryghtly Welshe woordes where-
in *i* is wrytten, an other vowell immediatlye folowing (for therein
else is there no hinderaunce for the straunge
Reader) than must you harken how *i* (whyeh I for *e*, in the word
I wryte for *y*) is sounded in these Englysh
woordes: *i-ane, i-arde, ielde, i elk, i elle, ielovv,*
iere, iok, iong, iough, lorke, iou: And thoughte
these woordes bee wrytten here [24] now
wyth *i*, in the first letter of euery one, yet it is ment that you
should reade them as the *i* were *y*, and as they had been wrytten
on thys fashion: *yane, yarde, yelde, yell, yelovv, yere, yok, yong,*
*yough, yorke, you.*²

I for *e*, in the word
iye *oculus*,¹ is now
commoly written
& read as it is in
Welsh.

Now I trust that the dullest witted chyld that neuer read but
two lynes, perceaueth so familiar a rudiment.

¶ *The sound of K.*

K Foloweth the rule of *c* in euery poynt, and therefore looke for
the effect of *k*, where it is treated of the letter *c*.

¶ *The sound of L.*

L Hath no nother differēce in sōūd in Welsh than in Englysh.

And note that it neyther causeth *a*, nor *o*, when they come
before it, to sounde anye more fuller in the mouth, than they do
else where sounde, commyng before anye other letter.³ And for
the playner vnderstandyng therereof, looke in the rules that do
treate of the sounde of *a* and *o*.

And marke whan soeuer ye see *l* to be the fyrst letter of a worde,
that eyther the same word commeth in construction, eyther else the
woord is of an other language, and but vsurped in Welsh.

A worde beginning wyth *l* hauyng *ll* in hys [25] radical, maketh
relation of the masculin gender, as *yn y llav* in his hand: for *yny*
llav is in her hand.

Item thys lysping letter *l* is now smotheley receyued in some
wordes, contrary to their original nominations, as *temestl* for *tempest*;
rriscl, trisclyn, for *rrise* or *rriscyn* [cortex]: *pymysl* or *pymysl* for
pemblys [quinque digiti]: so named of the resemblāce that the
rootes haue wyth mans fingers: which is now better knownen by a
more vnapte name euen *Cecut y drr*, and in Englysh Water small-
edge.⁴

So likewyse to this letter *l* a loytring place is lent to lurk in this
English word *syllable*.⁵ And thus much, that the wryters hereafter
maye be more preeceise and circumspect in accepting the vnlettereds
pronunciation by the authority of theyr hand wrytyng.

¹ I have not met with this form *iye*
elsewhere, except in the Heng. MS.
of C. T. v. 10. The sound seems to be
(ii) as in the Scotch word *ee* for *eye*.

² (Jaun, jard, jild, jel, jel-oon, jiir,
jook, juq, juuth, Jork, juu). The or-
thography *yough* for *youth* is peculiar.

³ This alludes to the old English

pronunciation of *tall, toll* as (taul,
tooul), *supra* p. 193-4

⁴ Apparently *ecula virosa*, Water
cowbane, Water Hemlock, now spelled
cegid in in Welsh.

⁵ This, in conjunction with the pro-
ceeding, is meant to point out the sylla-
bic ('l), *see* p. 195.

¶ *Of the straunge sound of double ll.*

Ll can not be declared anye thyng lyke to the purpose in wryting, but onely by mouth: if ye the wyll learne how it ought to be sounded: For (as it is sayd before of *d*) so the second *l* is added

Vide *Oecolampadium*.¹ in stede of *h*:² but looke how *Lambda* coming before *Iota* is sounded in the Greeke:³ euen so pronounce we *ll* in the Welsh. And if ye could hyt kyndely on the right and iust pronounciation of *lh* thus aspirated: not leauyng unsounded the entire energie, and the whole strength of the aspiration: than shoulde not you bee farre dissonant from the true [26] sound of our Welsh *ll*.

For the Welsh *ll* is spoken the tongue bowed by a lyttle to the roufe of the mouth, and with that somewhat extendyng it selfe betwyxt the fore teeth the lypes not all touching together (but leauyng open as it were for a wyndow) the right wyke of the mouth for to breathe out wyth a thycke aspirated spirite the same *ll*. But as I sayde before, and if ye wyll haue the very Welsh sounde of

¹ Joannes Oecolampadius, the Latinized name of Johann Hausschein, the reformer, 1482-1531, who studied Greek under both Reuchlin and Erasmus, the teachers of the rival Greek Pronunciations.

² The Welsh *ll* is not (lh) the whisper of (l), for in (lh) the breath escapes smoothly on both sides of the tongue, and the sound may be frequently heard, with very little escape of breath, in French, *table* (tablh) for (tabl') see p. 52, and in Icelandic, p. 545. But for the Welsh *ll*, one side (generally the left) of the tongue lies along the whole of the palate so as entirely to prevent the passage of air, just as for the English cl'ck (L) p. 11, by which we excite horses, and the breath is forcibly ejected from the right side, making it vibrate, at the same time that there is a considerable rattle of saliva, thus much resembling (kh) or rather (krh), and the sound is, perhaps for this reason, conceived as a guttural aspirate by Welsh grammarians. The Welsh *ll* is a voiceless or whispered consonant which I represent by (lhh) p. 6, the second (h) to the right typifying the ejection of breath on the right side, and the initial (lh) the resemblance of the sound to (lh) which when energetic may be substituted for it without loss of intelligibility, although the Welsh ear immediately detects the difference. The lips may be fully open, or only opened on the right; the effect is entirely due to the

action of the tongue and is very peculiar. At a distance *llan* (lhhan) when shouted sounds like (tlan). There is no resemblance to (thlan) which Englishmen generally substitute for it. When the table of palaeotype was drawn up I had never heard the voiced form of (lhh), which for convenience, may be written (lhh). It is possible also to have palatalised varieties of both, which must then be written (ljhh, /jhh). All these forms with (hh) are very awkward, but they are sufficiently distinctive, and the sounds are very rare. In: *Il Vangelo di S. Matteo volgarizzato in dialetto Sardo Sassarese dal Can. G. Spano accompagnato da osservazioni sulla pronunzia di questo dialetto e su varj punti di rassomiglianza che il medesimo presenta con le lingue dette Celtiche, sia ne' cambiamenti iniziali, sia nel suono della lettera L*, del *Principe Luigi-Luciano Bonaparte*, Londra 1866, it is stated that (lhh, /hh, ljhh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (lhh, /hh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man. The Prince pronounced all these sounds to me, but he laid no stress on their unilateral character, or rather disowned it. In this case (th, dh) were really the sounds uttered for (lhh /hh), according to Mr. M. Bell's views, *Visible Speech*, p. 93, and Mr. Bell on hearing them, analyzed them thus.

³ Here Salesbury most probably elevated (li) first into (lj) and then into (ljh). See also p. 546, n. 1.

thys letter, geue eare to a Welshmā when he speaketh *culltell*, whych betokeneth a knyfe in Englysh: or *ellyll* a ghoste.

The Welshman or the Hispaniarde compose their mouthes much after one fashion whan they pronounce their *ll*,¹ sayyng that the Welsheman vttereth it with a more thicker and a more mightier spirite. The Englyshe mans tounge when he would sound *ll*, slydeth to *ll*.

The Germanes lykewyse, as writeth *John Auentin*, as we do now, did in auncient time aspirate *l*, but pronouncing it somewhat hardish in the throte. And in an other place he recordeth that in old Charters he findeth *l* aspirated, nameelye in proper names, and after thys manner H L.² Thus you see how tonges though far distant, haue som affinitie in one thyng or other.

The sound of M.

[27] M In Welsh hath such a sound as ye heare it haue in Englysh or Latine: but yet it is one of the letters that be changeable in construction as thus: *mvvy*, moe, *llai ne vvy*, lesse ormore, *mvvyvvy*, more and more: *mal hyn*, or *val hyn*, as thus: *megis* or *vegis*, as.

The sound of N.

N Is none otherwyse sounded in Welshe then in Englyshe: but sometyme, after the Latine maner, whan it commeth before *b* or *p* in composition, it is than turned into *m*, as *ymblaen* [coram], which is compounded of *yn* and *blaen*: *amparch* [contumelia] of *an* [in] and *parch* [reverentia]: *ampvryll* [impatientia], or *an & prvryll* [prudentia].

N also is often times accessory, I meane such as intrudeth into many wordes, namely beginning with *c* or *k*, as *vynear* [meus carus] *vy-car*, *vyndevv* [meus deus], for *vy-devv*, or *rynyrvv*.

And because in suche woordes it is nothyng of the essence thereof, I doe, but not without offence to some Readers, oftentimes omit the writing of it, thynkyng that it is not more meete to admyt *n* in our so sounded wordes, than in these Latine vocables *agnus*, *magnus*, *ignis*, at what tyme they were thus barbarously sounded, *angnus*, *mangnus*, *ingnis*. After this sort crept *n* into *messanger* cōming of *message*. By y^e like analogie *potanger* (which I thynke no man doth so write) must be written for *potager*, and so corrupt *Portingal* for *Portugal*.³

[28] But I will prescribe nothing herein, least of some Remissian I be termed a Precisian.

¹ The Spanish *ll* is (lj), so that Salesbury has elevated it to (ljh), see preceding note. No doubt in attempting to imitate it he put his own tongue into the familiar Welsh position, and took it for the Spanish.

² On the ags. and Icelandic *hl* see *suprà* pp. 513, 546.

³ Compare nightingale ags. *nihtegale*, Leffrington ags. *Leofrie*, *passenger* fr. *passagier*, *porringer* quasi *porridger*, *Arminger* lt. *armiger*, *popinjay*, old e. *popingay*, old fr. *papegai*. See these and other examples of an inserted *n* in *Mätzner*, *Englische Grammatik*, 1860, vol. i. p. 174.

The sound of O.

O In Welsh is sounded accordyng to the right sounding of it in

Latin: eyther else as the sounde of *o* is in these Englyshe wordes: a *Doe*, a *Roe*, a *Tbe*:¹ and *o* neuer soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these words of Englysh: *to*, *do*, *trvo*.² But marke that *o* in Welshe going before *ll*, soundeth nothing more boystous,³ that is to say, that it inclineth to the sounde of the diphthong *ou* (as it doth in Englishe)⁴ no more than if it had gone before any other letter.

The sound of P.

P in Welsh differeth not from the Englysh sound of *p*, but *p* commyng in construction foloweth the rules of the Hebruc *Phe*,⁵ sauing that somtyme it is turned into *b*, as thus: *pedrvar neu bemp* [quatuor vel quinque], for *pemp*. And sometyme *p* in composition is chaunged also into *b*, as whan we say *ymbell* [longe], for *ympell*. And one whyle it is left out of the compounde woordes: as whan these wordes: *kymell*, *kymorth*, be wrytten for *kypell* [compello], *kymport* [comporto].

And an other whyle our tongue geueth vs to sound it as it were an *h*, as when we say: *ymhle* [29] *ymhlvvy*, *ymhlas* for *ymple* [?], *ym-plvvy* [in plebe] *ym-plas* [in palatio].

But *p* turned into *ph*, maketh relation of the feminine gender, as *O'i phlant*, of her children, *grvisc i phen*, the attire of her head.

The sound of Q.

Q Is not receiued amōg the nombre of the letters in Welshe as yet, but *k* supplyeth his rowme, and vsurpeth his office in euery place. And the Greekes are fayne to practice the same feate, as ye may see done. *Luc. ii* and *Ro. 16*. where *Kyriniou* is written for *Quirino*, *Kuartos* for *Quarto*.⁶

The sound of R.

R Is sounded a like in Welsh and Englysh, but *r*, in Welsh for the most part is pronounced wyth aspiration, especially being the first letter of the word. And for the aspiration *h*, they commonly

¹ (Doo, roo, too). In my observations of Welsh, the long and short *o* were invariably (oo, o). The sounds (oo, o) seem practically unknown, and not appreciated by Welchmen. That these were also the English sounds in the xvith century I infer as in p. 95.

² (Tu, duu, tuu).

³ *Boystous*, probably (buistrus) does not appear to be a misprint, but a more correct form than the modern *boisterous*. The Promptorium has *boystous*, the Catholicon *bustus*, the Ortus Voc. *boystous*, Chaucer *boystously* 8667 (Wright reads *boystrouslly* incorrectly, the *r* not occurring in Harl, 7334,

Cam. Univ. MS. Dd. 4. 24. has *bois-tously*), and in several other places, the Wycliffite version has *bostous*, Math. 9, 16, as pointed out by Mr. Way on the word in the Promptorium. The origin seems to be the Welsh *bwystr* wildness, *bwystr* savage, *bwystrfil* wild beast, *bwystrus* brutal ferocious, which account properly for the diphthong in the first syllable. Mr. R. Morris refers the word to *boast*, Welsh *bost*.

⁴ This again refers to the English *toll* = (tooul).

⁵ *ð* = (p), *ð* = (ph) not (f).

⁶ Luke 2, 2, *Kuphplou*, Rom. 16, 23, *Kouapros*.

put to *r*,¹ as they play by *d* and *l*, even thus: *rrvrygvcvyd* [fractus], *rrodres* [vanitas], *rringell* [miles], *Rufain* [Roma]. But the manner of some is to wryte one great capitall *R* (when it is the fyrst letter of a woord) for the twoo double *rr*. Also *r* serueth the turne that *n* doth in Englysh, that is to wyt, to be put betwene vowels meeting together in two sundry wordes, for to stop the vncomely gaping in spech, as ye shall perceyue by these woordes of both the [30] tongues: *yr-avvr*: a-n houre: for mother nature wyll not admyt that we should pronounce *y avvr*, or *a hour*. But stepmother Ignorance² receyuethe both *r* and *n* into some places where they are abused, as *yr Llatin g*, for *y Llatin*.

¶ The sound of *S*.

S Soundeth in Welsh as it doth in Latin: neither hath it two diuers soundes as it hath in Englishe or Frenche, for when it commeth betwene two vowels in these two languages, it is so remissely and lithly sounded, as it were *z*, as by these two wordes of both the speaches it is manifestly proued, *Feisant* a *Fesant*.³

¶ The sound of *T*.

T Lykewyse hath but one sounde, and that as the Latines sound it in these wordes: *atat*, *tute*, *tegil*: Neyther do I meane that *t* in Welsh is sounded at any tyme lyke *th*, as some barbarous lispers do, who deprauē the true Latine pronounciation, reading *amath*, for *amat*, *dederith*, for *dederit*, &c.⁴

Now be it marke well thys exception, that *t* is neuer read lyke *c* thorowout the Welsh tongue, as it is commonly read of Englyshemen in Latine verbales ending in *tio*, as Exception *pronunciatio*, *electio*, *subiectio*.

[31] Marke also, that it is the nature of *t* to be turned into *d*, and sometime into *th*, and some other tyme it is so lightly spoken, that the *t* is quite left away, and there remayneth but the *h* in steede of the *t*. But thys is to be vnderstande when *t* is the fyrst letter of a word set in construction to be construed or buylt together on thys fashion: *Na thric yuhy dvy avvr ne dair* [Ne mane in domu duas horas vel tres]. For before they be hewed, squared, and ioyned together wyth theyr tenants and mortesses, they lye in rude and vndressed timber after this maner of sort: *Na tryc yn ty dvy avvr ne tair*. Furthermore *t* in deriuation is left out of the deriued wordes or turned in *n*, that they myght sound more pleasaunt to the eare, as ye may take these for an example: *chevanoc* or *chevaa*

The absolute
wordes

¹ To *r*, that is, two *r*'s, or *rr*. The modern form is *rh*, rather ('*rh*') than (*rh*), so that *Rhys* ('*Rh*'ys) sounds more like (*his*) than (*ris*).

² Of course "*an hour*" is the old form, and "*a*" comes from the omission of *n* before a consonant. The ignorance is therefore rather in Salesbury.

³ This occasions difficulties in writ-

ing the sounds of English words in Welsh letters.

⁴ Palsgrave says of the French *d* that he sees "no particular thyng wherof to warne the learner saue that they sounde nat *d* of *ad* in these words *adultere*, *adoption*, *adviceer*, like *th*, as we of our tonge do in these wordes of Latine *ath athiunandum* for *ad adiuvandum* corruptly."

noc; *gvnroc* or *gvnnroc monvreni* or *monvrenni*: *heinieu* or *heinnieu* of *chevant* [libido], *gvrynt* [ventus], *monvrent* [monumentum], *haint* [pestis].

¶ *The sound of Th.*

Th hath the semblable and lyke sound in Welsh as it hath in

Englysh in these woordes, *thorove*, *thycke*, and *thynne*:¹ but it is neuer so lythly spoken as it is commonly sounded in these other words: *that*, *thou*, *thine*, *this*.²

Moreouer *th* wrytten for the fyrst letter of any worde, sheweth the same word to be than in construction. For there is no Welshe worde standing absolutelye that hath *th* for hys fyrst letter: but *t* is hys native and originall letter, for the [32] which in construction *th* is commonly vsed. Neither yet do we vse to wryte *th*, in any word, and to reade the same as *t* or *d*, as is commonlye done in these English wordes: *Thomas*, *throne*, *treasure*, *Thaues Inne*:

Thaues In which be most uniuersally spoken after this sorte:
Tomas, *trone*, *treasure*, *Davies Inne*.³

Item *th* sometyme signifieth the word to pertyne to the feminine gender, as *Oi thuy* of her house, otherwyse said, *oi duy*, of hys house.

The sound of V being consonant.

V specially being wrytten in thys maner of fashion *v*, soundeth in Welshe as in Englyshe or Latine, whan it is a consonant.⁴ And

it lightly neuer begynneth a worde, except the word be constructed and ioyned wyth one or more wordes. For other *b* or *m*, being the originall or radicall letter, is transmuted or chaüged (according to the congruities of the

There is no worde in welsh that beginneth with *v* being radicall.

tongue into *v* a consonant.

But Latine wordes begynnynge with *v*, and vsurped in the Welsh, shall receyue *g* to their fyrst letter, as is declared more at large in the treatise of the letter *G*, and sometyme *B*, as *bicar* of *vicarius*.

¶ *The sound of u being a vowel.*

But *u* wrytten after this manner *u*, is a vowel, and soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these wordes of English: *trust*, *bury*, *busy*, *Hu*[33]*berden*.⁵ But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe wordes (notwithstanding the diuersitie of their sound) *sure*, *lucke*.⁶ Also

¹ (Thur'ou, thik, thin).

² (Dhat, dhon, dhcin, dhís).

³ (Tom'as, truun), see next section under *Th*, (tree'zyr, Dav'iz In).

⁴ The use of *v* is quite discontinued in Welsh, and *f* is always used in its place.

⁵ No doubt that he meant the sound of (trist, birí, biz'í, Hí'b'erden). (Trist) still occurs in Scotland, (birí) was even then more usually (berí) but is the common Scotch now, and (biz'í)

remains. *Huberden* is probably *Huberden*, but I cannot find such place. There is a *Hubberston* in South Pembroke, which therefore may have the *u* pronounced in the Welsh manner and an *Ibberton* in North Dorset. These are the nearest names I can find.

⁶ (Syyr, luk). Bullokar gives (syy'er) and he is particular in identifying the sound with the French *u*. Hart has (siur) meaning (syyr), p. 167, and Salesbury writes *suwr*, with the

the sound of *n*, in French, or *ñ*, wyth two prickes ouer the heade in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of *u*¹ alludeth somewhat nere vnto the sound of it in Welshe, though yet none of them all, doeth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick *Kubuts* doeth.²

For the Welsh *u* is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwyxte *u* and *y* beyng Latyne vowels.³ And therefore who so euet wyll distinctlye learne the Welsh sound of *u* let hym once geue care to a Northen Welsh man, whan he speaketh in Welsh, the wordes that signifie in English obedient (or) * chaff singlerly: whych be these in Welshe, *uwudd*, *usun*.⁴ And this vowell *u* alone amonge all the letters in Welsh, swarueth in sound from the true Latine pronunciation.

Thys *u* is more in vre wyth vs of Northwales than wyth them of the South parteis: whose wryters abuse it, whan they wryte thus, *un yn* for *yn un*⁵

The sound of W.

W In Welshe and Englyshe hath but one fygure and power, though it chaunceth to haue .ij. diuers names: for in English ye call it double *uu* and in Welshe we geue it the [34] name of a

same meaning, pp. 165, 172, and indeed this passage is sufficient to shew that he did *not* mean (*synr*). Smith and Bullokar both give (*luk*).

¹ All meant for the sound of (*yy*), although at present there are occasional faint differences of sound, but not acknowledged, French (*yy*), German (*ii*), Swedish (*uu*), Scotch (*oo*).

² This of course means that Salesbury pronounced the Hebrew קִיבּוּץ (*kibbus*), generally considered as (*u*) in the same way as Welsh *u*; also he shews by writing the name *kubuts*, that he gave the same sound to the first vowel in the name, generally identified with (*i*). This serves to shew, in conjunction with his opening sentence, that his sound of Welsh *u* did not much differ from (*i*, *î*), and that where he uses it for the representation of English sounds, he certainly meant (*i*) or (*î*).

³ It is difficult to determine what sounds the Welshman gave to Latin *u*, *y*, because these are precisely the Welsh vowels about which there is a difficulty. The next sentence but one, however, would lead us to suppose that his Latin *u* was (*u*), as it was different from the Welsh; but what his Latin *y*, properly (*y*), may have been, cannot be said. Assuming, however, that it was (*i*), then the mean sound ought to

be (*i*). By the kindness of Dr. Davies I had an opportunity of consulting three Welsh students at the Regent's Park College about the Welsh *u*, *y*. The sound of *u* in *Duw* appeared to be (*i*), in *llwyrchu* it was not distinguishable from (*i*), in *dechreuad*, *goluni*, I could not distinguish the diphthong *eu* from the English (*oi*), though the sound of *ai* in *gair* was distinctly (*ai*) and occasionally (*aai*), but *ai*, *ae*, *au* were nearly if not quite indistinguishable; at most (*ai*, *ae*, *ai*) would mark the distinctions. I understood from Dr. Davies that the theoretical pronunciation of *u* was (*y*), and that in solemn declamation an attempt was made to preserve the sound, but that usually *u* became (*ii*, *i*) or even (*i*). This is perfectly similar to the common German substitution of (*ii*) for (*yy*) in the pronunciation of their *ü*, an alteration never made in French. In Danish and Swedish the *y*, theoretically (*y*), becomes (*i*) or, to my ear, practically (*i*, *i*).

⁴ Theoretically (*yyv*·ydh, *yyv*·syn), practically (*iiv*·idh, *iiv*·sîn) or even (*iiv*·idh, *iiv*·sîn) which latter sounds, perfectly easy to English organs, would be intelligible throughout Wales.

⁵ This refers only to the orthography. See below under *y*.

syngle *u* but than soundyng it after the Latine pronūciatiō or ells as you now sounde your *oo*.¹

But the lesser Greeke *o* ioyned togyther wyth the Greke *y* made a diphthong,² or Hebraic *Vau cum puncto schurek in ventre*,³ either *oo* in these English vocables: booke, looke, boorde, woorde,⁴ shall rather expresse hys name, than hys proper nature.

But hys owne power, and peculier office in Welshe, shall there no letter nor letters more preciselye set it forth than the *vv* it selfe, or *oo* wyth the Englysh pronunciation. For all though the Germanes vse a *vv* yet in some wordes sounde they it (to my hearing) as the forther *u* were a vowel, and the latter *o* consonant,⁵ wher we the Britons sounde both *uu* wholly togyther as one vowell, wythout anye seuerall distinction, but beyng alwayes cyther the forther or the latter parte of a dypthonge in Englyshe on thys wyse: wyth *aw*: and in Welshe as thns: *veryth*, *avven*.⁶

And though, as I sayd before, I fynde in som auncient writers 6 for *vv*, yet in other I find *vv* in words now vsually written w^t *v* or *f* as *eithavv*, for *eithav* or *eithaf*. In which kynde of wordes, bycause they of Southwales vse yet to kepe y^e pronūciatiō of it, saying *tavvly* where we saye *tavlu* or *taflu* [jacio]), I doe rather vse for the more indifferencie to wyrite *v* than *f*, evē that they may the more aptly resolve [35] it into their woonted vowell *vv*, and we maye sounde the same after our more consonaunt acceptation. But contrarily, we saye *deunydd* where they sound *devnydd* or *defnydd* [substantia], and some corrupters *denvydd*.

The sound of X.

X Is not founde as yet in the Welshe Alphabet: For the Welshe speache hath no neede of hys office: because that suche Walshe woordes as be deducted of the Latine, turne their *x* into *s*, as doe these: *nos*, *estenna*, *escommun*, *estran*, *bices*, *escuso*, *escutio*, *Sas* or *Sais*, which come of *nox*, *extendo*, *excommunicatus*, *extraneus*, *bisextus*, *excuso*, *excutio*, *Saxo*.

¹ Meaning (uu, u).

² Modern Greek pronunciation (uu) for *ou*.

³ Hebrew שׁוּרֵק (shuureek'), meaning *u* = (uu).

⁴ (Buuk, luuk, buurd, wuurd). Bullokar and Gill also give (luuk), the shortening of the vowel into (luk) or rather (luk) is quite modern. North country pronunciation is still (luuk), though Mr. Melville Bell and Mr. Murray consider the difference between the Scotch and south country sounds to be merely qualitative, the former (luk), the latter (luk). Gill has (wurd), Butler (wuurd, wurd). Boorde was the spelling at that time for *board*, as in the *Promptorium*, Levins has *board*, and Butler pronounces (buurd).

⁵ The meaning of this is difficult to

comprehend, and the difficulty is increased by the misprint *o*, for *u* or *a*. He divides *w*, as he prints it, into *vv*, which he immediately calls *uu*, but which of these two letters he considers "the forther" and which the "latter," is not plain. The best I can make out is, that he heard German *w* as (vu), thus *wann* = (vuan), nearly (vwan) or perhaps (vwan). The last is not a very inapt way of representing (bhan), and one which I have heard given by many persons, as the best means of indicating the sound of initial (bh) to English or French speakers.

⁶ Here, in *veryth*, *vv* is in the "forther" part, and in *avven* in the "latter" part of the diphthong, which ought to make Salesbury's German *vv* = (uv), as (uvan), which being dissyllabic is im-

¶ *The sound of Y.*

Y Is sounded in Welsh, as it is in these English wordes: *yn*,

The englishe Seolers tongues
be marueilously tormented in
soudyng of the Greke *ypsilō*
and yet attain not to the right
sound.³

synne, *ys*, *thyane*, *vynne*.¹ Neyther
yet as it is sounded of the commune
people in anye of these two woordes
followyng: *vvyde*, *vvyng*.² Also *y*
beyng a woorde, counteruayleth the
sygnification of *the* in Englysh, and

of *Le* in Frenche, or of the Articles *Ha*, *Ho*, in Hebrue and Greeke,
as thus: *y dyn*, whose proper sygnification in Englyshe is not com-
munlye vsed, except a man shoulde saye, the person: [36] but
Le homme shall well declare it to any that shal be skilled in the
French: And by meanes hereof we vse to expresse the excellencie
that the Euangelistes attribute to *Iesus*, when they adde the Greeke
article thereto: whych they seeme aduisedly to do, omitting to
write it when they speake in the name of the Iewes or Gentiles.

The sound of Z.

Z In Welsh is vnknowen, in so muche that it was neuer placed in

possible. As Salesbury does not recog-
nize (*z*) he also does not recognize (*w*),
hence *wyth aw* = with awe, is to him
(with *au*), not (with *au*). It is hope-
less to look for agreement upon this
point of theory. Suprà p. 513, n. 2.

¹ (*In*, *sin*, *iz*, *thin*, *win*). There
can be little doubt as to the pronuncia-
tion of these words because *sin*, *thin*,
win, also occur in Smith. Mr. E.
Jones remarks: "Y has two sounds in
Welsh, and it is the only letter that
has two sounds. In monosyllables as
dyn it is nearly = *ee* Eng. as *deen* (*diin*),
in polysyllables as *dynion* = *u* in *but*
(*dön-ion*). On which Dr. Davies
observes, "rather *i* in *hint*" = (*dön-ion*).
In the examination of this sound as
pronounced by the Welsh students at
Regents Park College, (suprà p. 761,
note 3), the word *dynion* seemed more
like (*dön-ion*) than (*dön-ion*), but I
noted the following pronunciations, *gyd*
(*gød*), *yn y* (*an a*), *trwyddo* (*truur-idho*),
ynddo (*ön-dho*) *bywyd* (*baur-id*), *sydd*
(*siidh*), *llwyrchu* (*lhewærkh-i*), *tywy-*
llweh (*tøwllh-ukh*) and (*tøwllh-ukh*)
in North Wales; the words are all in
John i., 1-5. According to Dr. Davies
the theoretical sound in all places is (*a*),
which is aimed at in solemn or stately
style, but in South Wales the universal
sound is (*i*, *z*). In North Wales (*a*, *i*),
or (*a*, *z*) are heard. The sound may
be (*y*). The sound (*a*), or (*a*), is
quite familiar. Salesbury evidently
only knew *one* sound, and it is im-

portant with regard to his English
to be sure that he did *not* know the
sound (*a*), which we do not find recog-
nized in English till the xviith century,
see p. 174. The following are the
rules usually accepted for the pronun-
ciation of Welsh *y*. In the mono-
syllables *dy*, *dyd*, *dyt*, *fy*, *myn*, *y*, *yd*,
ydd, *ym*, *yn*, *yr*, *ys*, it is pronounced
(*a*), in all other monosyllables (*y*). In
final syllables it is always (*y*). In the
prefix *cyd*, and sometimes *cyn*, as
cydcistedd, *cynoesodd*, and in adjectives
and adverbs prefixed as *crwyf-arfog*, it
is also (*y*). After *w* it is generally (*y*)
as *gwynfyd*, *mwynhau*, *bwyta*, but to
this rule there are several exceptions
especially if *w* is short or follows a
vowel, as *chwyrnu*, *chwysu*, *llwyrchu*,
tynyllu, *awyddu*, *ewyllys* in which it
is (*a*). In all other cases not specified
in these rules it is (*a*).

² (*Weid*, *weind*). The first word
is clear, but the second is doubtful.
Wynge should = *wing*, which was cer-
tainly called (*wig*). There is a Norfolk
word *winge* to shrivel, in Wright's
Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial
English, but that is probably (*windgh*).
Most likely *vvyng* is a misprint for
vvynde, which, even as a substantive,
is called (*weind*) by Bullokar, and
(*wind*) by Gill.

³ The Greek *υ* was originally (*y*), but
was (*i*) at the time Salesbury wrote.
What he alludes to in this marginal
observation is not clear.

any Welshe woord hytherto:¹ Neither needed I once to speake of it, but because I would put the reader vtterly out of doubt in this behalfe. How be it, *z* may conueniently hereafter be vsurped in wordes borrowed of straunge tongues, euen that they keeping their *orthographie*, maye the more apparantly declare them selues, at the least, to the learned.

Of the Abbreviations.

[This section has no interest.]...[37]

[38] *Annotation.* [This also has no interest.].....[39]

[40] *A brieft rehersall of all the rules before, with certayne other additions thereto pertainyng.*

A comparisō of the pronunti-
ation of the letters in Welshe,
to the pronnnciatiō of the
Greeke and Hebrue letters.

A Is most vnylike of pronounciation
to the Hebrues *Aleph*.

B most entirely resembleth the nature
of *Beth*.

C and *K* be not vnylike in sound vnto *Caph* and *Koph*.²

Ch, *chi*, *cheth* and *caph* wyth *raphe*,³ be of one sounde.

D soundeth as *Daleth*, *Daghessata*.⁴

Dd containeth the power but of one letter, and that of *Dhelta*, or
of *dhalet* not *daggesset*.⁵

[41] *E* is much spoken after the sounde of the vowels *Segol* or
Epsilon.⁶

F and *Beth* wythout the poynt *Dagges* or the Grek *Veta* be as one
in sounde.⁷

ff (or) *ph* agre in pronounciation with the Greke *Phy* or the He-
braick *phe* not poynted wyth *Dages*.⁸

G is sounde as *Gimel* or the Dutch *g*.⁹

H and th' aspiration *He* be equal in power.¹⁰

I in euerye poynt agreeth wyth the Greke *Iota*.¹¹

L Lamedh, and *Lambdha*, disagre not in sound.¹²

Ll countreuayleth *Lambda* comming before *Iota*.¹³

M N, *Mem Nun* and *My Ny* differ not in sound.¹⁴

¹ Hence in his transcript of English words the sound of (*z*) must be given to his *s* when necessary, as indicated by other authorities.

² *כ* = (*k*) in *קכ* = (*kaph*), *פ* = (*k*) in *קפ* = (*kooph*).

³ That is *כ* without the dagesh point = (*kh*).

⁴ *ד* = (*d*). ⁵ *ד* = (*dh*), *ד* = (*dh*).

⁶ *ע* = (*seeghool*) is the short (*e*), *ע* was the same.

⁷ *כ* = (*bh*), *פ* = (*v*) or (*bh*), *supra* p. 518. E. A. Sophocles (*Romaic Grammar* accompanied by a *Chrestomathy* with a vocabulary, Hartford, U.S. 1842, and without the vocabulary, London, Trübner 1858) distinctly assigns (*bh*)

as the modern pronounciation of *β*. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that this is a mistake, and that the Constantinopolitan Greeks invariably say (*v*). See remarks on Icelandic *v*. *supra* p. 549.

⁸ *φ* = (*f*) or (*ph*) see *supra* p. 513, note 2; *ϕ* = (*ph*).

⁹ *g* = (*g*), German *g* = (*g*) generally.

¹⁰ *η* = (*h*).

¹¹ "Except in being occasionally a consonant as (*j*).—B.D."

¹² *λ*, *λ* = (*l*).

¹³ *λ* = (*li*), see above p. 756, note 3, and p. 757, note 1.

¹⁴ *μ*, *ν* = (*m*, *n*).

O and Omega shall sound as one.¹

P doeth as well imitate *Phe* and *Phy* in sound as in other conditions.²

R hath a peculiar concinnitie with *Rho*.³

S *Sameck* and *Sigma* may go togyther well inough for their tune.⁴

T soundeth as *Teth* or *Tav dagesset* in the Hebrew.⁵

Th hath the very sound of *Theta* or *Tav* hauing no *Dages*.⁶

V beyng consonante soundeth as *Beth* wythoute *Dages* or as *Veta* doeth.⁷

V beyng vowell is read as *Kibúts* and not much vnylyke vnto *Ypsilon*.⁸

Y hath the verye sound *Ypsilon*.⁹

¶ *What further concinnitie the Letters in Welsh chaue vryth the Greeke Letters.*

[This only comes to dividing the consonants as follows:] [42]

The thynne letters be these, *c* or *k*, *b* *p* *t* *l*.

The thycke letters are these, *ch* *ph* *ll*.

The middle letters be these, *g* *v* *dd*.

Of the sounde of ch, g, i.

Ch in welsh is
but one letter.

These three letters *ch*, *g*, *i* haue neuer the like sounde in the Welshe tong, as they haue in these Englysh wordes, *chere*, *gentle*, *Iucke*.⁹

[43] *Of contraction used in welshe.*

[This section possesses no interest].

Of accente.

The obseruation of accente is it that shall do muche towarde the attaynyng of the native pronuniciation of any language, in so muche that somtyme the alteration of accente shal altere also the signification of the word, as in these woordes in Greke: *Neos*, *Tomos*, *pharos*. and these in Welshe: *gvvydd*, *gvvyll*, *gvvyr*: and in Englishe: these, *differ*, *prouide*, *denye*. &c.¹⁰

¹ Ω = (oo) in modern English pronunciation of Greek, but (oo) in modern Greek, *suprà* p. 523, as in modern Welsh, where *poob peth* is called (*poob pecth*) not (*poob peth*), and the older English, p. 96.

² *Phe* means Φ = (p), but what does *phy* mean? It should be φ, but that has been already appropriated to ϕ = (f). Probably *phy* is a misprint for *py* = π.

³ The "peculiar concinnitie" refers perhaps to the aspirated form β which Salesbury accepts as his *rr*, modern *rh*, now ('*rh*') rather than (*rh*).

⁴ Δ, σ taken as = (s), as they were certainly then pronounced though the determination of the original sound of each letter presents difficulties.

⁵ τ = (t), ϑ = (t), they are generally confounded.

⁶ θ, ϑ = (th).

⁷ *Suprà* p. 747, n. 6, and p. 764, n. 7.

⁸ *Kibúts* here is *kubuts* on p. 761, where see note 2. Greek υ = (i), formerly (y).

⁹ (Tsheer, dzhent'l, Dzhak).

¹⁰ *Néos* young, *véos* fresh land, fallow and the Ionic gen. of *ναῦς* a ship; *τόμος* a cut, a piece cut off, *τομός* cutting, sharp; *φάρος* any large piece of cloth, a cloth, sheet, shroud, cloak, *φάρος* lighthouse from the island *φάρος*. In the first three words the position of the accent mark causes a difference in modern Greek pronunciation, (*ne'os*, *neos*, *to-mos*, *tomos*) but both the latter words are (*fa'ros*). But the accent mark in Welsh is only used to indicate length, and is generally omitted both in printed books (even dictionaries) and writing. *Gŷydd* (*gun'ydh*) pasture

Certayne Englishe wordes wher of ye may gather the Welshe pronunciation of the letters.

Archangell, Beynge, Called, Michael, Discomfyted *Dde, Euer
 *Fillaynous. Fend, Gget Him, Itch I-eldynge, Kest,
Dd for th Laye, Mellett, Murmurynge, Not Ouer, Preuayled,
F for V Rauenyng, Horrible, Satan, Tormented, Thorowe,
 Ualiant, Busines, Worthye, Yll.¹

Certaine wordes wherin the letters be most vnlikely sounded to Welshe pronunciation of them.

[44] All, Combe, Dombe, Ceasse, Cyue, Cheeke, Adder, Elc,
 Fyshe, Gender, Engyn, Humour, Honour, In, Iaundice, Fall,
 *Osyll, Reason, Season, Thomas, *Thauies Inne*,
 The blacke byrd That, Vnele, Ydle, Synging.²

The signification of A. in Welsh.

[This has no reference to pronunciation.]

The signification of Y.

[This has also no reference to pronunciation.]

ground that has been formerly ploughed; a weaver, *gwŷdd* (gwyydh) wood, or a weaver's loom; *giwyll* (guuylh) a hag, goblin, ghost; *gwŷll* (gwŷllh) shade; *gwŷr* (guuŷr) oblique, sloping, see *suprà* p. 726; *gwŷr* (gwŷr) fresh vigorous verdant. The English examples are more difficult; *differ* is probably *differ* *desér*; *prouide* is unintelligible for only *provide* occurs, not *próvide*, though we have *próvident*. Mr. Brock suggests that *próvide* may be meant for *proved*; *denye* only occurs as *deny*, but *denier* is both *dénier* a French coin, accented *denier* (deneer) in Shakspeare, Richard III., act 1, sc. 2, last speech, v. 252—the other two passages in which it occurs are in prose,—and *denier* one who denies.

¹ These words seem to be, *Archangel* (ark'an'dzhel), *being* (bi'iŋ), *called* (kaul'ed), *Michael* (Meik'el?), *discomfited* (diskum'fited), *the* (dhe), *ever* (ev'er), *villanous* (vil'anus), *fiend* (feend), *get* (get), *him* (hŷm), *itch* (itsh), *yielding* (jiild'iq), *kest* this is hardly likely to be Spenser's word "which forth she kest," F. Q. 6, 12, 15, it is more probably an error for *kist* = *kissed*, but the word is doubtful; *lay* (lai), *mellett* has the second *l* battered and

looks like *mellett*, but the *l* is plainer in the Greuille copy, it is possibly meant for *millet* (mil'et), *murmuring* (mur-muriŋ), *not* (not), *ouer* (oov'er, ov'er), *prevailed* (prevail'd), *ravening* (rav'enŷŋ), *horrible* (hor'ib'l), *Satan* (saa'tan), *tormented* (torment'ed), *thorough* (thur'u), *valiant* (val'iant), *business* (biz'ines), *worthy* (wurt'h'i), *ill* (il).

² Probably *all* (aul), *comb* (knum) as a hill, *dumb* (dum), *cease* (sees), *sieve*? "as water in a siue" Much ado, act 5, sc. 1, v. 6, 1623 ed., (*siv*), *cheek* (tshek), *adder* (ad'er), *eel* (iil), *fish* (fish), *gender* (dzhend'er), *engine* (en'dzhin), *humour* (hyy-mur), *honour* (on'ur), *in* (in)? *jaundice* (dzhann'dis), *fall* (faul); *osyll* is explained in the margin as *the black-bird*, which answers to the *ousyll* of Levins, *owsyl* of Huloot, the modern *ousel* or *onzel* (uuz'el) is sometimes used for a blackbird *merula vulgaris*, though more commonly for the water ousel, dipper, water crow or pyet *merula aquatica*, *cinclus aquaticus*, *reason* (recz'un), *season* (seez'un), *Thomas* (Tom'as), *Thavies Inn* (Dav'iz in), *that* (dhat), *uncle* (uqk'l) or perhaps (nuqk'l) see p. 744, and note 2; *idle* (eid'l), (*sindzh'iq*) *singing* because (*siŋ'iq*) would be like the Welch sound of the letters.

[45] . . . ¶ *A generall rule for the readyng of VWelsh.*

T Hough there be diuers precepts here tofore wrytten of the Welsh pronounciation of the letters, I would thinke it not ouermuch dissonant, nor yet to wyde from the purpose, to admonishe you in thys behalfe, that is, that you ought not to reade the Welsh accordyng as ye do the Englyshe or French, but euen after the reading of the latin. For in reading English or French, ye do not rede some wordes so fully as they be wrytten.

And in many other ye seme to sound the sillables more fully thā the expressed letters do giue. Which maner of reading is so vtterlye eschued in Welsh, as ye perceyuo it to be exactly obserued of them that perfittely reade the Latine tonge: Nei[46] ther do I meane here to cal them perfite and Latinelike Readers as many as do reade *agnus*, *māgnus*, for *agnus*, *magnus*, *ingnis*, for *ignis*, *santus*, for *sanctus*, *sarvl*, for *sal*: *sovl*, for *sol*: and for *mihi*, *meichei*: and *egou*, for *ego*: *tuw* for *tu*: and *quith ligith*, in stede of *quid legit*. &c.¹ Therefore ye must learne to forget such maner of pronounciation, agaynst ye prepare your selues to reade y^e Welsh. Moreouer, ye ought to know, that these wordes: *dringo* [scandere], *gvingo* [calcitrare], *kynga* [sermo], *myngen* [juba], *anglod* [reprehensio], *angred* [infidelitas], and the most part of suche like Welsh wordes, hauing *ng* in them, and being of moe sillables then one, shal be red as these English wordes be (but ye must admit them to be red now as of two sillables euey word) *Kynges*, *rynges*, *bryngeth*, *syngeth*: For euen as ye do not rede them *Kyn-ges*, *ryn-ges*, *bryn-geth*, *syn-geth*: but rather in thys wyse, *Kyng-es*, *ryng-es*, *bryng-eth*, *syng-eth*:² euen so do we sound *dring-o*, and not *drin-go*: *gving-o*, not *gvin-go*: *myng-en* and not *myn-gen*. Albeit, yet as *ng* may be seuered and parted in this Englysh word *syn-geth* (but the signification altred)³ so haue we some wordes in Welsh (when they are spoken) in whom the sillables may be seuered in *ng*, as in these: *an-gerth*, *Llan-gvwm*, *tringyreh*, &c.

[Then follow seven entire pages and two portions of pages of a letter to Mr. Collingborn speaking of the advantages to Welshmen of learning English, the low state of Welsh literature, &c., with many wordy digressions, and ending thus:]

[54] But now *M. Colingborne*, least peraduenture, where I thinke my selfe but familiarlye to talke here wyth you, and other

¹ *Agnus magnus* (aq'nus maq'nus), *ignis* (iq'nis), *sanctus* (sant'us), *sal* (saul), *sol* (sooul), *mihi* (mei'khei) compare the present Scotch sound, *ego* (eg'ouu, egu) see p. 744, *tu* (tyy), *quid legit* (kwith lii'dzith?). "The Scandinavians have lost the sound (gg), both medial and final . . . Hence (q) is regularly represented by *ng*, or by *n* in *nk*, or by *g* in *gn*, according to the German school tradition (abbreviations

like *mang* for *magnus* in the popular dialect). This *gn* forms a part of the received pronounciation in Swedish, where the frequent combination *gn* is always assimilated to (qn), forming an accidental analogy with the *mn* which arises from an original *fn*, *bn* *pn*?"—Rapp, *Phys. der Spr.* 3, 241.

² (Kiqz, riqz, briq'eth, siq'eth),

³ (Sindzh'eth) = *singes*, most probably.

my familiars (as my meanyng is none other in deede) some thank-
 les taunter entermeddle and say vnto me, alludyng to that moeke
 of *Diogenes*, *O viri Myndi portas ocludire, ne quando vrbs vestra*
egrediatur, meanyng this therby, O my good friend haue
 done with your Welsh confabulation, haue done :
 for els your ioly *proemion*, and
 your goodly *párergon* shalbe
 longer then all your
 booke besyde.

Here
 therefore at the
 last I make
 an end.

*
 F I N I S

[The colophon consists of three crescent moons interwoven, with the word ער in the central one of the four inner interstices, and the word בלי in each of the three outer openings, between the horns of the crescent, evidently referring to Psalm 72; v. 7: יָרֵךְ בְּלִי עָר (gad b'lii: jarce'ah), so long as the moon endureth, literally, until failure-of moon.]

§ 2.

William Salesbury's Account of English Pronunciation, 1547.

The Welsh text of the Introduction to Salesbury's Dictionary is here reproduced *literatim* with all the errors, misprints, false collocations of letters, antique spelling, of the original, but without the long f, and in Roman type in lieu of black letter. Those who are interested in antiquarian Welsh will prefer seeing it in this form, and will be better pleased to set it right for themselves than to have it reduced to form and order for them, while the English translation will enable the English reader to dispense with the Welsh. English and Foreign words are italicised.

There are two perfect copies of this work in the British Museum, one in the general library (628, f, 25), and one in the Grenville Library (7512). The volume is a small quarto, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, including the margin; the letter-press, without the headline, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. It is in black letter, unpagcd. The signatures are: none to the first sheet, Bi. Bii. Biii. C.i. Cii, and then, after a blank leaf, the signatures go from A to S, the last letter having only 6 pages. The title occupies the first page, and is in English only, as follows:

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe moche needfary to all suche Wellshemen as wil spedly learne the englyshe tongue thought vnto the kynges maiestie very mete to be sette forth to the vse of his graces subiectes in Wales: wherevnto is prefixed a litle treatyse of the englyshe pronunciacion of the letters, by Wylliam Salesbury.

The colophon is

¶ Imprynted at London in Foster lane, by me Iohn Waley (1547). *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* (‘,)

Immediately after the title is a dedication in English only: "To the Moost Victorionse & Redowbtete prince Henry theyght by the grace of God Kynge of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande defender of the faythe And of the Churche of Englande and also of Irelande in erthe the supream Hedde be al prefferitye in continuall honour." This dedication extends over three pages, and concludes: "Youre poore and humble subiecte Wylyyam Salesburye."

Then follows the address to the reader, occupying five pages. The beginning of each page is marked in the following transcript by a black figure in brackets as [5], and in numbering the pages of the book I reckon the title as p. 1, and the back of it as p. 2. On p. 11 commences the actual treatise on the sounds of the letters, and, counting the two blank pages at the end of the third sheet, on p. 25 begins the dictionary itself of which the first page is annexed as a specimen, shewing the arrangement in four columns and the many Welsh words left untranslated. Indeed, as may be expected, it is extremely deficient, but it extends to 141 pages.

The English translation of the Welsh address to the reader and account of English Pronunciation was kindly made by Mr. E. Jones, of the Hibernian Schools, Liverpool, and obligingly revised by Dr. Benjamin Davies, of Regent's Park College, London, one of the Council of the Philological Society. No attempt has been made to imitate Salesbury's quaintness of language, but the meaning of the words is given as carefully as possible. In this English translation, where Salesbury cites an English word in the spelling of the time, it is printed in small capitals, his pronunciation in Welsh characters is subjoined in italics, and then the interpretation which I give to that phonetic transcript is added in palacotype in a parenthesis, and when Salesbury gives no phonetic transcript, the conjectured palacotypic form is given. If Salesbury adds the meaning in Welsh this is subjoined also in Italics, and a translation of it into Latin is annexed in brackets. When Salesbury gives no translation the Latin is still added. Thus: "LADDRE *lad-dr* (*lad'er*) *yscol* [scala]," give the old English spelling LADDRE, Salesbury's phonetic Welsh transcript *lad-dr*, the palacotypic meaning of the same (*lad'er*), the Welsh translation of the original word *yscol*, and the Latin translation of the Welsh translation [scala]. References are added throughout to the page in which the passage is quoted or in which illustrative remarks occur, and these are inclosed in a parenthesis thus (p. 61), meaning, *suprà* page 61. This will avoid the necessity of subjoining footnotes. After the specimen of the dictionary is added an alphabetical list of all the words of which Salesbury gives or indicates the pronunciation, in this or the foregoing tract, with a reference to the different pages in this book where it is to be found, supplementing the references in the text.

[5] ¶ Wyllyam Salesburi wrth y darlleawdr.

Onid odit ddarlleydd bonheddigaidd nid anghysylltbell vyssei ddangos a datelario pa lesaad pa vudd a phwy broffit a ddelsai ir neb a dreuliai ddim amser wrth ddallen a mefyriaw ar y llyfer

Awdurdot y llyuer gan y brenhin, awdurtot y brenhin y gan dduw.

hwn Oni byssci ddarfod or blaen i oruwchel-dab awn harglwydd vrenhin ay gynceor edrych arnaw ai dderbyn eissocs yn lowedic gymradwy o help a chanhorthwy kychwyniad tywysogaeth at Iaith saesnaec A chan vod hefyd llywadrath kalon brenhin (vegys y kyttystia rystrythar lan) drwy law ddew, yr hwn a gatwo eu ras yn hirhoedloc lwyddianus ffynadwy Amen. Onid bellach i nessau tu ar peth kyfreitiaf a chyssonaf yngan a sonio am tanaw yn y vangre hon Sef er mwyn Kymbry or nid oes gantunt angwanec o ddyfynder athrowlythyr onid medry o vraidd ddew, ddarllen iaith eu mameu ir hai hynny yn vnec o chwenychant vegys y dylent vynny kyfrwyddyt i ddarllen a deall iaith Saesnee iaith heddyw vrddedic o bob rhyw oreuddysc iaith gyflawn o ddawn a buddygoliaeth ac iaith nid chwaith anhawdd i dysey vegys y may pop nassiwn yn i hyfedyr ddysey eb edrych yn llygat y boen nar gost ac yn angenrheitiach i ni r Kymbry no neb wrthei er esculuset genym am y peth: Ir hai an nyseedie hyny meddaf yd yscifenned hyno wan[6]atrawaeth ac nid ir Rai tra chyffarwydd. Onid atolwg i chwi y Rei sydd a mowrddyse genweh ac a wyddoch Rac mor werthfawr yw Dyseymwnenthur awch hunain yn ol ddull saint Pawl ympop peth i pawp A moesweh hefyd (val y dywaid yr vnryhw Pawl) modd yr abwydir rhai bychain a bara a llaeth borthi o hon-awch chwithen yr anyseedie a mwydion ych goruchelddyse ac nid a godido woerwydd athronddysc. Ac velly os chwchwi ni chudddiwech dryssor yr Arglwydd onid i gyfranny yny gyfle ir angenogion o ddyseidaetha doethineb ai gyfryw betheu ereill: Gobeitho i dyry duw vath ysprydoldeb vddunt hwytheu ac na sathrant val moch dim och gemau nach main gwyrtfawr ac na chodant ieh erbyn val kwn ar vedyr awch brathy/ Eithyr etto eilwaith i ymady a chyfeilornson/ ac or diweddi ddechreu ar hysbysy a silltau hanes ac ystyriaeth y llyfer yma Ac yn gymeint nad ynt y llytthyrenneu yn vn ddywediat nac yn vn draythiad yn sasnee ac ynghymraec: Yn gyntaf dim y ddys yn datkan ac yn honny paddelwy darlleir ac y trayther hwy yn ol tafodiad y Sason ac yno esampleu o eirieu kyfaddas yn kynlyn/ A chweddy hynny y mae y Gairllyfyr ner Geiriawe saesnee yn dechry yr hwn a elwir yn saesnee an Englis dictionary ys es yw hyny kynullfa o eirieu seisnie/ achos kynulleidfa o eirieu seisnie yd ywr holl llyfer hayach/ Yn yr hwn os deliweh yn dda arnaw y ddys yn kadw order a threfyn ynto: o bleit ni chymysced dim or geirieu bendromwnwgyl ynto val y damwyniai vddunt syrthio ym meddwl or tro kyntaf: Eithyr ef adfeddylied vyth er

[5] ¶ William Salesbury to the reader.

Possibly, gentle reader, it would not have been irrelevant to shew and declare what advantage, what gain and what profit, would result to any one, who should devote any time to reading and studying this book, but that his majesty, the king, together with his council has received it, as an acceptable and suitable help and aid for the induction of the principality into the English language, and because the inclining of the heart of the king (as shewn by the holy scripture) is from God, who I pray may preserve his grace in long life prosperity and success. Amen. But now to come to the most important and necessary subject to be treated of in this place, that is, for the sake of Welshmen who do not possess more learning than the bare ability to read their own tongue, and of those only who may, as they ought, desire instruction in reading and understanding the English language, a language at present renowned for all excellent learning, full of talent and victory, a language moreover not difficult to learn, which persons of every nation acquire fluently, without regarding trouble and expense, and to Welshmen more necessary than to any other people, however much we may neglect it. For these untaught persons, then, so much elementary teaching was written, [6] and not for the well versed. But I desire of you who are possessed of higher attainments, and know how valuable is education, that you would after the manner of Saint Paul, make yourselves all things to all men, and condescend also (as the same Paul says,) since babes are fed with bread and milk, to feed the ignorant with the crumbs of your superior knowledge, and not with the excellency of high scholarship. And thus if you do not hide the treasure of the Lord, but dispense it as opportunity offers, by supplying it to those in need of learning and wisdom, and other like things, I trust God may grant to them such a spirit, that they may not like swine, trample your gems and precious stones under their feet, and that they may not rise like dogs against you, ready to bite you. But now again to leave all digression and to begin to set forth the object and import of this book. Inasmuch as all the letters are not said and sounded alike in English and in Welsh, first of all we declare and affirm the mode in which they are read and sounded according to the pronunciation of the English people, with examples of suitable words following. After which the English Wordbook or Dictionary begins, which means a collection of English words, for the whole book is, indeed, a collection of English words. In which if you carefully notice, order and arrangement are kept: for the words are not mixed helter skelter in it, as they might happen to tumble to my mind at first thought. But with constant reflection, for the sake of the [7] unlearned,

Authorisation of the book by the king, whose authority is from God.

Object of the whole book.

Name of the Book.

Order of the Words.

mwyn yr a[7]nysecdie gyfryw vodd ac y darfy helkyt pop gair (hyd y deuci kof) yw van gyfaddas chunan: Ac velly yr holl eirien ac / a / yn y llythyren gyntaf oe dechreu a gynulled i gyd ir vnle: A phop gair yn dechry a b / yn yn llythyr kyntaf o honaw a ossodet or neulltuy / Ar geirieu a c / yn eu dechreuad a wahaned hwytheu or neulltuy: Ar geirieu a ddechreant ac ch, a ddidolet hwynte chunain / A rhei a d / yn i kychwyn a gaslet ac a ossodet mewn man arall / Ac val hyn y rayed y llail pop vn i sefyll dan vaner i Captelythyr ddechreuol / Ac wrth hynny

Modd y kefir
sasneec ir gym-
raec.

pan chwe nychoch gaffael Saesneec am ryw air kamberaee: Yn gyntaf / edrychweh pa lythyren vo ynnechreu r gair hwnw yn anianol / o bleit os / a / vydd hi / spiwch am tanaw ynplith y Restyr

eirieu a vont yn dechre ac a / ac yn y van hono ar y gyfer yn y rhes o eirieu saesneec y keffweh Saxonaee iddo / Eithyr gwiliweh yn dda rhac ych twyllo yn kam geisio gair allan oe van briod gyfaddas / vegys pe i keisiceh vn or geirieu hyn yr ystym ar agwedd y maent yn gorwedd yn y penill yma *Mae i mi gangen dec o vedwen* Achos ni wasnaetha ywch wrth geisio saesneec am (*gangen*) chwilio am danaw ymyse y geirieu yn dechreu a g / namyn ymhlith y geirieu a vo k yn y dechreu / y dyllech espio am danaw / ay Saesneec vydd gar i vron: Canys y gair kroyw kyssefinydw *kangen* ac nid *gangen* kyd bo r ymadrodd kymraec yn kyffeddfy k yn g / ac yn peri sonio t / val d / a b / val v / yn y geirieu hyn *dec o vedwen* / Ac am hyny rhait i chwi graffy byth pa lythyren a vo yn dechre r gair pau draether ar y ben chun allan o ymadrodd vegys y dangosseis vchod / Ac velly yn ol y dadawe naturiol draethiad y mae i ch[8]wi geisio o mynweh chwi gael pop gair yn y gairllyfer yma / O bleit vegys na ddysgwyl neb onid ynyd pan el i wiala ir koet gaffael gwial yn tyfy yn vn ystym y byddant wedy r eilio am gledyr y plait / velly r vn modd ni ddisewyl neb onid rhy angeelfydd gaffael pop rhyw air yn y gairllyfyr yn vn ystym nag yn vn agwedd i ddywediat a chwe dy i blethy ym-

Kyngor ysmala
ir kynry

parwyden ymadrodd / Ac eb law hyn oll a ddywedais ymblaenllaw / Kymerweh hyn o gyngor gyd a chwi y sawl gymry a chwenychoch ddysey gartref wrth tan Saesneec / Nid amgen no gwybod o honawch na ddarlleir ac na thraethir pop gair saesneec mor llawnllythyr ac mor hollawl ac yd serefenner Vegys hyn *God be wyth you* yr hwn a draetha r kyffredin / God biwio: A swrn o eirieu ereill a yscrifenir hefyd Ryw sillafeu ynthunt yn vn ffunut eithyr ni ddarlleir ddim honunt or vn ffynyt val y rhai hyn or naill ddarlleiyad *bove, crowe, trowe* ar hain a ddarlleir bo bwa: kro / bran: tro / tybycid / A rhai hyn hefyd a escrifenir y pen diwaythaf vddunt yr vn ffunut ac ir llail or blaen eithyr i ddarllen a wnair yn amgenaech *cowe, lowe, nowe, narrowe, sparowe* y rhai a ddywedir yn gyffredin val hyn kow / buwch: low / lowio: now yn awr: narw kyfing: sparw ederyn y to / Ac am gyfryw ddamwynieu yr hyn y byddei ryddygyn ir ddarlleiydd i nodi pe doc kof chwaith i scrifeny mae goreu kyngor a vetrwyf vi ir neb (val y dywedais ymlaen)

every word (so far as memory served) was chased to its own proper position. Thus all the words having *a* for the first letter were at the outset collected into the same place. Then all words beginning with *b* were placed apart. So with *c*, and *ch*, and *d*. Thus also of all the rest, every word is ranged under the standard of its captain letter. Thus when you require the English for any Welsh word; First observe what is the first letter naturally; if it is *a* for example, look for the word under the series *a*, and having found the word, in the opposite column for English you will get the English for it. But be very careful not to be misled, to seek amiss

The mode
of turning
English to
Welsh.

a word out of its own proper place. For example, if you trace the words in the form and aspect in which they lie in the following line *Mae i mi gangen dec o vedwen* [Est mihi ramus pulcher betullae]. For it will not serve you to look for the English for *gangen* among words which begin with *g*, but under *k*, because the pure radical word is *kangen* not *gangen*, and the English meaning will be found opposite the radical word. For it is a peculiarity of the Welsh to soften the initial consonant, as *k* to *g*, *t* to *d*, *b* to *v*, in certain positions, as in the words *dec o vedwen* [ramus betullae]. Therefore you must always consider what is the initial letter when the word stands alone, out of connection, as I observed above. So it is in the normal natural utterance of the word that you are to seek, if you wish to find every word in this lexicon. For as none but an idiot would expect, [8] when going to gather osiers, to meet with rods growing in the form they are seen after being plaited round the frame-work of a basket, in the same manner none but an unskilful person will expect to find every word in the dictionary in the form and shape in which it is found when woven in the partition wall of a sentence. In addition to all I have already said observe this further direction, Advice to
such of you, Welshmen, as desire to learn English Welshmen
at your own firesides. You cannot fail to know that in English they do not read and pronounce every word literally and fully as it is written. For example, GOD BE WYTH YOU, which the commonalty pronounce *God biwio* (God bii-wi-ro). And a heap of other words also are written, as to some of their syllables in the same way, but are not pronounced in the same way, as the following: BOWE, CROWE, TROWE which are read *bo* (boo) *bwa* [arcus], *kro* (kroo) *bran* [cornix], *tro* (troo) *tybyeid* [opinor]. The following also have precisely the same termination as the above but are differently read, COWE, LOWE, NOWE, NAROWE, SPAROWE, which are usually spoken *kow* (kou) *buwch* [vacca], *low* (lou) *lowio* [mugire], *nou* (nou) *yn awr* [nunc], *nario* (nar-u) *kyfing* [angustus], *sparw* (spar-u) *ederyn y to* [passer]. With regard to such cases as the reader may find too difficult to remember, much less write, the best advice I have for such as may not be able to go to England (as I have already said), where the

or ni edy anghaffael iddo vyned i locer lle mae r iaith yn gynenid/ ymofyn o honaw ae vn a wypo Saesnee (o bleit odit o blwyf ynkymbry eb Sasnigyddion yntho) [9] paddelw y gelwir y peth ar peth yn sasnee. Ae yno dal a chraffy pa rodd y traythai ef y gair ne r geirieu hyny yn saismigaidd/ a chyd a hyny kymeryd y llyfer yma yn angwance o goffaduriaeth yn absen athrawon/ ac yn diffie dyseyawdwyr yr iaith. Dewch yn ach a

Dysewch nes oesswch Saesnee
Doeth yw e dyse da iaith dec.

¶ Y gwyddor o lythyrenneu bychain.

A a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. n. n. o. p. r. z. f. ff. s. ft. t. th. v. u. w. y.

¶ Egwyddor or llythrenneu kanolie o vaint.

✱ a. b. c. d. e. f. g. gh. h. i. k. l. m. no. o. p. q. r. z. f. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. ff. ft. w. &. z. 9.

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. Y.

¶ Gwyddor or vath vwyaf ar lythyreu.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X . :

[10] *blank*

[11] ¶ Natur a sain y llythyreu vchod yn Saesnee.

A. Seisnie sydd vn natur ac (a) gymreic/ val y may yn eglur yn y geirieu hyn o saesnee *ale*/ aal: ac ymhymraec kwrw: *pale* paal: *sale* sal: O ddieithyr Ryw amser y kaiff/ a/ sain y dipton (aw) yn enwedie pan ddel ef o vlayn *l*/ ne *ll*/ val y may yn eglurach drwy y geirieu hynn: *balde* bawld moel *ball* bawl, pel: *wall* wawl gwal: Ond yn Ryw eirieu i dodant weithie (a) yn lledsegur er a gyfrifwn a ymarferai oe nerth ehunan/ namyn yn hydrach ymrithio yn Rith yn bocal (e) ni a wnae ir darlleydd, val hyn *ease* ies esmwythdra: *leau* lief kenad: *sea* see mor: *yea*/ ie/ Ond nith rwystyr vath eirieu ahyn di ond yn anfynech.

B. yn sacsonaee a/ b/ yn Camberaee ynt vnllais val yn y geirieu hynn: *babe* baab/ baban: *brede* bred/ bara. Ac ni newidir b, seisonic am lythyren aran val y gwnair a/ b/ gymberaee.

C. wrth i darllen yn sasonaee a chambracee sydd yn vn llef onid o vlayn e/ i/ y/ canys o vlayn y tair llythyren hyn val s/ vydd i son vegys hynn *Face* ffas wyneb *gracyouse* grasiws/ rraddlawyn/ *côdiçyon* condisywn.

Ch. nid yw dim tebye yn sacsonaee ac ymghambracee: Ac nid oes ynghamraee lythyren na llythyrenneu ai kyfflyba yn iawn/ eithyr may sain/ tsi/ kyn gyfflypet iddi ar efydd ir aur/ val yn y gair hwn *churche* tsurts celcis.

language is native, is, let him inquire of one who knows English (for there is scarcely a parish without some person in it conversant with English), [9] and ask how such and such a thing is called in English. And observe carefully how he sounds the word or words in English, and, in the absence of masters, and lack of teachers of the language, take this book, as an additional reminder. Come then and

Learn English speech until you age!
Wise he, that learns a good language!

¶ The Alphabet of small letters.

A. a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ft. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. n. o. p. r. z. f. ff. s. s. ft. t. th. v. u. w. y.

¶ The alphabet of medium letters.

✱ a. b. c. d. e. f. g. gh. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. z. f. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. ft. ft. w. & z. 2.

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. Y.

¶ The Alphabet of Capital letters.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X :

[10] *blank.*

[11] ¶ The nature and sound of the above letters in English.

A in English is of the same sound as *a* in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English, **ALE** *aal* (aal) *kurw* [cerevisia]; **PALE** *paal* (paal) [pallidus], **SALE** *sal* (saal) [venditio] (p. 61). Except sometimes **A** has the sound of the diphthong *aw* (au) especially when it precedes **L** or **LL**, as may be more clearly seen in these words: **BALDE** *bawld* (bauld) *moel* [calvus], **BALL** *bawl* (baul) *pel* [pila], **WALL** *wawl* (waul) *gwal* [murus] (p. 143, 194). But in certain words they place **A** sometimes, as we should consider it, rather carelessly according to our custom, out of its own power and rather metamorphosed into the vowel *e*, as **EASE** *ees* (eez) *esmwythdra* [otium], **LEAVE** *leef* (leev) *kenad* [venia, licentia], **SEA** *see* (see) *mor* [mare], **YEA** *ie* (jee) [etiam] (p. 80). But words of this kind will not often perplex thee, gentle reader.

B in English and *b* in Welsh have the same sound, as in these words: **BABE** *baab* (baab) *baban* [infans], **BREDE** *bred* (breed, bred) *bara* [panis]. And **B** in English is not changed for another letter as is done with *b* in Welsh.

C in reading English, as in Welsh, has the same sound, except before **E**, **I**, **Y**, for before these three letters it is sounded as *s* (s). For example **FACE** *ffas* (faas) *wyneb* [facies], **GRACIOUS** *grasiu* (graa'si,us) *rraddlawn* [gratiosus], **CONDICION** *condisywn* (kondis'iun) [conditio].

Ch is not at all like in English and in Welsh. And there are not in Welsh any letter or letters which correctly represent it, but the sound of *tsi* (tsi, tsj) is as like it as brass is to gold, as in the following word **CHURCHE** *tsurts* (tshirtsh) *ecleis* [ecclesia].

[12] D. ymghamraec a saesonac nid amrafaelia i gallu val y dyellir yn y geirieu hynn or ddwy iaith: *Duke* /duwk due: *dart* dart dart. Eithyr nota hyn yn dda pan welych dwy / dd / yn dyfod ynghyd yn sasnaec nid val / dd / gymbereic vydd i grym / ond cadw awno pop vn i llais gynefinol: Ac nid lleddfy A wnan ond cledy yn gledachvegys yny gerieu hyn *laddre* lad-dr / yseol *bladd'* blad-der chwyssigē. D. hefyd yw terfyn berf o amseru perphaith amperphaith a mwy nag amherffaith / val am y gair hwnn *loued* / carwn / kereis / carysswn &c.

E. a ddarlleir yn sasnaec gweith val / e / gymberaie gwaith val / i / gymberaie / a gweithe ereill yniwedd gair i *tau* ac i bydd rut val *scheua* yn hebriw neu vegys y gwelwch / w / yn diwed' y geirieu hynn o Camberaie kynddelw / ardelw / kefnderw / syberw / buddelw / marwnad / catwderw : yny rhain wrth eu darlain ay traythy / w / a dawdd ymaith ac velly y dywedyt a wnair kyndell / ardel / kefnder / syber / budel / marnad / catderw / Velly / e / yn diweddy geirieu saesneac a dawdd ymaith a cham mwyaf o ddiwed pop gair wrth i draithy vegys o ddiwedd y geirieu hynn *emperoure* emperwr ac nid emperwrey darlleir : yr hwn air sasneac arwyddoka ymghymraec ymerawtr: Ac velly am *euermore* efermwor tragowydd. Ac yn y ddeuair saesneac vchot may y ddwy (e / e) gyntaf o bob vn yn vn llais ac e / o gamberaie / neu e / llatin neu epsylon o roec. Ar e / ddiwaethaf yn tewi / val y may / w / yny geirieu a soniais am tanun gynnef. Ond yn enwedie pan ddel / e / yn ol / l / ne / r / yniwedd gair saesonac [13] ni chlywir dim o ywrthei ar dauod sais: ond o chlywyth peth o ywrthei / kynt y dyfalyt y bot hi o viaen l / ne r / nag oe hol: val y traythant hi ar y geirieu yma / *able*, *sable*. *twynle*, *wrynle*, *thōdre*, *wondre*, yr hyn eirieu ac ereill a deruynant yn vn ody l a rai hyn ni chlywn i sais yni darllain onid vegys pe byddem ni yw scriueny drwy adael / e / heibo / val hynn / abl / sabl / twinkl / wrinkl / thwnder / wnder: neu val pe bay / e / o vlayn yr l / ne yr r / val hyn *saddell*, *thonder*: Ond ni ddylie vot ehwaith dieithyr vath ddarlleyad a hwnw i ni yr kambry paam onid ym nineu yn darllein drwy doddi ymaith dwy ne dair o amrafael lythyreu vegys y may yn eglur yn y geirieu yma pobl dros popol, kwbl dros kwbl: papr / ac eithr lle y dylem ddywedyt papyr / ac eythyr / Ond raid yw madde i bob tafawd i ledlef, a goddef i bob iaith i phriodoldeb. Heuyd natur y vocal / e / pan orphenno air saesonac esmwythau ue veddalhau y sillaf a ddel oe vlayn val hynn *hope* hoop / gobeith: *bake*, baak / poby: *chese* / tsis caws. Eithyr dal yn graff ar ddywedyt y gair ackw *chese*, o bleit yr e / gyntaf sydd vn llais ac, i, on hiaith ni: ar e, ddiwaythaf yn sefyll yn rut val y dywedais or blayn y damwyniai iddi vod ryw amser. E, hefyd o vlayn s, yniwedd enweu lliosawe, sef yw hynny ir anysedic geirieu a arwyddockaant veh pen rhifedi vn peth, a ddislanna wrth eu dywedyt val o ddiwedd yr enweu neur geirieu hynn *kynges*, brenhinedd: *frende*, kercint: *tentes*, pepyll / yr hain a ddarlleir *kings* / frinds / tents. A gwybyddet y darlleydd nad

[12] **D** in Welsh and English do not disagree in their powers, as may be understood in these words from the two languages: *DUWK* (dyk) *duo* [dux], *DART* *dart* (dart) *dart* [jaelum]. But note this well when you see two *dd* coming together in English, they have not the power of *dd* in Welsh (*dh*), but each retains its usual sound. And it does not soften, on the contrary it hardens the sound, as in the following words: *LADDER* *lad-dr* (lad'er) *yscol* [scala], *BLADD'* *blad-der* (blad'er) *chwysigen* [vesica]. **D** also is the termination of the perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect tenses, as in the word *LOVED* (lud) *carwn*, *kereis*, *carysswn* [amabam, amavi, amaveram].

E is pronounced in English sometimes as *e* Welsh (*e*), sometimes as *i* Welsh (*i*), and sometimes at the end of words, it is silent or mute as *sheva* in Hebrew, or as you see *w* at the end of these words in Welsh: *kynddelw*, *ardelw*, *kefnderw* *syberw*, *buddelw*, *marwnad*, *eatioderw*, in which the *w* is melted away in reading and speaking and so they are sounded *kyndell*, *ardel*, *kefnder*, *syber*, *budel*, *marnad*, *eatiuderw*. Similarly **E** final in English words is melted away, for the most part, from the end of every word in pronunciation, as in the following words: *EMPEROURE* pronounced *emperwr* (em'perur), and not *emperwrey* (emperu'rei) which word in Welsh signifies *ymeraetr* [imperator]. And so *EVERMORE* *efernwor* (ev'ernoor, evermuur, evermwor) *tragowydd* [semper]. In the two English words above, the two first *E*, *e*, of each, has the same sound as the Welsh *e* or Latin *e*, or the Greek *epsylon*. And the final *E* is mute as *w* is in the words I have already mentioned. Moreover especially when **E** final follows **L** or **R**, [13] it is not heard from English tongues. But if it is heard at all, it is rather before the **L** or **R** than after, as they pronounce the following words: *ABLE*, *SABLE*, *TWYNCLE*, *WRYNCL*, *THONDRE*, *WONDRE*, which words, together with others of the same termination, in hearing an Englishman read them, seem as if written without the *E*, thus: *abl*, *sabl*, *twinkl*, *wrinkl*, *thondr*, *wndr*, (aa'b'l, saa'b'l, twiqk'l, wriqk'l, thun'd'r, wun'd'r), [potens, niger, scintillare, ruga, tonitru, miraculum,]; or as if the *E* were written before the **L** or **R**: thus *SADDELL*, *THONDER* (sad'el, thun'der), [ephippium, tonitru.] But such pronunciations ought not to be strange to us Welshmen, for do we not also in reading melt away two or three letters at times, as may be seen in the following: *popl* for *popol* [populus], *kubl* for *kwbwl* [totus], *papr* and *eithr*, where we should say *papyr* [papyrus] and *eythyr* [sed]. But every tongue must be pardoned its peculiarities, and every language allowed its idioms. Further it is the nature of **E** final to soften and prolong the syllable which precedes it as: *HOPE* *hoop* (hoop) *gobeith* [spes], *BAKE* *baak* (baak) *poby* [coquere panem ut pistor], *CHESE* *tis* (tshiiz) *caws* [caseus]. But observe carefully the word *CHESE*, for the first *E* has the sound of *i* in our tongue, and the *E* final is mute as before described. **E** also before *s* at the end of plural nouns,—that is, (for the sake of the unlearned,) names which signify a number of anything,—disappears in pronunciation, as in the following: *KYNGES*, *brwnhnedd* [reges], *FRENDES* *kercint* [amici], *TENTES* *pepyll* [tentoria],

yw [14] A gwybyddet y darlleydd nad yw y Ruwl yma yn gwasanaythy i bob enw lliosawe o bleit pan ddel e, ch, g, neu e, arall o vlayn y ddywedetic e, pally a wna y ruwl hon canys yna e, a draythir yn vungus neu val yn y, ni: val yn y geirieu hynn *dyches* deitsys / *flossydd*: *faces*: *ffaces* / *wynebeu*: *oranges*, *orcintsys* / *afale* orayds: *trees*, *triys* prenneu.

f, seiesonic ehun sydd gymeint o synnwyr ynthei ac mewn dwy f, f, gambereic wedy gwasy eu penneu yngkyd val hyn: *sole*, *ffwl*, *ffol* ne ynuyd

ff, ac *f*, yn sasnee a dreythir yn vnmodd, eythyr *ff*, yn ddwyseach, ac *f*, yn yscafnach a gymerir: *f*, yn yscafu, val ymay *chefe*, tsiff pennaf / *ff*, yn ddwyse neu yn drom val yn y gair hwn *suffre*, swfffer dioddef:

G, seisnie a ch / o saesnee ynt daran debye eu sain ie mor debye i son yw gilydd ac yd yscriuena sags ny bo dra dyscedie yn aill yn ller llall vegys y damwain yn y gair hwn *charge* yn lle *churche* tsiurts eglwys. Eythyr g / yn sasnee o vlaen, a, o, u, a gweithe o vlayn e / neu y, nid adweynir i llais rae g, gambereic, val hyn *galawnt* *galawnt* / *gelding* *gelding* / *plage*, *plaag* *pla* / *God*, *dyw* / *gutte* / *gwt* *coluddyn* / *Gylbert* / *gilbert*: Ond pan ddel g / o vlaen / e / i / neu y / val *ch*, seisnie neu tsadde o hebrew vydd i llef or rhan vnychaf vegys hyn *gynger* *tsintsir* / *sinsir* / *Gwilia* hyn etto yn dda pan ddelont dwy gg / ynghyd / *kydleisio* eulldwyedd ac g / *gamraee* a wnant val hyn *beggyng* *begging* / yn cardota / *nagge* *nag* keffyllyn / *egge*, *eg* wy.

[15] **Gh**, sydd vn llef an ch, ni ond i bot hwy yn traythy yr gh / eiddunt yn yscafnudee o ddieythyr y mwnwgyl a ninneu yn pronwsio yr ch / einom o eigawn yn gyddwfeu. A vegys y mayn anhowddgar gan saeson glywed rhwnek y llythyr hon gh / velly may Kymbry deheubarth yn gwachel son am ch, ond lleiaf gallant. Can ti ay klywy hwy yn dywedyt *hwaer* a *hwech* lle ddym ni o ogledd kymbry yn dywedyt *chwaer* a *chwech*.

Ac etwa mi an gwelaf nineu yn mogelud traythy ch, yn vynech o amser vegys y may yn ddewisach genym ddywedyt (chwegwaith) no (chwechwaith) a (chwe vgain) na (chwech vgain). Ac im tyb i nid hoffach gan y Groecwyr y llythyr ch, pan ymchwelynt or ebyrw *Iohannes* yn lle *Iochanna* / ac *Isaac* dros *Iitschack*: A chyffelyp nad gwell gan y llatinwyr y llythyr vehot pryd bont yn dylun yr vnwedd ar groecwyr ar drossi yr hebrew ir llatin / ac yn dywedyt *mihi* a *nihi* dros *nichi* a *nichil* Ond i ddibenny yt / kymer y chwyrnolat hwnw yn yscafnaf ac y del erot wrth ddywedyt iaith Saxonaec.

H, sydd vnwedd yn hollawl y gyd ar Sason a nineu, val y may *haue* haf, *hwde* / *hart* calon ne earw / *holy* holi santaidd / ne kelyn. Ond yn rhyw eirieu llatin wedy saesnigo nid anedsir h, val yny

which are read *kings* (kiqz), *frinds* (friindz), *tents* (tents). [14] And be it known to the reader that this rule does not apply to every plural, for when c, ch, g, or another *ɛ* precedes the said *ɛ* the rule fails, for then *ɛ* is pronounced obscurely or as our *y* (ɨ), as in the following *ɔxhes deitsys* (deitsh'iz) *ffossydd* [fossae], *FACES ffaces* (faas'ez) *wynebeu* [facies], *ORANGES oreintsys* (or'eindzhiz) *afalc orayds* [aurantia], *TREES triys* (tri'i'iz) *prenneu* [arborea].

F in English has singly as much power as two Welsh *f, f*, with their heads pressed together, thus: *FOLE ffwl* (fuul), *ffol ne ynuyd* [stultus].

FF and **F** in English are pronounced alike but **FF** harder than **F**, which has a lighter sound, as in *CHEFE tsiff* (tshiif) *pennaf* [princeps]; **FF** hard as in *SUFFRE sufffer* (suf-fer) *dioddes* [pati].

G is sounded in English very similar to **CH**, so similar indeed that Englishmen not well educated write the one for the other, as in the word *CHURGE* for *CHURCHE tsiurts* (tshirtsh) *eglwys* [ecclesia]. But **G** in English before *a, o, u*, and, sometimes before *e* or *y* is not distinguished from *g* Welsh (*g*), thus *GALAUNT galaunt* (gal'aunt) [fortis] (p. 143), *GELDING gelding* (geld'iq) [canterius], *PLAGE plaag* (plaag) *pla* [pestis], *GOD* (god) *dyw* [deus], *GUTTE gut* (gut) *coluddyn* [intestinum], *GILBERT gilbert* (gil'bert). But when **G** comes before *e, i, or y*, it is sounded as **CH** in English, or as tsadde *ʔ* in Hebrew for the most part, as *GINGER tsintsir* (dzhin'dzher) *sinsir* [zinziber]. Note well this again when two **GG** come together, they are sounded as one, like *g* Welsh, thus: *BEGGINGE begging* (beg'iq) *yn cardota* [mendicans], *NAGGE nag* (nag) *keffyllyn* [mannus], *EGGE eg* (eg) *wy* [ovum].

[15] **Gh** has the same sound as our *ch*, except that they sound *gh* softly, not in the neck, and we sound *ch* from the depth of our throats and more harshly (p. 210), and as it is disagreeable to the English to hear the grating sound of this letter so Welshmen in the South of Wales avoid it as much as possible. For you hear them say *hwaer*, and *hwech* (whair, whekh), where we in the North of Wales say *chuwaer*, and *chuwech* (khwair, khwekh; kwhair, kwhekh?).

And still I find that even we often avoid pronouncing *ch*, as we prefer saying *chwegwaith* (kwegw'aith) for *chuwegwaith* (kwhekh-gwaith) [sexies], and *chuevgain* (kwhei'gain, kwhec'igain?) for *chuwech regain* (kwhekh yy'gain) [centum et viginti]. And in my opinion the Greeks were not overfond of this sound when they transferred from the Hebrew, *Iohannes* instead of *Iochanna*, and *Isaac* for *Iitschach*. And in a similar manner the Latins had no great liking for the above letter, for they follow the Greeks in transferring from Hebrew, and say *mihi* and *nihil* for *michi* and *nichil* (mi'ni ni'n'il, mikh-i nih'il). But to conclude you may take this guttural as light in speaking English as you can.

H is precisely the same in English as in Welsh, as we see in *HAUE haf* (hav) *hwde* [accipe], *HART hart* (hart) *calon ne carw* [cor vel cervus], *HOLY holy* (hool'i, hol'i) *santaidd ne kelyn* [sanctus vel aquifolium]. But in some anglicized Latin words **H** is not sounded

rhain *honeste* onest / *honoure* onor / anrhydedd / *exhibition* eesibisiwn / kynheilaeth / *prohibition* proibisiwn / gwahardd. Nid ynganaf vi yn bot ni y to yr o wrhon mor ddiddarwybot a dywedyt *gwydd* dros *gwehydd*.

[16] **I**, oe hiaith hwy sydd gymeint ar ddwy lythyren yma *ei*, on iaith ni / od gwescir y gyd ai dywedyt yn vn sillaf neu dyphthong, val yny gair hwn, *i*, *ei* / mi ne myfi. Eithyr pan gydseinio i, a bocall arall vn sain vydd hi yna a, g, seisnic, ac achos eu bot hwy mor gyffelypsyn mi weleis rei ympeidruster a dowt pa vn ai ac, i, ai ynte a, g, yd serinenynt ryw eirieu ar rain *maiestie*, *gentyll*, *gelousye*: a rhai yn serifenny *habreiousne* ac creill *hebergyn*, lluric: Ac velly mi welaf ynghylch yr vn gyffelybrwydd rwnge y tair llythyren seisnic hynn *ch*, *g*, *i*, a rhwng y plwm pewter ar ariant, sef yw hynny, bod yn gynhebye yw gyllydd ar y golwe kyntaf ac yn amrafaelio er hyny wrth graffy arnnt. Esampl o, i, yn gyd-sain *Iesu*, tsiesuw, *Iesu*: *John* tsion a sion o lediaith: ac leuan ynghamroec loyw: *ioynt*, tsioynt kymal.

K, ynghymrace a saesnee vn gyneddf yw / ond yn saesnee an-uynychach o beth y dechy air val y gwelwch yma, *boke* bwk llyfyr *bucke* bwk bwch: k, yn dechry gair *kyng*e king / brenhin: *knot* kwlwm: *kent*.

L, yny ddwyiaith ddywededic nid amgena ond yn anamylair i llais val hyn *lyly* lili / *lady* ladi arglwyddes *lad* bachken.

Ll, yn saesnee nid ynt dim tebye eu hansawd in ll. ni: an ll, ni ny ddyse byth yn iawn dyn arallia ith i thraythy o ddiertth yny veyd.

Ll, hefyd yn saesnee nid yw yn dwyn enw vn lly thyren eithyr dwbyl l, neu l, ddyplye i gelwir: a llais l, sydd ynthun yn wastat, neu lais lambda pan ddel [17] o vlayn iota / Ond yn rhyw wledydd yn lloer val w, y traythant l / ac ll / mewn rhyw eirieu val hyn *bowd* yn lle *bold*: *bo* dros *bull* / *caro* dros *cal*. Ond nid yw vath ddywediat onid llediaith / ac nid peth yw ddylyn oni vyny vloysei y gyd a bloyseon.

M, ac **n** / kynggany awnant yny ddwyiaith einom / ie ac ympon iaith ac i gwn ni ddim o ywrthynt / yn Saxonaec a dwyts val hyn *man* gwr *men* gwyr.

O, kymysleif an o / ac an w / ni vydd / ac nid ar vnwaith nae yn yr vn sillaf onid mewn vn sillaf yn o / mewn arall yn w / y treythir val hynn *to* to / bys troet: *so* so velly *two* tw / dau / *to* tw / ar at / i / *ehole* sewl / yscol.

O, hefyd o vlaen ld / neu ll / a ddarllair vegys pe bay w / ryngto ac wynt / mal hyn *colde*, cowld oer *bolle*, bowl / *tolle* towl toll. Eithyr dwy oo ynghyd yn saesnee a soniant val w / ynghymrace val hyn *good*, gwd da: *poore* pwr / tlawd:

P, yn saesnee nid yw vn ddeddf a phi yn hebraw yngroec neu

as HONESTE *onest* (on'est) [honestus], HONORE *onor* (on'or) *anrhydedd* [honos], EXHIBITION *ecsbisiwn* (eksibis'i,un) *kynheilaeth* [expositio], PROHIBITION *proibisiwn* (proo,ibis'i,un) *gwahardd* [prohibitio]. I will not mention that we are at present so negligent as to say *gwydd* (*gwydh*) for *gwehydd* (*gwe'nydh*) [textor].

[16] **I** in their language is equivalent to the following two letters in ours *ei* (ei), but they are compressed so as to be pronounced in one sound or a diphthong, as in that word of theirs *I ei* (ei, oi) *mi* [ego] or *myfi* [egomet]. But when it is joined to another vowel it has the sound of *e* English, and as they are so near alike, I have met with some in hesitation and doubt, whether they should write certain words with *i* or with *e*, as the following: MAISTIE, GENTYEL, GELOUSYE, and some writing HAEREIOWNE and others HEBERGYN *lluryg* [lorica]. Thus I observe the same likeness between these three English letters *ci*, *e*, and *i*, as exists between pewter and silver, that at first sight they appear very like each other, but on close examination they differ. For example, *Iesu tsiesuw* (Dzheezzy) *Iesu* [Jesus], *IoHN tsion* (Dzhon) and *sion* [Shon] by corrupt pronunciation, and *Ienan* [Iohannes] in pure Welsh, *ioynt tsioynt* (dzhoimt) *kymal* [junctura] (p. 131).

K has the same power in Welsh as in English, but it is not so frequent at the commencement of words as may be seen in the following: *BOKE buk* (buuk) *llyfyr* [liber], *BUCKE buck* (buk) *bwch* [dama mas]: **K** at the beginning of words *KYNGE king* (kiq) *brenhin* [rex], *KNOT* (knot) *kwthem* [nodus]; **KENT**.

L in the two languages does not differ in sound, as *LILY lili* (lil-i) [lilium], *LADY ladi* (laadi) *arglwyddes* [domina], *LAD* (lad) *bachken* [juvenis].

L in English is nothing like in sound to our *ll* (lhh), and our *ll* will no foreigner ever learn to pronounce properly except in youth.

L in English has no distinct name, it is simply called *dubyl l* (dub·il el) or twofold *l*, and it has always the sound of *l*, or of *lambda* [17] before *iota*. But in some districts of England it is sounded like *w* (u), thus *bowd* (booud) for *BOLD* [audax], *bw* (buu) for *BULL* [taurus]; *caw* (kau) for *CALL* [voco]. (p. 194.) But this pronunciation is merely a provincialism, and not to be imitated unless you wish to lisp like these lispers.

M and **N** are of the same sound in the two languages (and indeed in every other language I know). In English they are spoken thus *man* (man) *gwr* [vir], *men* (men) *gwyr* [viri].

O takes the sound of *o* (o) in some words, and in others the sound of *w* (u); thus *to to* (too) *bys troet* [digitus pedis], so *so* (soo) *velly* [sic], two *tw* (tun) *dau* [duo], to *tw* (tu) *ar*, *at*, *i* [ad], *schole scwl* (skuul) *yscol* [schola]. (p. 93.)

O also before *ld* or *ll* is pronounced as though *w* were inserted between them, thus *colde cowl* (koould) *oer* [frigidus], *bolle bowl* (booul) [crater], *tolle towl* (tooul) *toll* [vectigal] (p. 194). But two *oo* together are sounded like *w* in Welsh (u), as *good gud* (gud, guud) *du* [bonus], *poore pur* (puur) *tlawd* [pauper] (p. 93).

P in English has not the same rule as *phi* in Hebrew, Greek, or

ymgamroec achos yny teirieith hyn y try weithie yn rhyw eirieu yn ph :

Eithyr sain sauadwy sydd iddi yn sasnee ympop gair val : *papyr* papyr / *pappe* / papp bron gwraic ne ywd : *penne* ydyw pinn yserifenny : Ac val hyn y traytha Sais y llyther p / mewn ymadrodd / and wyth a penne : ac a phinn : ac nid wyth a phenne neu ffenne y dywaid ef.

Q, llythyr dieythyr ymgamraec yw ac nid mawr gartrefigach yn saesnee vn gyfraith a cha k / [18] y keffir q / val hynn *quene* kwin brenhines : *quarter* kwarter chwarter neu pedwerydd ran : *quayle* sofyliar : A gwybydd may u / yw kydymeith q / can ni welir byth q / eb u / yw chynlyn mwy nar goc heb i gwichelll.

R / sydd anian yny ddwyiaith hyn eythyr ni ddyblyr ac nid hanedlyr R / vyth yn dechreu gair sasnee val y gwair yngroec ac yncamroec modd hyn

Rhoma rrufain ne rhufain : Ond val hyn yd yserifenir ac y treithir geirie seisnie ac r / ynthunt *ryght* richt iawn *rent* rent *ros* ros ne rosim,

S / yn yr ieithoedd yma a syrth yn vn sain val hyn *syr* syr / *seasū* seesyn amser amserawl ne amser kyfaddas : Eythyr pan ddel s / yn saesnee rhwng dwy vocal lleddfy neu vloysey a wna yn wynech o amser val hyn : *muse* muwys meuyrio : *mase* maas madrondot.

S / o dodir hi o cwhanee at diwedd enw vnice / yr enw vnice / neur gair vnice hwnw a liosocka ne arwyddocka cwhanee nae vn peth vegys hynn *hāde* hand yw llaw : *handes* hands ynt llawe no ddwylo : *nayle* nayl ewin ne hoil hayarn *nayles* nayls ewinedd ne hoylion heyn : *rayle* rayl canllaw : *rayles* rayls canllaweu / ne ederin regen yr yd.

Sh / pan ddel o vlayn vn vocal vn vraint ar sillaf hwn (ssi) vydd val hynn *shappe* ssiapp gwedd ne lun : *shepe* ssiip dauad ne ddeucid.

Sh / yn dyfod ar ol bocall yn (iss) y galwant : vegys hyn *asshe* aiss / onnen : *wasshe* waiss / golechi. Ac ym pa ryw van bynac ac air i del / ssio val neidyr gy[19]ffrous a wna / nid yn anghyssylltpell o y wrth swm y llythyr hebrew a elwir *schin* : Ac o mynny cwhanee o hyspysrwydd ynkylech i llais gwranddo ar byscot kregin yn dechreu berwi o damwain vnwaith vddunt leisio. Kymerwech hyn o athro wlythyr kartrefic rae ofyn na chyrayddo pawp o honawech gaffael wrth i law tafodioc seisnie yw haddysey.

T / hefyd a wna yr vn wyneb i Sais a chymro val hyn *tresure* tresuwr trysor *tour* tower twr : *top* top nen.

Th / o saesnee a chymraec a vydd gyfodyl ac vn nerth ond yn rhyw eirieu hi a ddarllleir kyn yscafne ar dd / einom ni : Eglurdeb am gyfio wnllais th / eiddunt hwy : *through* thrwch trywodd : *thystle*

Welsh, for in these languages it is sometimes changed in words to *ph*.

But in English it has a permanent sound in every word as *PAPYR* *papyr* (paa'pîr) [papyrus], *PAPPE* *papp* (pap) *brou gioraic ne ywod* [mamma vel infantium cibus], *PENNE* *pinn yscrifenny* [calamus]. And an Englishman pronounces the letter *p* thus, in the phrase *AND WYTH A PENNE* (and with a pen) *ac a phinn* [et cum calamo], and not *WYTH A PHENNE* or *FFENNE* with double *ef* (with a fen).

Q is a strange letter in Welsh, and scarcely more at home in English. It is the same in sound as *k*, [18] as *QUENE* *kwin* (kwiin) *brenhines* [regina], *QUARTER* *kwarter* (kwart'er) *chwarter* [quarta pars]; *QUAYLE* (kwail) *sofyliar* [coturnix]. And bear in mind that *u* is the companion of *q*, for *q* is never seen without *u* following it, as the cuckoo without her screecher.

R is of the same nature in the two languages except that *r* is never doubled or aspirated at the beginning of words as in Greek and Welsh.

Rhoma, *rrufain* or *rhufain* [Roma], but English words beginning with *r* are thus pronounced: *RYGHT* *richt* (rikht) *iawn* [rectus], *RENT* *rent* (rent) [scissura], *ROS* (rooz) *ros ne rosini* [rosa].

S in these languages is of the same sound, thus *SIR* *syr* (sir) [dominus], *SEASON* *seesyn* (seez'in) *amser amscrawl ne amser kyfaddas* [tempestas, tempestivus vel occasio]. But when *s* comes between two vowels it has the flat sound, or it is lisped, thus *MUSE* *muwios* (myyz) *meuyrio* [meditari], *MASE* *maas* (maaz) *madrondot* [stupor].

S when added to the end of a word in the singular, makes it plural, or to signify more than one, as *HANDE* *hand* (hand) is *llaw* [una manus], *HANDES* *hands* (handz) are *llawe ne ddwylo* [plures vel duæ manus], *NAYLE* *nayl* (nail) *ewin ne hoyl hayarn* [unguis vel ferreus clavis], *NAYLES* *nayls* (nailz) *ewinedd ne hoylion heyrn* [ungues vel ferrei clavi], *RAYLE* *rayl* (rail) *canllaw* [cancellus], *RAYLES* *rayls* (railz) *canllawen ne ederin regen yr yd* [cancelli vel creces pratenses] (p. 119).

Sh when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination *ssi*, thus *SHAPPE* *ssiapp* (shap) *gwedd ne lun* [species vel forma], *SHEPE* *ssiip* (shiip) *dauad ne ddeueid* [ovis vel oves].

Sh coming after a vowel is pronounced *iss*, thus *ASSHE* *aiss* (ash, aish?) *onnen* [fraxinus]; *WASSHE* *waiss* (wash, waish?) *golchi* [lavare]. And wherever it is met with it hisses, like a roused serpent, [19] not unlike the Hebrew letter called *schin* ש. And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil. Take this as an homely illustration lest you may not all be able to find an English tongue at hand to instruct you.

T also shows the same face to an Englishman as to a Welshman, as *TRESURE* *tresuwr* (trez'yyr) *trysor* [thesaurus], *TOURE* *towr* (tour) *twr* [turris], *TOP* *top* (top) *nen* [vertex].

Th in English rhymes with the same combination in Welsh (th), but in some words it reads flat like our *dd* (dh). Examples of the Welsh sound of *th*; *THROUGH* *thruweh* (thruukh) *trywodd* [per],

thystl yseall: Eglurweh am th/ val awn dd/ ni *this* ddys hwn/ hon/ ne hyn. velly ddym nine yn cam arfer yn sathredic o dd/ dros th/ yny gair yma (ddialaydd) yn lle (dialayth) Nota hyn hefyd/ y darlleant th/ val t/ yny geirieu hynn *Thomas* tomas: *throne* trwn pall-

U/ yn gydson nid amrafailia i rhinwedd yn lloer mwy nac yngymry val hyn *vyne* vein gwin wydden: *rayne* vayn gwythen ne wac: *veluet* velfet melfet. Eithyr u/ yn vocal a ettyl bwer y ddwy lythyren gamberaechyn, u, w, ai henw kyffredin vydd yn, uw, vegys y tystolaytha y geirieu hyn *true* truw kywir: *vertue* vertuw rhinwedd A rhyw amser y kaiffi hiawn enw gantunt ac y darlleir yn ol y llatinwyr sef y galwant yn vn llais an w/ ni: val yny [20] geirieu hyny/ *bucke* bwck bwch/ *lust* lwst chwant Eithyr anuynech y kyssona eu bocal u/ hwy an bocal, u, ni/ cissoes yn y gair hwn *busy* busi prysur ne ymyrus.

W, seisnie ac w/ gymreic nid amgenant i gallu val hyn/ *wawe* waw tonn ar vor/ *wyne* wein gwin: *wynne* wynn ennill. Eithyr henw y llythyren w/ o saesnech vydd dowbyl uw/ sef yw hynny u dduplic/ Ar sason wrth ddysey i blant sillafy ne spelio ai kymerant hi val kydson ac nid yn vocal ne yn w, *per se* val y ddym ni yw chymryd: Ond y ddym ni ar hynny yw harfer hi or modd hawsaf i ieunktit ddyfod y ddarllen yn ddeallus.

Hefyd distewi a wna w/ wrth ddiweddy llawer gair saesnech val yn diwedd y rai hynn/ *awe*, *bove wowe*/ y rhain a ddarlleant modd hynn: a/ ofyn bo bwa: w/ kary

x, nid yw chwaith rhy gartrefol yn saesonace mwy nae yn Camberace a llais es/ neu gs/ a glywir ynthei vegys yny/ geirieu hynn *flaxe* fflacs llin *axe* ags/ bwyall. Geirieu llatin a ledicithantir saesonace neu ir Gamberace a newidiant x/ am s/ val y geirieu hyn/ *crux* crosse croes ne crws/ *exemplum* esampyl/ *extendo* estennaf: *excommunicatus* escomyn

Y, a gaiff yn amyl/ enw y dyphthong (ei) val hynn *thyne* ddein tau ne eiddot: ai enw ehun val yny gair hwn *thyme* thynn teneu.

y^e, a thityl val, e, vach vch i phen a wna *the* o saesnech val hyn *y^e man* dde man, y gwr: *y^e oze* dde ocs/ yr ych

y^t, a chroes vechan val t, vch i ffen sydd gymeint [21] yn lla wnlythyr a *that* ddat, hyny ne yr hwn.

y^u, ac u, uwch i phen a wna *thou* ddow, ti ne tydi

THYSTLE *thystl* (this'tl) *yscall* [carduus]. Examples of TH like our *dd*; THIS *ddys* (dhis) *hwn hon ne hyn* [hie haec vel hoe]. So also in familiar conversation we mispronounce *dd* for *th* in the word *ddialaydd* for *dialayth* [sine tristitiâ]. Observe also that they read TH as *t* in these words: THOMAS *tomas* (Tom'as), THRONE *trwn* (truun) *pall* [solium].

U consonant is not distinguished in power in Welsh and English, thus: VYNE *vein* (vein) *gwin wydden* [vitis], VAYNE *rayn* (vain) *gwythen ne wac* [vena vel vanus] (p. 119), VELUET *velfet* (vel'vet) *melfet* [holosericum]. But *u* vowel answers to the power of the two Welsh letters *u*, *w*, and its usual power is *uw*, as shewn in the following words TRUE *truw* (tryy) *kywir* [verus], VERTUE *vertuwo* (ver'tyy) *rhinwedd* [virtus]. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins, or like our *w*, as [20] in the words BUCKE *buck* (buk) *buch* [dama mas], LUST *lust* (lust) *chwant* [libido]. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases as in BUSY *busi* (biz'i) *prysur ne ymyrus* [occupatus vel se immiscens] (p. 164).

W English and *w* Welsh do not differ in sound, as WAVE *waw* (wau) *tonn ar vor* [unda maris] (p. 143), WYNE *wein* (wein) *gwin* [vinum], WYNNE *wynn* (win) *ennill* [pretium ferre]. But the English name of this letter is *dowbyl uw* (dou'bil yy), that is double *u*. And the English in teaching children to spell, take it as a consonant, and not as a vowel, or *w per se* (*u per see*) as we take it. But still we use it in the most easy mode for youth learning to read intelligently.

Also *w* is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following AWE, BOWE, WOVE, which we pronounce thus: *a* (aa) *ofyn* [terror] (p. 143), *bo* (boo) *bwa* [arcus] (p. 150), *w* (uu, wuu?) *kary* [amare, ut procus petere].

X Neither is *x* much at home in English any more than in Welsh, and the sound is *cs* (ks) or *gs* (gz) as in the words FLAXE *flacs* (flaks) *llin* [linum], AXE *ags* (agz) *bwyall* [securis]. Latin words in their passage into English or Welsh exchange *x* for *s*, as in the words CRUX CROSSE *croes*, or *crws*, EXEMPLUM *esampyl*, EXTENDO *estennaf*, EXCOMMUNICATUS *escomyn*.

Y often has the sound of the diphthong *ei* (ei, oi), as THYNE *ddein* (dhein) *tau ne eiddot* [tuus vel tibi], and its own sound as in the word THYNNE *thyn* (thên) *teneu* [gracilis] (p. 111).

y^o with a tittle like a small *e* above makes THE English, as x^o MAN *dde man* (dhe man) *y gwr* [vir ille], x^o OXE *dde ocs* (dhe oks) *yr yeh* [bos ille].

y^t with a small cross above it, is equal [21] at full to THAT *ddat* (dhat) *hyny ne yr hwn* [ille vel qui].

y^u with *u* above it, signifies THOU *ddow* (thou) *ti ne tydi* [tu].

Y, ddoedd gan yr hen scrifennyddion sasnech lythyren taran debyc i, y, ond nad oedd i throed yn gwyro i vyny val pladur val y may troet, y, ac nid antebie i llun yr *rhueinol*, y, neu i *ypsylon groec* ne *ghayn* yn hebrew ac hyd y daw im kof *ddorn* i klywais vnwaith hen ddarlledd o sais yn y he nwi vn allu an dd ni neu ar ddelta roec y doedd. Ond nid yw hi arferedie ymplith Sason er pan ddoeth kelfyddyt print yw myse onit kymeryd tan vn (y) drostei: ar (th) weithie yny lle: Ac aros hynny may yn anhaws i ddyn arallwlad dreuthy eu (th) hwy yn seisnigaidd o achos i bot ryw amser yn gwaso naythy yn lle yr hen llythyren a elwynt dorn val y gwelsoch yn eglur yny geirieu or blayn. Ac velly pan aeth y vloyseilythyr wreigaidd honno ar gy feilorn ouyse Sason y derby-nassom niner Kymbry hihi ac aethom i vloysey val mamaethod ac y ddywedyt dd dros d, th dros t, a d dros t, b ac ph, dros p, &c. Ond maddeuwch ym rhac hydd y trawschwedyl yma a mi a dalfyraf yn gynt am y sydd yn ol orllythyren ereill.

z, hefyd o yddynt yn aruer yn vawr o honei, yn lle s / yn diwedd gair val: *kynges* kings, brenhinedd. A rhai yw dodi dros m, ac eraill (peth oedd vwy yn erbyn i natur) dros gh, yn y chymeryd: val hyn *ryzt* nicht kyfiawn *knyzt* knight marchawg vrddol.

ȝ, nid llythyren yw namyn gair kyfan wedy ddefeisio yn vyrh, val y gwelwch yma / rhac mor [22] vynech y damwain ympop ymadrodd o bob ryw iaith yr hwn pan yscrifener yn llawnllythr yn llatin (*et*) vydd *and* yn saesnech: ac (ac) yn Camberace a arwyddocka.

ȝ yn y Gwydhor hon o ddisot y kynwyssir sum a chrynodeb yr holl ruwls vchot: Ac am hyny tybeid nad rhait angwauec a addyse na mwy o eglurdeb arnei / ir neb a chwenych ddarllein y llyfer or pen bwy glylydd.

a, ai	c, k	tsi	d	e	f	ff	g	c	i	l
ȝa	b	e	ch	d	e	f	ff	g	gh	h i k, l,
aw	s		d	i	f	ph	tsi	h	ci	w
l	o	k	ssi	th	uw	fi	es	ci, y	s	and
ll, m, n,	o, p, q, r, s,	ssi,	t, th,	u,	v,	w, x,	y,	z,	ȝ	
l	w	iss	dd/t/	u/	v/	gs	i	ch/m		

¶ Neu val hynn

ai	e	k	tsi	e	f	tsi	ch	ei	l	l	w	k
ȝa,	b,	c,	ch,	d,	e, f,	g,	gh,	i,	k, l,	ll,	m, n, o,	p, q,
aw	s		i	f		i	w	l				
	iss	th, t	u	v	es	ei, y	s	and				
r, s, sh,	t, th	u,	v,	w, x,	y,	z,	ȝ					
	ssi	dd	uw	f	gs	i	ch	m				

Y, The old English writers had a letter þ very much like *y*, only that the stem was not curved upward as a scythe like the stem of the *y*, and it is not unlike in shape to the Roman *x* or the Greek *upsilon* *Υ*, or the Hebrew *ghayn* *י*, and as near as I can remember, an old English reader once called the name of it *ddorn* (dhorn), and he pronounced it like our *dd* (dh) or like the Greek *delta* *δ* (dh). But it is not in use among the English since the art of printing was introduced, but *x* is sometimes used for it, and sometimes *th*. And on this account it is more difficult for a stranger to pronounce their *th* in English, because it serves sometimes the place of the letter they call *ddorn* (dhorn), as may be noticed in the foregoing remarks. So that when that effeminate lisping letter was lost from the English, it was introduced to us the Welsh, and we commenced lisping like nursing women, and to say *dd* (dh) for *d* (d), *th* (th) for *t* (t), and *d* for *t*, *b* and *ph* (f) for *p* &c. But pardon the length of this digression of speech, and I will bring my remarks respecting the other letters sooner to a close.

Z was also frequently used instead of *s* at the end of words as *KYNGEZ* *kings* (kiqz) *brenhinedd* [reges]. Some also used it for *x*, and others (which was more contrary to nature) for *ch* in the words *RYZT* *richt* (rikht) *kyfiawn* [rectus], *KNYZT* *knicht* (knikht) *marchawg* *erddol* [eques].

&. This is not a letter but an abbreviation for a whole word as may be seen from the following [22] how frequently it is used in every language. When written in full it is *et* in Latin, *and* in English, *ac* in Welsh.

¶ The table below gives a summary and the substance of all the above rules: and therefore it was not considered necessary to give more explanation or instruction respecting it to any one desirous to read the book from beginning to end.

a, ai	c, k	tsi	d	e	f	ff	g	c	i	l
ȝa	b	c	ch	d	e	f	ff	g	gh, h,	i, k, l,
aw	s		d	i	f	ph	tsi	h	ei	w
l	o	k	ssi	th,	uw,	fi	cs	ei,	s	and
ll, m, n,	o, p,	q, r, s,	ssi,	t, th,	u,	v, w, x,	y,	z	&	
l	w		iss	dd, t	u,	v	gs	i	ch, m	

¶ Or like this.

ai	c k	tsi	c	f	tsi	ch	ei	l	l	w	k
ȝa,	b, c,	ch,	d, e, f,	g,	gh,	i, k, l,	ll,	m, n, o,	p, q,		
aw	s		i	f		i	w	l		o	
	iss	th, t	u	v	cs	ei, y	s	and			
r, s, sh	t, th	u,	v,	w, x,	y,	z,	&				
	ssi	dd,	uw	f	gs	i	ch, m				

FIRST PAGE OF SALESBURY'S WELSH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

[23] [24] *blank*. [25]—

<i>¶ Kambraec</i>	<i>Sacsonaec</i>	<i>walshe</i>	<i>Englyshe</i>
A. o vlaen b.		Achwyno	Complaynt
Ab ne siak ab	An ape	Achwlwm	A rōude knot
Ab ne vab	Sonne	Achub	
Abe ne afon	A ryuer	Achub	
Aber ne hafyn	Hauen	A. o vlaen d.	
Aberth	The sacra- ment	Ad	Re, agayne
Aberth efferen	Sacryng of	Aderyn	A byrde
Aberth ne of- frwm	maffe	Adarwr	A fouler
Aberthy	Sacryfye	Adblygy	To folde a- gayne
Abledd	Hablenesse	Adec	
	habilitie	Adail	A buyldynge
Abram	Abraam	Adeilad	Bylde
Abfen	Abfence	Adefyn / edau	Z ^h rede
Abfennwr	Bachbyter	Adain	A wynges
drwe		Adain py co- Adnabot (dyn	Knowe
Abwy burgyn	Caryen	Adliw	A brayde
Abwyd	Bayte	Adnewyddy	Renewe
Abyl	Hable	Adwerth	
A. o vlaen c		Adwy bwleh	A gappe
Ac	And	Adwyth	
Acken	Accent	A. o vlaen dd.	
Ackw	Yonder	Adda	Adam
Acolit		Addas	Mete, apte
Acolidieth		Addaw	Promesse
Act	An acte	Addwyn	
A. o vlaen ch.		Addfed	Rype
Ach	Petygrewe	Addfedy	Rype
Ach diafical	Hole, founde	Addoli	Worhryp
Achwyn	Accusation	Addunet	A vowe

INDEX TO THE ENGLISH AND LATIN WORDS OF WHICH THE PRONUNCIATION
IS GIVEN OR INDICATED IN SALESBURY'S TWO TRACTS.

In the following list the words quoted from the Treatise on Welsh pronunciation are given in italics, followed by the old spelling there used by Salesbury in small capitals, and the pronunciation indicated. In that treatise the pronunciation is seldom or ever explained in Welsh letters, but some important part of it is indicated, and the rest has been added from conjecture. The numbers which follow give the pages in this work where the word is referred to, (the small upper figure being the number of the footnote,) the bracketed numbers the page of the tract as here printed, and the capitals the letters under which the words occur.

The words quoted from the Treatise on English pronunciation are in Roman letters, followed by the old spelling in small capitals, the Welsh transliteration in italics, the palaeotypic pronunciation in (), the Welsh interpretation in italics, and its translation into Latin in [], and finally references as before.

Latin words are distinguished by a prefixed †.

- adder* **ADDER** (ad'er). 766², [44]
addice **ADDES** (adh'es) provincial. 750^a, [17]
able **ABLE** *abl* (aa-b'l) [potens]. 62, 195 776, [13, E]
ale **ALE** *aal* (aal) *kwrw* [cerevisia]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
and **AND** (and). 787
all **ALL** (aul). 766², [44]
† *agnus* (aq'nus), erroneous. 62, 744¹, 767¹, [3, 46]
† *amat* (am'ath) barbarous. 759¹, [30]
archangel **ARCHANGELL** (ark'an'dzhel). 766¹, [43]
ash **ASSE** (aish). 120, 747³, [12, A],
ash **ASSHE** *aiss* (ash, aish?) *onnen* [fraxinus]. 783, [18, SH]
awe **AW** (au). 143, 762^a, [34, W]. *awe* **AWE** *a* (aa) *ofyn* [terror]. 143, 785, [19, W]
axe **AXE** *ags* (agz) *bwyal* [securis]. 62, 785, [20, X]
babe **BABE** *baab* (baab) *baban* [infans]. 62, 775, [11, B]
bake **BAKE** *baak* (baak) *poby* [coquere panem ut pistor]. 62, 777, [13, E]
bald **BALDE** *bauld* (bauld) *moel* [calvus]. 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
ball **BALL** *baul* (baul) *pel* [pila] 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
be **BEE** (bi), 754, [23, I]
bear **BERE** (beor). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
begging **BEGGYNGE** *begging* (beg'iq) *yn cardota* [mendicans]. 80, 112, 779, [14, G]
being **BRYNGE** (bi'i'iq). 766 [43]
believe **BELEUE** (biliiv'). 751¹, [18, E]
bier **BERE** (biir). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
bladder **BLADD'** *blad-der* (blad'er) *chwysigen* [vesica]. 62, 199, 777, [12, D]
bold **BOLD** *bowd* (boould) [audax] provincial. 194, 781, [17, LL]
book **BOKE** *bwk* (buuk) *llyfyr* [liber]. 99, 781, [16, K]
bow **BOWE** *bo* (boo) *bwa* [arcus]. 150, 773, 785, [8, 20, W]
bowl **BOULE** *bowel* (booul) [crater]. 194, 781, [17, O]
bread **BREDE** *bred* (breed, bred) *bara* [panis]. 79, 775, [11, B]
break **BREKE** (breck). 79, 751³, [18 E]
bringeth **BRYNGETH** (bri'geth) *not* (bri'geth). 767³, [46]
buck **BUCKE** *bwck* (buk) *bwech* [damas]. 165, 781, 785, [16, K, 20, U]
bull **BULL** *buu* (buu) [taurus] provincial. 165, 194, 781, [17, LL]
bury **BURY** (bir'r) vulgar. 111, 164, 760^a, [32, U]
business **BUSINES** (biz'ines). 766¹, [43]
busy **BUSY** (biz'r) vulgar. 111, 164, 760^a, [32, U]. *busy* **BUSY** *busi* (biz'r) *prysur ne ynyrus* [occupatus vel se inmiscens]. 112, 165, 785, [20, U]
by our lady **BYR LADY** (bei'r laa'di). 744², [5]
call **CALL** (kaul). 747³, [12, A]. *call*, **CALL** *caw* (kau) [voco]. prov. 194, 781, [17, LL]. *called* **CALLED** (kaul-ed). 766¹, [43]
calm **CALME** (caulm). 747³, [12, A]
cease **CRASSE** (secs). 766², [44]
Cheapside **CHEPESYDE** (Tsheep'seid). 752¹, [19, E]
cheek **CHECKE** (tshek). 766², [44]
cheese **CHESE** *tsis* (tshiiz) *cawes* [caseus] 79, 777, [13, E]
chief **CHEFE** *tsiff* (tshiif) *pennaf* [principes]. 779 [14, F]
church **CHURCHE** *tsurts* (tshirtsh) *eeleis* [ecclesia]: *tsiurts* (tshirtsh) *eglwys* [ecclesia]. 165, 199, 775, 779, [11, CH. 14, G]
cold **COLDE** *coold* (koould) *oer* [frigidus] 194, 781, [17, O]
comb, **COMBE** (kuum?), 766², [44]
condition **CONDICYON** *condisywn* (kondis'iun) [conditio]. 99, 112, 191, 215, 775, [11, C]
cow **COWE** *kow* (kou) *bwech* [vacca]. 773, [8]
crow **CROWE** *kro* (kroo) *bran* [cornix]. 150, 773, [8]
damage **DOMAGE** (dom'aidzh). 120, 747³, [12, A]
dart **DART** *dart* (dart) *dart* [iaculum]. 777, [12, D]
† *dederiit* (ded'erith) barbarous. 759⁴, [30, T]
defer **DIFFER** (dif'er?) 765¹⁰, [43]

- †*Dei* (dee'ei). 80, 111, 744¹, [4]
deny DENYE (dinei'?) 765¹⁰, [43]; the second word meant by DENYE, has not been identified.
†*dico* (dei'ku). 111, 744¹, [4]
differ DIFFER (difer?) 765¹⁰, [43]
discomfited DISCOMFYTED (diskum'fited). 766¹, [43]
disfigure (disvig'yyr) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
ditches DYCHES *deitsys* (deitsh'in) *fossydd* [fossae]. 111, 779, [14, E]
do do (dum). 93, 758², [28, O]
doe DOE (doo). 93, 758¹, [28, O]
double 1 *duchyl 1* (dub'il el). 781, [17, LL]. *double u* *duchyl uw* (dou'bil yy). 150, 785, [20, W]
drinking DRINKING (driqk'iq). 754³, [23, I]
duke DUKE duwk (dyk) *duc* [dux]. 165, 777, [12, D]
dumb DOMBE (dum). 766², [44]
ease EASE *ies, ces* ? (jeez, eez?) *esmyth-dra* [otium]. 80, 775, [11, A]
eel ELE (iil). 766², [44]
egg EGGE *eg* (eg) *wy* [ovum]. 80, 779, [14, G]
†*ego* (egu). 80, 744¹, [4]
emperoure EMPEROURE *emperor* (em'pcur) *ymeraotr* [imperator]. 150, 199, 777, [12, E]
engine ENGYN (en'dzhin). 766², [44]
ever EVER (ev'er). 766¹, [43]
evermore EVERMORE *efernwor* (ev'er-muur, ev'ermwor?) *tragowydd* [semper]. 79, 99, 199, 777, [12, E]
exhibition EXHIBITION *esibisiun* (eksibisi'un) *kynheilacth* [expositio]. 99, 112, 191, 215, 781, [15, H]
face FACE *ffas* (faas) *wynneb* [facies]. 62, 775, [11, O]. *faces* FACES *ffaces* *ffases* ? (faas'ez) *wynnebu* [facies]. 779, [14, E]
fall FALL (faul). 766², [44]
father ? FEDDER ? (fedh'er) provincial. 750⁸, [17, D]
fiend FEND (fend). 766¹, [43]
fish FYSH, FYSHE (fish, vish) provincial. 753¹, 766², [20, F, 44]
†*five* FIVE (veiv) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
flax FLAXE *flaes* (flaks) *lin* [linum]. 62, 785, [20, X]
fool FOLE *ffol* (fuul) *ffol ne ynuyd* [stultus]. 99, 779, [14, F]
four FOURE (vour) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
†*fox* FOX (voks) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
friends, FRENDES *frinds* (friindz) *kereint* [amici]. 79, 80, 777, 779, [13, E]
gallant, GALAUNT galawnt (gal'aunt) [fortis]. 62, 143, 190, 779, [14, G]
gelding, GELDING gelding (geld'iq) [canterius]. 80, 112, 779, [14, G]
gender GENDER (dzhend'er). 766², [44]
gentle GENTYLL. 781, [16, I]
George GEORGE (Dzhordzh). 753⁸, [21, G]
get GGET (get). 766¹, [43]
Gh GH *ch* (kh). 779, [15, GH]
Gilbert, GYLBERT gilbert (gil'bert). 80, 112, 199, 779, [14, G]
ginger GYNGER (dzhin'dzher). 80, 753⁸, [21, G]; *tsintair* (dzhin'dzher) *sinsir* [zinziber]. 80, 112, 199, 779, [14, G]
God GODDE (God). 752², [19, E]. *God, God* (god) *dyw* [deus]. 99, 779, [14, G] *God be with you, God BE WYTH you, God biwio* (God biu'wio). 112, 773, [8]
gold GOLDE (goold). 752¹, [19, E]
good GOOD *gud* (gud gund) *da* [bonus]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
goodness GOODNESSE (gud'nes). 752², [19, E]
gracious GRACYOUSE *grasiws* (graa'si,us) *rraddlaen* [gratiosus]. 62, 112, 150, 215, 775, [11, C]
gut GUTTE *gut* (gut) *coluddyn* [intestinum]. 165, 779, [14, G]
habergeon HABREIGUNE HEBERGYN. 781, [16, I]
habit HABITE (ab'it). 220, 754¹, [22, H]
habitation HABITATION (abitaa'sium). 220, 754¹, where (abitee'shun) is erroneously given as the pronunciation, [22, H]
hand HANDE *hand* (hand) *llaw* [una manus]. 62, 783, [18, S]. *hands* HANDES *hands* (handz) *llawce ne ddwylo* [duae vel plures manus]. 62, 783, [18, S]
hard HARD (hard). 753⁸, [22, H]
hart HART (hart). 753⁸, [22, H], and see heart
have HAUVE *haf* (hav) *hwde* [accipe]. 62, 779, [15, H]
heal HELE (heel). 79, 753⁸, [19, E]
heard HEARD (herd?). 753⁸, [22, H]
heart hart HART *hart* (hart) *calon ne carw* [cor vel cervus]. 779, [15, H]
heel HELE (hiil). 79, 751⁸, [19, E]
hem HEMME (hem). 752², [19, E]
heritage (her'itaidzh). 120, 747⁸, [12, A]
him HIM (him). 766¹, [43]
holly see holy
holy holly, HOLY *holy* (hoo'li hol'ol) *santaidd ne kelyn* [sanctus vel aquifolium]. 99, 112, 779, [15, H]

- honest* HONEST (on'est). 220, 754¹, [22, H]. *honest* HONESTE *onest* (on'est) [honestus]. 99, 781, [15, H]
- honour* HONOUR (on'or) 220, 766², [44]. *honour* HONORE *onor* (on'or) *aur-hydded* [honos]. 99, 150, 199, 781, [15, H]
- hope* HOPE *hoop* (hoop) *gobeith* [spes]. 99, 777, [13, E]
- horrible* HORRIBLE (hor'ibl). 766¹, [43]
- hour* HOURS (our), 759, [30, R]
- HUBERDEN (Hib'erden) vulgar. 111, 164, 760, [32, 33, U]
- humble* HUMBLE (am'bl). 220, 754¹, [22, H]
- humour* HUMOUR (hyy'mur). 766², [44]
- hurt* HURT (hurt). 753², [22, H]
- I* (ei). 754¹, [23, I]. *I* *i* *ei* (ei, oi) *mi* [ego]. 111, 781, [16, I]
- idle* YDLE (eid'l). 766², [44]
- ignis* (iq'nis) bad. 767, [46]
- ill* YLL (il). 766¹, [43]
- in* YN (in). 763¹, 766¹, [35, Y. 44]
- is* YS (iz). 763¹, [35, Y]
- itch* ITCH (itsh). 766¹, [43]
- jaundice* IAUNDICE (dzhaun'dis). 766², [44]
- jealousy* GELOUSYE. 781, [16, I]
- Jesu*, *Iesu* *tsiesuw* (Dzheez'zyy) *Jesu* [Jesus]. 80, 165, 781, [16, I] *Jcsus* *JESUS* (Dzheez'sus). 754, [23, I]
- John* IOHN *tsion sion* (Dzhon Shon) *Ieuan* [Johannes]. 99, 781, [16, I]
- joint* IOYNT *tsioynt* (dzhoimt) *kymal* [junetura]. 131, 781, [16, I]
- Kent* KENT. 781, [16, K]
- king* KYNGE *king* (kiq) *brenhin* [rex]. 781, [16, K]. *kings* KYNGES (kiq'es) *not* (kiq'ges). 767, [46]. *kings*, *KYNGES* *kings* (kiqz) *brenhinedd* [reges]. 112, 777, 779, [13, E] *KINGEZ*. 787, [21, Z]
- kissed* KEST (kist ?), 766¹, [43]
- knight* KNYZT *kniht* (kniht) *mar-chawg* *erddol* [eques]. 112, 787, [21, Z]
- knot* KNOT (knot) *kwlwm* [nodus]. 781, [16, K]
- lad* LAD (lad) *bachken* [juvenis]. 781, [16, L]
- ladder* LADDRE *lad-dr* (lad'er) *yscol* [scala]. 62, 79, 199, 777, [12, D]
- lady* LADY *ladi* (laa'di) *arghcyddes* [domina]. 62, 112, 781, [16, L]
- language* LANGUAGE (laq'gwaidzh). 120¹, 747³, [12, A]
- lash* LASHE (laish). 747², [12, A]
- lay* LAYE (lai). 766¹, [43]
- leave* LEAVE *leef*. *leef* ? (Jeev, leev ?) *kenad* [venia, licentia]. 80, 775, [11, A]
- legit* (liidzhith) bad. 767¹, [46]
- lily* LYLY *lili* (lil-i) [lilium]. 112, 781, [16, L]
- loved* LOVED (luvd) *carwn* [amavi]. 777, [12, D]
- low* LOWE *low* (lou, loou ?) *lowio* [mugire]. 150, 773, [8]
- luck* LUCKE (luk). 760², [33, U]
- lust* LUST *lost* (lust) *chwant* [libido]. 165, 785, [20, U]
- †magnus* (maq'nus) bad. 767, [46]
- majesty* MAIESTE (madzh'esti). 754, [23, I]. *majesty*, *MAIESTIE*. 781, [16, I]
- man* MANNE (man). 753², [19, E]. *man* *man* (man) *gwr* [vir]. 62, 781, [17, M, N]
- maze* MASE *maas* (maaz) *madrondot* [stupor]. 62, 783, [18, S]
- meal* MELE (meel). 79, 751², [19, E]
- meal* ? MELE (mil). 79, 751², [19, E]
- men* *men* (men) *gwyri* [viri]. 781, [17, M, N]
- Michael* MYCHAEAL (mei'kel ?). 749², 766¹, [16, CH. 43]
- Michaelmas* MYCHAEELMAS (Mik'el-mas ?). 749², [16, CH]
- might* MYCHT (mi'kht) Scottish. 749¹, [15, CH]
- †mihi* (mi'hi) correctly. 779, [15, GH]
- much good do it you* MUCH GOOD DO IT YOU *mychyoditio* (mits'h'good-itro). 165, 744², [5]
- murmuring* MURMURYNGE (mur'muriq) 766¹, [43]
- muse* MUSE *muwics* (myyz) *meuyrio* [meditari]. 165, 783, [18, S]
- nag* NAGGE *nag* (nag) *keffylyn* [manus]. 62, 779, [14, G]
- nail* NAYLE *nayl* (na'il) *ewin ne hoyl* *hayarn* [unguis vel ferreus clavis]. 119, 783, [18, S]. *nails*, *NAYLES* *nayls* (nailz) *ewinedd ne hoytion heyrn* [ungues vel ferrei clavi]. 783, [18, S]
- net* UETTE (net). 752², [19, E]
- nigh* NIGH (nikh). 754¹, [23, I]
- †nichil* (nich'il) correctly. 779, [15, GH]
- narrow* NARROWE *narrow* (naru) *kyfing* [angustus]. 61, 62, 150, 773, [8]
- not* NOT (not). 766¹, [43]
- now* NOWE *nou* (nou) *yn awr* [nunc]. 150, 773, [8]

- oranges ORANGES *oreintsys* (or'eindzhiz) *afale orayds* [aurantia]. 99, 190, 779, [14, E]
 ousel OSYLL (unzel?). 766², [44]
 over OUER (ov'er). 766¹, [43]
 ox OXE ocs (oks) *yeh* [bos]. 99, 785, [20, Y^e]
 pale, PALE *paal* (paal) [pallidus]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
 pap PAPPE *papp* (pap) *bron gwraic ne ywed* [mamma vel infantum cibus]. 62, 783, [17, P]
 paper PAPPYR *pappyr* (paa'pir) [papyrus]. 62, 112, 199, 783, [17, P]
 pen PENNE. 783, [17, P]
 pear PERE (peer). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
 peer PERE (piir). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
 plague PLAAGE *plaag* (plaag) *pla* [pestis] 62, 779, [14, G]
 poor POORE *puur* (puur) *tlawd* [pauper]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
 Portugal PORTUGAL (Port'iggal), corrupt. 757, [27, N]
 potager POTAGER (pot'andzher?), corrupt. 757³, [27, N]
 prevailed PREVAILED (prevaild?). 766¹, [43]
 prohibition PROHIBITION *proibisiwn* (proo'ibis'i,un) *gwahardd* [prohibition]. 99, 112, 191, 215, 781, [15, H]
 proved PROVIDE (pruuv'ed?) 765¹⁰, [43]
 provide PROVIDE (provid'?) 765¹⁰, [43]
 pureness PURENES (pyy'nes). 752¹, [19, E]
 quail QUAYLE *sofyliar* [coturnix]. 119, 783, [18, Q]
 quarter QUARTER *kwarter* (kwart'er) *chwarter* [quarta pars]. 62, 165, 199, 783, [18, Q]
 queen QUENE *kwin* (kwiin) *brenhines* [regina]. 80, 165, 783, [18, Q]
 †qui (kwei). 111, 744¹, [4]
 †quid (kwith) bad. 767, [46]
 rail RAYLE *rayl* (rail) *canllaw* [cancel-lus]. 119, 783, [18, S]. rails RAYLES rays (railz) *canllawen ne ederin regen yr yd* [cancelli vel creces pratenses]. 119, 783, [18, S]
 ravening RAVENYNG (rav'enig). 766¹, [43]
 reason REASON (reez'un). 766², [44]
 rent RENT *rent* (rent) [scissura]. 80, 783, [18, R]
 right RIGHT (rikht). 754³, [23, I]
 right RYGHTRICHT (rikht) *iawen* [rectus]. 783, [18, R]. RYZT *richt* (rikht) *kyfiawen* [rectus]. 112, 787, [21, Z]
 ringing RINGING (riq'iq). 754³, [23, I]
 rings RYNGES (riq'ies) not (riq'ges). 767, [46]
 roe ROE (roo). 93, 758¹, [28, O]
 rose ROS *ros ne rosim* [rosa]. 99, 783, [18, R]
 sable SABLE *sabl* (saa'b'l) [niger]. 62, 195, 777, [13, E]
 saddle SADDLELL [ephippium]. 777, [13, E]
 †saul (saul) bad. 767, [46]
 sale SALH *sal saal* [venditio]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
 †sanctus (san'tus) bad. 767, [46]
 Satan SATAN (Saa'tan). 766¹, [43]
 school SCHOLE *scuol* (skuul) *yacol* [schola]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
 sea, SEA *see* (sec) *mor* [mare]. 80, 775, [11, A]
 season SEASON (seez'un). 766², [44]. SEASON SEASON *seesyn* (secz'in) *amser amserawl ne amser kyfaddas* [tempestas, tempestivus vel occasio]. 80, 99, 783, [18, S]
 see SEE (sii). 754, [23, I]
 shape SHAPPE *ssiapp* (shap) *gwedd ne lun* [species vel forma]. 62, 783, [18, SH]
 sheep SHEPE *ssiip* (shiip) *dauad ne ddeuied* [ovis vel oves]. 783, [18, SH]
 sieve CYUE (siv). 766², [44]
 sight SIGHT (sikht). 754³, [23, I]
 sign SIGNE (sein). 111, 744², [5]
 silk SYLKE (silk). 752¹, [19, E]
 sin SYNNE (sin). 763, [35, Y]
 singeth SYNGETH (siq'eth) not (siq'geth) 767, [46]
 singing SINGING (siq'iq). 754, [23, I]
 sir SYR *syrr* (sir) [dominus]. 199, 783, [18, S]
 so so so (soo) *velly* [sic]. 93, 781, [17, O]
 †soul (sooul) bad. 767, [46]
 sparrow, SPAROWE *sparuo* (spar'u) *ederyn y to* [passer]. 61, 62, 150, 773, [8]
 suffer, SUFFRE *swfffer* (suffer) *diaddef* [pati]. 80, 165, 199, 779, [14, F]
 sure SURE (syrr). 164, 760⁶, [33, U]
 syllable SYLLABLE (sil'ab'l) 755², [25, L]
 tents TENTES *tents* (tents) *pepyll* [tentoria]. 777, 779, [13, E]
 thank TIANKE (thaqk). 219, 750⁵, [17, D]
 that (dhat) 219, 750⁴, 760², 766², [16, D. 31, T.II. 44]. that, THAT *xt ddat* (dhat *hyny ne yr hwn* [ille vel qui]. 62, 219, 785, [21, Y^e]
 Thavies Inn THAVIES INNE (Dav'iz In). 219, 760³, 766¹, [32, TH. 44]

- the* **THE** (dhe) 750¹, 766¹, [16, D. 43]
the, **THE** *ye dde* (dhe) *y* [ille]. 80,
 219, 785, [20, Ye]
thick **THYCKE** (thik). 219, 760¹, [31,
 TH]
thin **THYNNE** (thin) 750⁵, 760¹, 763¹,
 [16, D. 31, TH. 35, Y] *thin*, **THYNNE**
thynn (thin) *teneu* [gracilis]. 111,
 219, 785, [20, Y]
thine **THYNE** (dhein). 750⁴, 760², [16,
 D. 31, TH] *thine*, **THYNE** *ddein*
 (dhein) *tau ne eiddot* [tuus vel tibi].
 111, 219, 785, [20, Y]
this **THYS** (dhis). 219, 750⁴, 760², [16,
 D. 31, TH]. *this* **THIS** *ddys* (dhis)
hwen, *hon ne hyn* [hic haec vel hoc].
 112, 219, 785, [19, TH]
thistle **THYSTLE** *thystl* (this'til) *yscall*
 [carduus]. 112, 219, 785, [19, TH]
Thomas **THOMAS** (Tom'as) 760³, 766²,
 [32, TH. 44]. *Thomas* **THOMAS** *tomas*
 (Tom'as). 99, 219, 785, [19, TH]
thorough **THOROWE** (thur'u). 219, 760¹,
 766¹, [31, TH. 43]
thou **THOU** (dhou). 219, 760², 766¹,
 [31, TH. 43]. *thou* **THOU** *yu ddoio*
 (dhou) *ti ne tydi*, [tu]. 150, 219,
 785, [21, Y^u]
three **THREE** (thrii). 754, [23, I]
throne (truun?). 760³, [32, TH]. *throne*
THRONE *trwn* (truun) *pell* [solium].
 99, 219, 785, [19, TH]
through **THROUGH** *thruwch* (thruukh)
trywodd [per]. 219, 783, [19, TH]
thunder **THONDRE** *thundr* (thun'd'r)
 [tonitru]. 79, 99, 199, 777, [13, E]
†tibi (tei'bei). 111, 744¹, 754, [4,
 23, I]
to **TO** (tuu). 758², [28, O]. *to* **TO** *two*
 (tu) *ar*, *at*, *i*, [ad]. 93, 99, 781,
 [17, O]
toe **TOE** (too). 758¹, [28, O]. *toe*, **TO** *to*
 (too) *bys troet* [digitus pedis]. 93,
 99, 781, [17, O]
toll **TOLLE** *towl* (tooul) *toll* [vectigal].
 194, 781, [17, O]
†tollis (tooul'is), bad. 744¹, [4]
top, **TOP** *top* (top) *neu* [vertex]. 99,
 783, [19, T]
tormented **TORMENTED** (torment'ed).
 766¹, [43]
tower **TOURE** *towr* (tour) *twr* [turris].
 783, [19, F]
treasure **THREASURE** (tree'zyr). 760²,
 [32, TH]. *treasure* **TRESURE** *tresuwr*
 (trez'yyr) *trysoor* [thesaurus]. 80, 165,
 199, 215, 219, 783, [19, T]
treas **TREES** *triys* (tri'i'iz) *premeu*
 [arbores]. 80, 779, [14, E]
trow **TROWE** *tro* (troo) *tybyeid* [opinor].
 150, 773, [8]
true **TRUE** *truw* (tryy) *kywir* [verus].
 165, 785, [19, U]
trust **TRUST** (trist) vulgar. 111, 164,
 760⁵, [32, U]
†tu (tyy) bad. 767, [46]
twinkle **TWYNCLE** *twinkl* (twi'qk'li)
 [seintillare]. 112, 195, 777, [13, E]
two **TWO** (tuu). 758², [28, O]. *two* **TWO**
tw (tuu) *dau* [duo]. 93, 99, 781,
 [17, O]
uncle **VNKLE** (nuqk'l). 744², 766², [5,
 44]
vain *see* *vein*
valiant **VALLANT** (val'iant) 766¹, [43]
vein **VAIN** *vayne* *vayn* (vain) *gwythen*
ne wae [vena vel vanus]. 119, 785,
 [19, U]
velvet **VELUET** *velfet* (vel'vet) *melfet*
 [holosericum]. 80, 785, [19, U]
†vidi (vei'dei). 754, [23, I]
villanus **FILLAYNOUS** (vil'anus). 766¹,
 [43]
vine **VYNE** *vein* (vein) *gwin wydden*
 [vitis]. 111, 119, 785, [19, U]
virtue **VERTUE** *vertuw* (ver'tyy) *rhin-*
wedd [virtus]. 80, 165, 199, 785,
 [19, U]
wall **WALL** *wawl* (waul) *gwai* [murus].
 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
wash **WASSHE** *waiss* (wash, waish?)
golchi [lavare]. 783, [18, SH]
watch (waitsh). 120, 747, [12, A]
wave *see* *waw*
waw **WAVE** *waw* (wau) *tomn ar vor*
 [unda maris]. 143, 785, [20, W]
we **WEE** (wii). 751⁴, 754, [18, E. 23, I]
weir **WERE** (weer) 79, 751³, [18, E]
wide **WYDE** (weid). 763², [35, Y]
win **WYNNE** (win). 763¹, [35, Y]. *win*
WYNNE *wynn* (win) *emull* [pretium
 ferre]. 112, 785, [20, W]
wind **WYNGE**? (weind). 763², [35, Y]
wine **WYNE** *wein* (wein) *gwin* [vinum].
 111, 785, [20, W]
winking **WINKING** (wiqk'iq). 754³,
 [23, I]
wish **WYSHE** (wish). 752², [19, E]
with **WYTH** (with). 143, 219, 750⁵,
 762⁵, [17, D. 34, W]
wonder **WONDRE** *wondr* (wun'd'r) [mi-
 raculum]. 79, 99, 185, 199, 777,
 [13, E]
woo **WOWE** *w* (uu, wuu?) *kary* [amarc,
 ut procus petere]. 93, 150, 185, 785,
 [20, W]
worship **WORSHIPPE** (wur'ship). 752²,
 [19, E]
worthy **WORTHYE** (wurdhi). 766¹, [43]

wot WOTTE (wot). 752², [19, E]
 wreek WÆKE (wreck = iweck). 79,
 751³, [18, E]
 wrest WRESTE (wrest = iwest). 79, 751³,
 [18, E]
 wrinkle WRYNCLE *wrinkl* (wriqk'1 =
 riciqk'1) [ruga]. 112, 195, 777, [13,
 E]
 yard YARDE (jard). 755², [24 I]
 yawn YANE (jaun). 755², [24, I]
 yea YEA ie (see) [etiam]. 80, 775, [11, A]

year YERE (jeer). 755², [24, I]
 yell YELL (jel). 755², [24, I]
 yellow YELOW (jel-u). 755², [24, I]
 yield YELDE (jild). 755², [24, I]
 yielding I-ELDINGE (jild-iq). 766¹,
 [43]
 yoke YOK (jook). 755², [24, I]
 York YORKE (jork). 755², [24, I]
 you YOU (juu). 755², [24, I]
 young YONG (jug). 755², [24, I]
 youth YOUTH (juuth). 755², [24, I]

§ 3. John Hart's Phonetic Writing, 1569, and the Pronunciation of French in XVIth Century.

Since the account of John Hart's *Orthographie* (p. 35) was in type, the original manuscript of his "former treatise," bearing date 1551, has been identified in the British Museum, and some account of it is given in the annexed footnote.¹ It may be observed that

¹ Mr. Brock, who is ever on the look out for unpublished treatises interesting to the Early English Text Society, called my attention, through Mr. Furnivall, to the MS. Reg. 17. C. vii., which was described in the printed catalogue of those MSS. as "John Hare's Censure of the English Language, A.D. 1551, paper." It is a small thin quarto of 117 folios, the first two pages not numbered, and the others paged from 1 to 230, 19 lines in a page, about 7 words in a line, in a fine English hand of the XVIth century, carefully but peculiarly spelled, by no means according to Hart's recommendations. The Latin quotations are in an Italian hand. It was labelled on the back "Hare on the English Language." Being desirous of getting at the author's account of our sounds, when I examined the MS. on 28 Oct. 1868, I skipped the preliminary matter and at once attacked the 6th and 8th chapters; "Of the powers and shaping of letters, and first of the voels," and "of the affinite of consonants." I was immediately struck with many peculiarities of expression and opinion which I was familiar with in Hart's *Orthographie*, and no other book. On turning to the dedication to Edward VI., I found (p. 4, l. 8.) the name of the author distinctly as John Hart, not Hare, although the t was written so as to mislead a cursory reader, but not one familiar with the handwriting. Then,

similarly, in Hart's *Orthographie* the author's name is mentioned in the dedication: "To the doubtfull of the English *Orthographie* John Hart Chester heralt wisheth all health and prosperitie," which had not been observed when p. 35, l. 20, was printed, and not on the title. On comparing this printed book with the MS. I found many passages and quotations verbatim the same; see especially the first chapters of the MS. and printed book "what letters ar, and of their right use," where *right* is not in the MS. The identity was thus securely established, and the MS. has consequently been re-lettered: "Hart on English Orthography, 1551."

The title of the MS. is: "The Opening of the unreasonable writing of our inglish tounge: wherein is shewid what necessarili is to be left, and what folowed for the perfect writing therof." And the following lines, on the fly leaf, in the author's hand-writing, seem to shew that this first draught, thus curiously brought to light after 317 years' repose, was never intended for publication, but was perhaps to be followed by another treatise, which was of course the printed book.

"The Booke to the Author.

"Father, keep me still with the, I the pray
 least Abuse shuld me furiously de-
 voure:

his pronunciation remained practically constant during these eighteen years, and the chief difference of the treatises is the greater extent of the second, and the important introduction of a phonetic alphabet, followed by a full example.

or shut me up from the lyght of the
day:
whom to resist I doubt to have the
power.

"The Author to the Booke.

"Fear not my sonne, though he doo
on the lower,
for Reason doth the everiwhere de-
fend:

But yf thou maist not now the thing
amend

I shal send thie brother soom luk-
kier hower,

yf Atropos doo not hast my lyves
end,

to confound Abuses lothsoom looks
sower."

"Abuse," meaning the wrongful use of letters, that is applying them to sounds for which they were not intended in the Latin alphabet, is a favourite term of Hart's, and with the curious orthography *voel* for *vowel*, led me to suspect the real author from the first. The following description of the vowels is slightly different from, and must be considered as supplementary to those given above in the pages hereafter cited; the bracket figures give the pages of the MS. A few remarks are also inserted in brackets.

"[77] Lett us begin then with an opened mouth so mouch as a man may (though lesse wold serve) therewith sounding from the breast, and he shall of force bring forth one simple sound which we mark with the a (p. 63): and making your mouth lesse so as the inner part of your tounge may touch the lyke inner part of your [78] upper iowes you shall with your voice from your brest make that sound wherefore we doo often (and shuld alwais) writ the e (p. 80): then somthing your tounge further furth with your iowes, leaving but the forepart open, and your sound from the brest wil make the voice wherefore we doo often (and shuld alwais) write the i: forthli a man making his lippes in souch a round, as the compasse of the topp of his litell finger (his teeth not touching, nor tounge the upper iowes) with the sound from the brest he shall make the simple

voice wherefore we doo often (and shuld alwais) writ the o (p. 93); and last of all holding so stil his tounge and teeth untoucht shrinking his lippes to so litell a hole as the breath may issue, with the sound from [79] the breast he shal of force make that simple voice wherefore we doo sometimes rightly (and shuld alwais) write the u [certainly (u) here]. . . . [81]. Now as for the a, we use in his proper power as we ought, and as other nations have alwais doono (p. 63). But I find that we abuse all the others, and first of the e, which most communly we use properly: as in theis wordes better and ever: but often we change his sound making yt to usurp the power of the i, as in we, be & he (p. 80), in which sound we use the i properly: as in theis wordes sinne, in and him. Wherefore this letter e, shuld have his auncient sound as other nations use yt, and which is as we sound yt in better and ever. The profit thereof shuldbbe, that [83] we shuld not feare the mystating of his sound in i: as we have longe doon: and therefore (and partly for lak of a note for time) we have communly abused the diphthongs ey or ei, ay or ai and ea: to the great increase of our labour, confusyon of the letters, in depriving them of their right powers, and uncertainte to the reader. [In this booke Hart proposes either the circumflex or reduplication as the mark of quantity]. For the voel e, dooth of voice import so moche in better and ever and in mani other wordes and sillables, as we doo communly use to pronounce the diphthongs ey or ei, ai, or ay, or the ea, except yt be when they are seperate and fre from diphthong whiche to signifie we ought to use an accent as shalbe said. [He proposes the hyphen.] Then the i, we abuse two wais: the first is in that we geve it a brode sound (contrary to all peoples but the Scotts: as in this sentence, [83] he borrowed a swerd from bi a mans side to save thie life: where we sound the i in bi, side, thio and life as we shuld doo the ei diphthong . . . The other ab-[84]-use of the i, is that we make yt a consonant

This pronunciation cannot have been in all respects the prevalent and received pronunciation of his time, for Hart frequently disagrees with Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Bullokar, and Dr. Gill

without any diversifyng of his shape from the voell . . . [86] The forth now is the o, whose abuse (for that it cometh onli by leaving the proper use of the u) causeth me to speak upon the u. We abuse [87] the u, two wais the one is in consonant indifferentli with bothe his figures u and v . . . [88]. The other abuse of the u, is that we sound yt as the Skottes and French men doo, in theis wordes gud and fust [89]: Wheras most communely we our selves (which the Grekes, Latines, the vulgar Italiens, and Germaines with others doo alwais) kepe his true sound: as in theis wordes, but, unto, and further. [This thoroughly excludes all suspicion of an (ə) sound.] Yf you marke well his uzurped sound in gud and fust (and others of the Skottish and french abuse) you shal find the sound of the diphthong iu, keping both the i and u, in their proper vertu, both in sound and voel, as afore is said we ought: sounding yt in that voice wherefore we now abuse to write, you." The identification with the French and Scotch sounds ought to imply that that long *u* was (yy), but its dentification with you makes it (ju); Hart however, in his orthographie also rises (iu) for both sounds, as in the passage reprobated by Gill, *suprà* p. 122, where he writes you use as (iu iuz); yet if any value is to be attributed to his description of long *u*, *suprà* p. 167, he certainly meant (ju yyz) and it was only his notation which led him into an ambiguity which also deceived Gill. But here it is evident that he had not yet heard the difference between *yew*, *you*, which Sir T. Smith writes (yy, iu), p. 166. This therefore may be a case of education of the ear. He asks now: "What difference find you betwixt the sound of you, and u in gud and fust? Wherefore yf our predecessours have thought it necessari to take three voels for that voice, which in another place [90] they (observing derivations) writ with one, there appeareth to be a confusion and uncertainte of the powers of letters, as they used theim. Lett us then receive the perfet meane betwixt theis two doubtfull extremities; and use the diphthong iu alwais for the sound of

you, and of u in sner, shut & bruer, and souch lyke, writing theim thus shiut, siuer, briuer:" does the word *shut shiut* mean *suit* or *shoot*? see *suprà* p. 216, n. 1, "wherefore in our writings, we need carefulli to put a sufficient difference, betwixt the u and n: as theis and the printes geve sufficient example. Now see you whether we doo well to writ the o in theis wordes do, to & other (signifyng in latine *alius*) when yt ys the proper sound of the n: or for [91] the lyke sound to dooble the o: as in poore, good, root, and souch like of that sound: but I find the same dooble o, writen with reason in some wordes, when yt signifyeth the longer time: as in moost, goost and goo. . . . [95] Then the nombre of our voels is five as the Grekes (concerning voice) the Latines, the Germaines, the Italiens, the Spayneyardes and others have alwais had, declared in souch their singular power, as they haue and doe, use theim. . . . [96] a diphthong is a ioinyng of two voels in one syllable keping their proper sound, onli somewhat shortening the quantite of the first to the longer quantite of the last (p. 132): which is the onli diversite that a diphthong hath, from two voels commyng together yet serving for two syllables, and therefore ought to be marked with the figure *διαιρεσις*, as shalbe said." Among the diphthongs he places first *y* considered as Greek *υι*, and recommends its disuse, and then *u* considered as *uu*, for which he would write *u*. [101] "Wherefore we take the usingle to have so moch power as the w: for this figure u, shall not (or ought not) henceforth be abused in consonant, nor in the skottish and french sound. Then may we well writ for when, writ and what, thus huen, urit and huat: and so if their lyke, cleane forsaking the w. Now the ea, so often as I see yt abused in diphthong, it is for the sound of the long e: wherin is the necessite spoken of, for the use of a mark, for the accident of longer time (as hereafter shalbe said) for that the sound e length-[102]-ned wil serve for the commune abused diphthongs ea, ai or ay and ei or ey (p. 122): the powers of which voels we now myx together con-

especially reprobates his pronunciation in many particulars (p. 122). Still we can hardly refuse to believe that Hart tried to exhibit that pronunciation of which he himself made use, and which he conceived to be that which others either did or should employ. Moreover his work contains the earliest connected specimen of phonetic English writing which I have met with, as Palsgrave, Salesbury, and Smith only gave isolated words or phrases. Although Hart's book has been reproduced by Mr. Isaac Pitman, the ordinary spelling in phonetic shorthand, and the phonetic portion in facsimile writing (with tolerable but not perfect accuracy), yet as many persons would be unable to read the shorthand, and would not therefore obtain a proper knowledge of the meaning of the other portion, and as it is desirable, also, to reduce all these phonetic accounts of English spelling to the one standard of palæotype for the purposes of comparison, I have thought it best to annex the whole of the last Chapter of Hart's book, according to my own interpretation. This Chapter gives Hart's notions of contemporary French pronunciation, a subject which has been already so much alluded to in Chap. III., that the remainder of this section will be devoted to it. Hart does not admit of (w, j) but uses (u, i) for them, even in such words as *which*, *write*, which he exhibits as (wuitsh, ureit). I have elsewhere restored the (w, j) which were certainly pronounced, but in this transliteration it seemed best to follow him exactly in the

fuzibli making the sound of the same long e, and not of any parfait diphthong: as in theis examples of the ea in feare which we pronounce sounding no part of the a. And for the ai or ay, as in this word faire pronouncing nether the a, or i, or y: also yn saieith where we abuse a thriphthong. Also ei or ey we pronounce not in theis wordes theine and theym, and souch lyke: where we sound the e long as in all the others. Now for the ee, we abuse in the sound of [103] the i long: as in this sentence, Take heed the birdes doo not feed on our seed: also for the ie in thief and priest: in likewise for the eo, as in people, we onli sound the i long. We also abuse the eo in the sound of the u voel as in ieoperdi, which we pronounce inperdie. The oo we have abused as afore is said. . . . Now lett us understand how part of this foresaid and others shall serve us, and doo [104] us great pleasure: even as roules necessari for us lykely to contrefait the image of our pronunciation. First the au is rightly used (p. 144), as in paul and lau, but not law. Then the ua, is wel used in uarre, for warre: and in huat for what. Further the ei, is wel and properli used in bei for by: in leif, for lyfe: and in seid, for syde

(p. 113). Also eu, we use properli in feu for few: in deu, for dew, and souch lyke (p. 139). The ue, as in question: in huen, for when: in uel, for well. Also the iu as in triuth, for truth: in rebiuk, for rebuke: and in riule for rule. And the ui alone for our [105] false sounding of we: and as in huich for which: uitness for wittnesse, and souch like: [this he identifies with Greek ui] . . . [106] writ for young, yoke and beyond, iong, ioke, and beyond. Then the oi is wel used in appoint, enjoi, poison, and a hoi barke, [here there is a difference from his later orthography (huci) (p. 132)]. And not to be over tedious, we use aright this diphthong ou in house, out, our and about (p. 152): wherein we may perceive how we have kept the auncient power of the u: the same diphthong ou, being sounded farre otherwise then in bloud, souch and should, as some ignorantli writ theim, when we pronounce but the u, in hyr proper sound." This use of ou for (u) is frequent in this MS. *souch*, *toung*, *mouch*, being common forms. The above extracts seem to possess sufficient interest to admit of reproduction, but the work itself is entirely superseded by the later edition.

use of (u, i). Hart also systematically employs (iu) for long *u*, but, as I have already pointed out (p. 167) and as will appear in the course of this example, he meant the French *u*=(yy), and I have therefore restored that orthography, to prevent ambiguity. Where however *iu* clearly meant (ju, i, u), the latter forms are used. Hart does not mark the place of the accent, but uses an acute accent over a vowel occasionally to mark that it was followed by a doubled consonant in the old orthography.¹ This acute accent is retained, but the position of the accent is marked conjecturally as usual. Hart uses a dash preceding a word to indicate capitals, thus /italian; I give the indicated capital. His diæresis is represented by (,) as usual. There are, no doubt, many errors in the marking of long vowels, which were indicated by underdotting, but I have left the quantity as I found it. The (s, z) are also left in Hart's confused state. As I can find no reason for supposing short *i* to have been (ɨ) in Hart, although I believe that that was his real pronunciation, I employ (i) throughout. The frequent foreign words, and all others in the usual spelling, are printed in *italics*. The foreign words serve partly to fix the value of Hart's symbols.

Exam'p'ls hou ser'ten udh'er nas'ions du sound dheer lét'ers, both in Latin, and in dheer mudh'er tuq, dherbei' tu kno dhe beet'er hou tu pronouns' dheer spii'tsh'es, and so tu riid dhem as dhee du. *Kap. viij.*

For dhe konfirma'sion ov dhat nui'tsh is seed, for dhe sounds az-uel of vo',els az of kon'sonants: aul'dhoir' ei naav in div'ers plas'es nier-befoor' sheu',éd iu, hou ser'ten udh'er nas'ions du sound part ov dheer lét'ers: ei thout it gud nier, not oon'li to re-kapit'ulat and short'li ren'ers', part ov dhe befoor' men'sioned, but aul'so tu giv iu t- understand' hou dhee du sound sutsh dheer lét'ers, az dh- ignorant dher-of shuld áprootsh' noth'iq neer tu dheer pronunsias'ion bei riid'iq dheer ureitiqs or prints. Huer-for, huo so-iz dezei'rous tu riid dh- Italian and dhe Lat'in az dhee du, hi must sound dhe vo',elz az ei naav súf'sientli seed treat'iq ov dhem, and az ei naav yyzd dhem in aul dhis nyy man'er, on'li eksept'iq dhat dhee maak dhis fig'yyr *u*, kon'sonant az-uel az dhis *v*. Dheer *e*, dhe yyz aft'er aul vo',elz az wi dhe *k*, (as dheer prodzhen'itors dhe Lat'ins did) and yyz not *k* at aul: but dhee-abyyz' dhe *e*, bifoor' *e*, and *i*, in dhe sound ov our *ch* or *tsh*, az *ecce* and *accioche*, dhe sound ek'tshe, aktshiok'e, *francesco* frantshes'ko, *fecce*, *facendo*, *amici*, fe'tshe, fatshend'o, ami'tshi: and for the sound ov dhe *k*, dhe yyz *ch*. Dheer *g*, dhe kiip az ei naav dun aft'er vo',elz, and befoor' *a*, *o*, and *u*: but befoor' *e* and *i*, dhe naav

¹ He says: "I leave also all double consonants: having a marke for the long vowel, there is thereby sufficient knowledge given that every unmarked vowel is short: yet whereas by custome of double consonants there may be

doubt of the length, we may use the mark over it, of the acute tone or tune, thus (')." What the meaning of this acute accent is on final vowels, as in French words, is not apparent.

abyzdz: it widh us, for whitsh ei naav yyzd dzh, and tu kiip dhat sound befoor *a*, *o*, and *u*, dhee uzurp *gi*, as nath bin seed, and dherfoor dhee nev'er maak dheer *i*, kon'sonant, for dhee sec not agiuto but aiuto, as mee bi dhus ai-uto. Dhe *t*, dhee nev'er sound in *s*, az in *protection*, *satisfaction*, dhee sound dhe *t*, hard, and dherfoor dub'l it in dhooz uurdz and man'i-udh'ers: but in *giurisdizioni*, *militia*, *sententia*, *intentione*, and man'i-udh'ers dhee du not dub'l it, iet dhee sound it as it iz, and nev'er turn it in'tu dhe sound ov *s*, but iv iu mark it uel, dhee breth ov dhe *t*, pás'iq thruu dhe tiith, and turn'iq tu dhe-*i*, duth maak it siim as it ueer neer dhe sound ov dhe, *s*, but iz not dherfoor so in éfekt. For dheer *gli*, dhee du not sound *g*, so hard az ui uld, but so soft-li az it iz oft'n urit'n and print'ed uidhout dhe *g*. Dheer *zz* dhee sound most kóm'oli dhe first *z*, in *t*, as in *fortezza*, *grandezza*, *destrezza*, but at sum teimz dhee sound dhem az dhee du *cc*, as for dhiz naam dhee-ureit indiférentli *Eccellino*, or *Ezzellino*. Dhee naav aul'so dhe sound ov our *sh* or *sh*, nritsh dhee-ureit *sc*, befoor, *e*, or *i*: dheeyyz tu-ureit dhe *th*, but not for our *th*, or *th*: for dhee naav not dhe sound dherof in aul dheer spiitsh, nor ov dh, and sound it in *Matthio*, az mee bi matnio, as of *th*, iz seed in *Thomas* and *Thames*. And for lak ov a knol'edzh for dhe kuan'titiz ov dheer vo'elz, dhe-ar konstreend tu dub'l dheer kon'sonants oft'n and mutsh: and for dhe loq'er teim ov dheer vo'els, dhee naav no mark: ruerfoor ruo so-iz dezeiruz tu riid dher ureit'iq uel, and im'itaat dheer pronunsiasion nad niid tu naav sum instruksion bei dhe leiv'li vo'is. And ruen dhee du reez dheer tyyn ov dheer urds (nritsh iz oft'n) dhee noot it uidh dhe Latin graav tyyn, dhus *andò*, *parlò*, *e mostrò la novità*, *al podestà de la città*. And in riid'iq dhe Latin, aul dhat dhee feind urit'n, dhee du pronouns, iiv'n as dhee du dheer mudh'er tuq, in dhe veri sounds befoor-seed.¹

¹ As the pronunciation of Italian has been often referred to, and as H. I. H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte has lately given me his views upon some points of interest in Italian pronunciation, it seems convenient to make a note of them in this place. The medial quantity of Italian vowels has already been noticed (p. 518 and n. 1). The vowel *e* has two sounds (*e*) close and (*æ*) open, the intermediate (*e*) being unknown, whereas it is the only *e* in Spanish. The vowel *o* has also two sounds, which have in this work been hitherto assumed as (*uh*) close and (*o*) open. The prince does not allow this; to him (*uh*) is Swedish *o* long, and (*o*) is Spanish *o*. His Italian close *o* does not differ from (*o*), and his open *o* is (*o*) or (*A*), probably the former. His theory is that when a language has only one *e*, *o*, as in Spanish and modern Greek (suprà p. 523, l. 6

from bottom), Welch, and therefore in Latin and early English, it is (*e*, *o*); when it has two *e*, and two *o*, they are (*e*, *æ*) and (*o*, *o*) respectively. Again in the pronunciation of the consonants in Italian, the Prince distinguishes, an emphatic and a weak utterance. The former is usually written double, but, he insists, is not pronounced double, in the sense of p. 55, but only emphatic, as if preceded by the sign (.) p. 10,—which has been wrongly used (pp. 4, 9) in the combinations (*t*, *d*) in place of (*tt*, *dt*), or "outer" (*t*, *d*). The following are the rules he lays down in his Sardo Sarsarese example (suprà p. 756, n. 2, col. 2), which it is best to give in his own words (ib. p. xxxv). "Si dice spesso, poichè le consonanti scempie si pronunziano, tanto in italiano quanto in sassarese, come se fossero scritte doppie, in forza delle seguenti regole generali:

For dhe nin dutsh dhe sound aul dheer vo'elz in dhe ver'i saam sort: and never maak dhe *i*, kon'sonant, nor abyzz: dhe *g*, befoor dhe *e*, and *i*, az dh- Italian duth, but kiip it aul'uez befoor: dhem, az

1) Allorchè, essendo iniziali, vengono in principio di frase, sia al cominciare di un periodo o di una clausula benchè breve, sia dopo una virgola. 2) Allorchè, cominciando la sillaba, sono precedute da altra consonante. 3) Allorchè occorrono in fin di voce, come ne' monosillabi *il, del, &c.* 4) Quando la voce precedente, benchè terminata in vocale, sia un ossitono oppure un monosillabo derivato da voce latina terminata in consonante, la qual consonante poi venne soppressa nel farsi italiana o sassarese detta voce latina. Così la preposizione *a* derivata dalla latina *ad*, la congiunzione *e* corrispondente ad *et*, il *si* derivato dal *sic*, il "nè" *nec*, le parole tronche come "amò" *amavit*, "potè" *potuit* hanno tutte la proprietà di dar pronunzia forte alla consonante iniziale della voce seguente; ed avvegnachè si vegga scritto: *a Pietro, e voi, sì grande, nè questo nè quello, amò molto, potè poco*, non si ode altrimenti che: *appietro, ervoi, siggrande nequesto necquello, amomolto, poteppoco*. Il suono debole delle consonanti, all' incontro, avrà luogo quando la voce che le precede si termina in vocale, eccettuati i casi notati nelle regole che precedono. Così in: *di Maria, i doni, la mente, le donne, mi dice, ti lascia, si gode, ama molto, potè poco, molto largo*, le consonanti iniziali della seconda voce si pronunziano deboli quali si veggono scritte, per essere le parole latine corrispondenti alla prima voce: *de, illi, illa, illa, me, te, se, potui* terminate in vocale, oppure perchè, come in *ama molto e molto largo*, le voci *ama e molto* non ricevon l'accento tonico in sull' ultima sillaba." Compare the double Spanish sound of *r*, supra p. 198, n. 2. This emphatic pronuniation, in the case of (*p b, t d, k g*) consists in a firmer contact and consequently a more explosive utterance of the following vowel; in the case of (*f, v, s*) &c., in a closer approximation of the organs and a sharper hiss or buzz. But in Sardo Sassarese, the weak pronuniation generates new sounds, weak (*p, t, k, v*) becoming (*b, d, g, bh*). The Prince was also very particular respecting the pronuniation *e, g, z* in *ee, gia,*

zio, zero, which have been assumed in this work to be (*tsh, dzh, ts, dz*) respectively, forming true consonantal diphthongs, the initial (*t, d*) having an initial effect only (supra p. 54, l. 20). The Prince considers them all to be simple sounds, capable of prolongation and doubling, and he certainly so pronounced them. Sir T. Smith, and Hart both used simple signs for (*tsh, dzh*), Gill used a simple sign for (*dzh*) but analyzed it into (*dzt*). Hart, however, seems to have considered (*tsh*) as simple, but his words are not clear. The effect of the simple sound used by the Prince, was that of (*t*sh, d*zsh, t*s, d*z*), that is an attempt to make both pairs of effects at once. This results in a closer and more forward contact, nearly (*sh f, zh f, s f, z f*) but the (*t*s, d*z*) did not resemble (*th, dh*). This effect may be conveniently written (*qsh, qzh, qs, qz*). The effect of (*qsh, qzh*) on English ears is ambiguous. At one time it sounds (*sh, zh*) and at another (*tsh, dzh*), with a decided initial (*t, d*) contact as we pronounce in English, and the Prince again hears my (*tsh, dzh*) as his (*qsh, qzh*). It would almost seem that (*qsh, qzh*) were the true intermediate sounds between (*kj, gj*) and (*tsh, dzh*). But a Picard variety of (*kj, gj*) which may for distinctness be written (*kj, gj*) is a still more unstable sound to foreign ears. In precisely the same way (*k*s, k*sh*) may be produced, the tongue being more retracted and the tongue closer to the palate than for (*s, sh*). In the Sardo Tempiese dialect (*k*sh*) occurs and is written *ke*. These sounds may be written (*qs, qsh*) in imitation of (*qs, qsh*). Was the Attic initial *ξ*, replacing *σ*, really (*qs*), and the original Sanscrit *क्ष* (*qsh*)? The double contact of tongue and lips, which probably occurs in African dialects may be (*qp, pp*), as slightly different from (*kw, tw*). The sibilants may now be greatly multiplied. The prince pronounced the following: (*s z, sh zh; sj zj, shj zhj; ts zt, qsh qzh; tsj zj, qshj qzhj*) all as simple sounds. Emphatic pronuniation, simultaneous pronuniation, and successive pronuniation still require much consideration and practical

befoor *a*, *o*, and *u*: and dhe Flem'iq tu bi syyr tu kontin'yy dhat sound, dudh yyz it befoor: *e*, and *i*, widh, *h*. Nor hath dhe Dutsh (ov'er nor nedh'er) dhat sound naitsh iz dhe laik of our *j*, kon'sonant, and dh-italian *g*, befoor-seed, for naitsh ei yyz dzh, but dhe breth dher-of dhe nū Dutsh naav, and ureit it widh *tsch*. And bodh dhe fig'yyz for dhe feivth vo',el, dhe yyz uidhout an'i serten differens naitsh shuld bi vo',el or naitsh kon'sonant: and dhen naav dhe d'if'thogs befoor naamd, naitsh ar tu bi noot'ed ov dhat Iq'lish man naitsh shaul dezeir tu leern dheer tuq.¹ And du-yyz tu dub'ul dheer vo',elz for dheer loq'er teim. Dhee naav aul'so our sound ov *sh*, or *sh*, for naitsh dhe yyz *sch*, as *scham*, *schale*, *fleisch*, and *fisch*, dhe sound as ui mee shaam, shel, flesh, fish, and *see*, *sci*, dhe sound az duth aul'so dh-Italian: and az ui du she, shi. Dhee nev'er put dhe *e*, in'tu dhe sound of *s*, but yyz *k*, tu bi-out of dout. Dhee yyz dhe *Q* ver'i seldum, but dhe *k*, mutsh in plaas dher-of, and dhe *a* dhe du- oft'n sound brood'er dhen wi duu, but mutsh aul'so-as wi du. And for the rest dhe pronouns aul dhe ureit, and kiip dheer lét'ers in dhe self sound, nu'er-in dhe riid aul'so dher Latin.

Nou third'li for dhe Span'iard, ni abyzz'eth dhe *i*, and *u*, in kon'sonants as ui-and dhe Frensh du, and dhe *u*, oft'n, in dhe Frensh and Skót'ish sound: and dhe *ch*, in *muchacho* az ui du in tshalk and tshiiz: but for aul dheer udh'er vo',elz and lét'ers dhe yyz dhēm in dhe saam sounds dhat du dh-Italian and Dutsh, but dhat dhe yyz dhe *y* az ui naav duun (naitsh nedh'er Italian nor Dutsh niid) tu bi dherbei' eezd ov dhe dout ov dhe *i*, kon'sonant naitsh dhe sound laik dhe Frensh. Dhe *e* dhe yyz in *s*, uidhout an'i noot of differens befoor *e*, and *i*, but befoor *a*, *o*, and *u*, dhe naav deveizd a-lit'l, *s*, un'der dhus, *ç*: dhe-yyz nev'er dhe *k*, but dhe *Q*, widh dh-Italian: dhe-yyz dhe *ll* in dhe sound of 'l, uidh dhe ualsh. Dhe *u*, in *quæ* and, *qui*, dhe du seldum sound, as for *quierez*, dhe sound as ui mee ke kier'es. And for aul dhe rest dhe kiip dhe aun'sient Lat'in sound, and so riid dheer Lat'in az du dh-Italian and Dzher'main: and for nim dhat hath dhe Lat'in tuq uidh a-lit'l instruks'ion iz az ez'i tu riid and under-stand az iz dh-Italian.²

observation of existing usages. The difficulty in separating the usual speech habits of the listener and speaker, and of not assuming the first to be a correct account of the second, is more and more felt as the knowledge of the phonetic process increases. We have as yet necessarily given an undue amount of consideration to analysis, in order to ascertain the elements of speech, to the neglect of the important study of synthesis, whence alone can result the proper conception of national speech with its whole array of *legato*, *staccato*, phonetic assimilation, phonetic disruption, stress, intonation, quantity, emphasis of letter, syllable, word, of the

utmost importance to comparative philologist, and almost totally unknown to comparative philologists.

¹ The passage referred to is as follows: "The Dutch doe vse also *au*, *ei*, and *ie*, rightly as I do hereafter, and *æ*, in the founde of *æ*, or (e) long: *ê*, in the founde of *æ*, or (eu); *û* in the sound of (yy), or the French and Scot-tish *u*; *û* for *eu*, and *û* for (uu), long, or French *ou*." Fo. 35 b. misprinted fo. 31, p. 2, in the original reference.

² The Spanish has only five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) of medial length (p. 518, n. 1). The Spanish *ch* is our (tsh) or (ʃsh). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte

And nou last ov aul, dhe Frensh, uidh dh-abyys ov dhe *u*, in dhe skótish leik sound ov dhe *iu* diphthoq, huitsh, nor Italian, nor Dutsh did ev'er giv tu *u*, and yyz'iq dhe *g*, and *j*, kon'sonant in dhe sound ruer-of, our sh, iz dhe bredh'ed kon'sonant: and turn'iq dhe *s*, in'tu *z*, huen ui, uidh aul dhe rest, du sound the *s*, (eksept' dhe Spaniard, az ui haav aul'so yyzd betuikst' tuu vo'elz) and kiip'iq an udh'er teim in dhe vo'elz dhen ui du, and yyz'iq dheer *e*, in dei'vers sounds, and dhe *o* sum'ruat aul'so: bei not sound'iq dhe *u*, in *qui*, and *quæ*, but az uii mee kii and kee, uidh leev'iq man'i ov dheer lét'ers unsound'ed, duth kauz dheer spiitsh ver'i nard tu bi lern'd bei art, and not eez'i bei dhe leiv'li vo'is, az it iz notori,uzli knoon. So az if ei shuld ureit Frensh, in dhe lét'ers and or'der huitsh ei du nou-yyz, ei-am ser'ten dhat iu shuld mutsh suun'er kum tu dheer pronunsias'ion, dhe-bei, dhen bei ureit'iq az dhee du. And tu eksperiment dhe má'ter, and tu maak sutsh az understand' Frensh, dzhudzh'es dhe-ef, ei uil ureit dhe Lords preer az dhee du, huitsh shuld be present'ed tu sutsh an oon, az kan riid dhis man'er, and iet understand'eth not dhe Frensh, and pruuu hou ni kan riid and pronouns' it: and dhen present' it nim in dhis man'er ov ureit'iq, az hier-after: and kompaar' nis pronunsias'ion tu dhe form'er, and iu shuld pruuu dhat éfekt', huitsh kan not bi bront tu pás bei our form'er man'er. And dhe-foor hier fol'ueth dhe lords preer first in Frensh in dheer man'er ov ureit'iq: *Nostre pere qui es és cieux, Ton nom soit sanctifié. Ton Regne aduienne. Ta volonté soit faite en la terre comme au ciel. Donne-nous au-iourd'huy nostre pain quotidien: Et nous pardonne nos offenses, comme nous pardonnons à ceux qui nous ont offensés. Et ne nous indui point en tentation: mais nous delivre du mal. Car à toy est le regne, la puissance, et la gloire és siècles, des siècles. Amen.* Nou in dhis nyy man'er az fol'u,eth. Nootrañ peerañ ki-ez eez sieuz, tun Num soit santifié. Tuu Rénañ aviénañ. Ta volunté soit fétan, an la tárañ kúmañ oo siel. Dúne-nuuz ozdzhuurdui nootrañ peen kotidian. E nuu pardúnañ noz ófansas kúmañ nuu pardúnuunz a seuz ki nuuz unt ófansez. E ne nuuz indui point an tantasion: meez nuu delivrañ dyy ma'l. Kar a toe eet le reen'añ, la pyy,isanse e la gloerañ eez siekles dez siekles Aman. Nou kon'trariueiz uil ei ureit hier-un'der in dheez nyy lét'ers (and kiip'iq dheer sound az befoor') hou dhe Frensh du pronouns' dheer

denies that (v, dh, z) occur in Spanish, but admits (f, th, s), as sounds of *f*, *z*, (or *c* before *e*, *i*), and *s*. This pronunciation of *e*, *z* is doubtful. It may be (sʃ), and certainly by some *d* is pronounced either (dh) or (zʃ), especially when final. In the common termination *-ado*, the *d* is often quite lost, but the vowels are kept distinct in two syllables, and do not form a diphthong. In the termination *-ido*, the *d* is never lost. The (s) sound of *c*, *z*, is not acknowledged in Madrid. The letters *b*, *v* are pro-

nounced alike and as (bh). The *j* is by some said to be a peculiar guttural, but the Prince identifies it with (kh). *Ll*, *ñ* are (lj, nj). Hart confuses *ll* with Welsh *ll*, as docs Salesbury, (suprà p. 757), but Hart also confuses the sound with ('l), or *le* in *able* (suprà p. 195); which he probably called (aa·blh) as in French (suprà p. 52). There seems to be no foundation for supposing that Spanish *u* was ever (y), as stated by Hart.

Lat'in: and dhat aul'so in dhe Lords preer, naitsh iz az dhus. Paater noster ki ez in seliiz, santifisetyr nomen tyy, yym, atveniat reinyym tyy, yym fiat voluntaaz tyya sikyyt in selo e in tára panem nostryyim kotidianyyim da nobiiz odiie et dimiite nobii debiita nostra, sikyyt et noz dimiitimyyz debitoribyyz nostriiz. Et ne noz indyykaaz in tentasionem: Set libera noz a malo. And ei remem'ber ov a mer'i dzhest ei naav nerd ov a buce naitsh did help a Frensh priist at más, nuo see'iq dominyy vobiikyym, dhe buce neer'iq it sound strandzh'li-in niz eer, aun'suered, eth kum tirleri tiikyym, and so uent lauh'iq nis uce. And so per-adven'tyyr iu-uil at dhe riid'iq, az iu mee biliiv' me-ci did at dhe ureit'iq nier-of. Ei kuld ureit aul'so nou dhe frensh and udh'er for'ens du spek Iq'lish, but dheer man'er is so plen'tiful in man'i-of our eerz, az ei thiik it super'fli,uz. Dhe rez'on huei dhee kan not sound our spiitsh, iz (az iu mee perseev' bei dhat is seed) bikauz' ui naav and yyz ser'teen sounds and breedhz naitsh dhee naav not, and du-aul'so yyz tu sound sum of dhooz léterz naitsh dhee-yyz uidh us, udh'erueiz dhen dhee duu: and dhee for revendzh' sum ov ourz udh'erueiz dhen ui duu. naitsh iz dhe kauz aul'so dhat dheer spiitsh'ez ar hard for us tu riid, but dhe sound oons knoon, ui kan cez'ili pronouns: dherz bei dhe rez'on abuv'seed. And dhus tu-end if iu thiik lit'l prof'it tu bi in dhis huer-in ei naav kau'sed iu tu pás iur teim, ei uil ict distshardzh' mei self dhat ei-am ássy'red it kan du-iu no harm, and so dhe aulmint'i God, giv'er ov aul gud thiqs, bliis uz aul, and send us nis graas in dhis trans'itori leif, and in dhe world tu kum, leif ever-last'iq. So bi-it. FINIS. *Sat cito si sat bene.*

ALEXANDER BARCLEY'S FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1521.

In the introductory *Authours Epistell to the Kynges Grace*, prefixed to Palsgrave's *Esclarcissement*, he says: "Onely of this thyng, puttyng your highnesse in remembraunce, that where as besydes the great nombre of clerkes, whiche before season of this mater haue written nowe sithe the begynnyng of your most fortunate and most prosperous raigne," that is, between 22 April 1509 and 18 July 1530, "the right vertuous and excellent prince Thomas late Duke of Northfolke, hath commanded the studious clerke² Alexandre

¹ Further on he is not so complimentary, as he remarks: "Where as there is a boke, that goeth about in this realme, intituled the Introductory to writte and pronounee frenche, compiled by Alexander Barcley, in whiche k is moche vsed, and many other thynges also by hym affirmed, contrary to my sayenges in this boke, and specially in my seconde, where I shall assaye to expresse the declinations and coniugatynges: with the other congruites obserued in the frenche tonge, I suppose it sufficient to warne the lernar, that I haue red ouer that boke at length:

and what myn opinion is therin, it shall well inough apere in my bokes selfe, though I make therof no further expresse mencion: saue that I haue sene an olde boke written in parchement in maner in all thynges like to his sayd Introductory: whiche, by coniecture, was nat vnwritten this hundred yeres. I wot nat if he happened to fortune upon suche an other: for whan it was commaunded that the grammar maisters shulde teche te youth of Englande ioyntly latin with frenche, there were diuerse suche bokes diuysed: wher-vpon, as I suppose began one great

Barkelay, to embusy hym selfe about this excercyse, and that my sayd synguler good lorde Charles duke of Suffolke, by cause that my poore labours required a longre tracte of tyme, hath also in the meane season encouraged maister Petrus Uallensys, scole maister to his excellent yong sonne the Erle of Lyncolne, to shewe his lernynge and opinion in this behalfe, and that the synguler clerke, maister Gyles Dewes somtyme instructour to your noble grace in this selfe tong, at the especiall instaunce and request of dyuers of your highe estates and noble men, hath also for his partye written in this matter." For the last treatise, see *suprà* p. 31. The second I have not seen.¹ A copy of the first, which is extremely rare and does not seem to have been known to A. Didot, as it is not found in his catalogue, (see p. 589, n. 1), exists in the Douce Collection at Oxford (B 507) and the following are all the parts in it relating to French pronunciation, according to the transcription of Mr. G. Parker, of Oxford, who has also collated the proof with the original. The whole is in black letter; size of the paper 10½ in. × 7 in., of the printed text 8½ in. × 5½ in.; 32 pages, neither folioed nor paged, the register at bottom of recto folio is: A 1-6, B 1-6, C 1-4. In this reprint the pages are counted and referred to, as in the editions of Salesbury. The pages are indicated by thick numbers in brackets. Remarks are also inserted in brackets. The / point is represented by a comma. Contractions are extended in italics.

[1] ¶ Here begynneth the introductory to wryte, and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barcley compendiously at the commaundement of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke.

[Plate representing a lion rampant supporting a shield containing a white lion in a border. Then follows a French ballad of 16 lines in two columns, the first headed "R. Coplande to the whyte lyon," and the second "¶ Ballade."]

[2] Blank at back of title.

occasion why we of England sounde the latyn tong so corruptly, which haue as good a tonge to sounde all maner speches *parfitely* as any other nacyon in Europa."—Book I, ch. xxxv. According to this, 1) there ought to be many old MS. treatises on French Grammar, and 2) the English pronunciation of Latin was moulded on the French, *suprà* p. 246.

¹ There is also an older treatise "Here begynneth a lytell Treatyse for to learne the Englysshe and Frensshe. Emprynted at Westminster by my Winken de Worde. Quarto," as cited in Dibdin's edition of Ames Typ. Ant.

1812, vol. 2, p. 328. The copy he refers to belonged to Mr. Reed of Staple's Inn, then to the Marquis of Blandford (*Catalogus librorum qui in Bibliotheca Blandfordiensi reperiuntur*, 1812, fasc. 2, p. 8) and was sold by auction at Evans's sale of White Knights Library 1819, to Rodd the bookseller, for 9*l.* 15*s.*, after which I have not been able to trace it, but Mr. Bradshaw says it is only a reprint of a work of Caxton's (*The Book of Travellers*, Dibdin Ames, 1, 315, 316), containing French phrases, but no information on pronunciation. A mutilated copy of Caxton's book is in the Douce Collection.

[3] ¶ The prologue of the auctour. On Pronouns.]

[4] [Do. joined with Verbs. On this page occurs the following, beginning at line 6 :—]

¶ Also whan these wordes. nous. vous. and ilz, be set before verbes begynnyng *with* ony consonant, than amonge comon people of fraunce the ,s, and ,z, at ende of the sayd wordes, nous. vous. and ilz, leseth the sounde in pronouncynge though they be wryten. But whan they are ioyned with verbes begynnyng *with* ony vowell than the .s. and .z. kepeth theyr full sounds in pronouncynge.

[5-8] [On Verbs. At p. 8, l. 21, we read]

HERE after foloweth a smal treatyse or introductory of ortographe or true wrytyng, wherby *the* dylligent reder may be informed truly, and perfytely to wryte *and* pronounce the frenche tunge after *the* dyuers customes of many countrees of fraunce. For lykewyse as our englysshe tunge is dyuersly spoken *and* varyeth in certayne countrees *and* shyres of Englande, so in many countrees of fraunce varyeth theyr langage as by this treatyse evidently shall appere to *the* reder.

¶ First how the. lettres of the A. b. c. are pronouncd or sounded in frenche.

¶ Lettres in the. A. b. c. be. xxii. whiche in frenche ought thus to be sounded.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q
A boy¹ coy doy e af goy asshe ü² ka el am an oo poy cu
r s t v x y z & parle 9 parse.
aar ees toy v yeux ygreois zedes *et* parlui. 9 parlui. or, parsoy.

¶ And albeit that this lettre .h. be put amonge the lettres of the alphabete, yet it is no lettre, but a note of asperacyon, or token of sharpe pronouncynge of a worde.³ Also .&. and .g. are not counted amonge the lettres: *and* so remayneth. xxii. lettres in the alphabete besyde .h. *and* .g. as sayd is.

¹ Compare Palsgrave's Introduction to his second Book: "In the namyng of the sayd consonantes the frenche-men diffre from the latin tong, for wherc as the latines in soundyng of the mutes begyn with the letters selfe and ende in E, saying BE, CE, DE. &c. the frenche men in the stede of E sound Oy and name them Boy, Coy, Doy," etc. Hence the *oy* in these words was not (ee) as it has now become. Palsgrave adds: "and where as the latines in soundyng of theyr liquides or semi vowelles begyn with E, and ende with them, saynge El, Em, En, the frenche men double the liquide or semi vocale, *and* adde also an other E and name them Elle, Emme, Enne, geyung the accent upon the fyrst E, and at the last

E depressing theyr voyce." This is different from Barcleý.

² This must surely be a misprint. The dots are faint. The vowel *u* does not occur in this alphabet.

³ This explanation of aspiration, renders the real sound of *h* doubtful; as to whether it was (h) or (ç) as at present. The following quotations from a French newspaper, contained in the *Daily News*, 14 Sept. 1869, illustrates this modern use. "L'H est-il aspiré dans Hugo? Faut il dire Victo Rugo ou Victor Ugo? Il me semble, moi, que l'aspiration serait plus respectueuse." Observe that no *h* is written in either case, but that the running on of the R, or the hiatus before U alone mark the absence and

¶ These sayd: xxii. lettres be deuoyded all into vowels and consonantes .v. of them be called vowels, whiche be these. a. e. i. o. u. these fyue be called vowels for eche of them by themself ioyned with none other lettre maketh a full and perfect worde. Y. is a greke vowel and is not wryten in latyn wordes, but in greke wordes.

[9] ¶ And wordes of other langages without one of these vowels: no lyttral voyce may be pronounced¹ of these .v. vowels .ii. leseth theyr strength somtyme: and become consonantis whiche .ii. be these. I. and v. whiche ar consonantis whan they are put in the begynnyng of a syllable ioyned with another vowel and syllablyd or spellid with the same, as in these wordes in frenche Iouer to play vanter, to hoste: and so in other lyke.²

¶ The other .xvi. letters called be consonantis: for they be soundyd with the vowels and make no syllable nor worde by them selfe excepte they be ioyned with some vowel. consonantis be these. b. c. d. f. g. k. l. m. n. p. q. r. s. t. x. z.

¶ These consonantis be deuoydyd agayne into mutes liquides and semy vowels of whom nedyth not to speke for our purpose. A dyptonge is a ioynnyng to gyther of .ii. vowels keepyng eche of them his strength³ in one self syllable: of them be .iiii., that is to say, au, eu, ei,⁴ oy. In latyn tunge ,au, and ,eu be bothe wryten and sounded⁵ ,ay, and ,oy, be wryten but not sounded. but in frenche and englysshe tunge bothe ay oy au and eu be wryten and sounded,⁶ as in these examples in frenche of au. voycy vng beau filz, here is a fayre sone. of eu, deux homes font plus que vng: two men dooth more than one. of ay, ie ne diray point ma pencee a toutz gentz. I shall not tell my thought to all folkes. Of oy as, toy meimes ma fait le le tort. thy self hast none me the wronge. That the same dyptonges be both wryten and sounded in englysshe it appereth by the examples. As a maw, strawe, tawe, dewe, sewe, fewe. fray, say, may, pay. noy, boy, toy, ioy. And thus haue we more lyberte bothe in frenche and englysshe in

presence of aspiration. And this may have been Barcleys meaning. But see infra p. 809, l. 4.

¹ The pointing is evidently wrong. There should be a period here, and the colon after "vowels" seems incorrect. The expression "lyttral voyce" is, even then, rather obscure.

² Compare Salesbury's explanation of the consonantal value of *i*, *u*, supra p. 754.

³ This ought to mean that the sound of each is heard, and ought to distinguish real diphthongs from digraphs. But the author so little understands the nature of speech that he may merely mean that the two letters being juxtaposed modify each others signification, producing a tertium quid. The Lambeth fragment (supra p. 226, n. 1), gives 3 syllables to *aider*, *aucun*, 5 to

meilleur, 4 to *eureux*, which would all agree with a real diphthongal pronunciation, but then it proceeds to give 3 syllables to *ouir*, in which there can be no doubt that *ou* was a digraph.

⁴ The omission of *ai* is very remarkable. But from what follows it can hardly be doubted that *ai* was included under *ei*, or that *ei* was a misprint for *ai*.

⁵ This ought to imply that Latin *au*, *eu*, were then called (au, eu), and this would agree with other indications of English contemporary pronunciation.

⁶ As we know from Salesbury that about 30 years later English *ay*, *oy*, *au*, were called (ai, oi, au) at least in some cases, these words ought to imply that they had the same sound in French. This would agree at any rate with Palsgrave.

wrytynge and soundynge than in latyn as touchynge the .iiii. dyptonges.

¶ Also here is to be noted that of lettres we make syllabes: of syllabes we frame wordes, *and* of wordes we combyne reasons, and by reasons all seyences and speches be vttered. thus resteth the grounde of all seyences in lettres, syllabes, wordes, and reasons. Wherefore (as of the fyrst foundacyon of frenche tunge *and* also of al other langages) fyrst I intende by the ayde *and* socour of the holy goost to treate how the lettres be wryten *and* sounded in frenche.

¶ Of the soundynge of this lettre .A. in frenche.

This lettre .A. in frenche somtyme is put onely for a lettre. And somtyme it is put for this englysshe worde. hath. When it is put but for a lettre it is often sounded as this lettre e. as in this frenche worde, *staues*¹ *vous*: in englysshe, can ye. In whiche worde *and* many other as, barbe, and rayre. with other lyke this lettre. A. hath his sounde of this lettre e. But in some countrees .A. is sounded with full sounde in lyke maner as it is wryten as, rayre, *and* suche other whan this lettre .A. is put for a worde it betokeneth as moche in englysshe as this worde .hath. But some frenche men than adnex .d. withall as, ad. as il ad, he hath. But suche maner of wrytynge is false. for this lettre. d. is not sounded nor pronounced in frenche, nor founde often wryten in the ende of ony worde. And though some wolde say in these frenche wordes, viande, meate. demande, enquire or aske. and *that* .d. is sounded in ende of the worde, it is not so. for in these wordes *and* other lyke, suche as truly pronounce frenche resteth the sounde on the last letter of the worde whiche is .e.² and not .d.

[10] ¶ Also in true frenche these wordes, aury, I shal haue. and, auroy, I had: be wryten without e in myddes of the worde, *and* in lykewyse be they sounded without, e but in certayne countrees of fraunce in suche maner of wordes this lettre e is sounded *and* wryten in the myddes as thus, aueroy, aueroie: whiche is contrary bothe in the true wrytynge, *and* also to the true pronuncyacion of perfyte frenche.³

¶ How this lettre b ought to be wryten *and* sounded in frenche themperour for the emperoure, and so of other lyke.

¶ Also this worde auec may be wryten in dyuers maners after the custome *and* vsage of dyuers countrees of fraunce as thus. auecques: aueque. And some without reason or ortography wryte it with .s. in the myddes as auesque. but how so euer aueque be wryten in frenche it soundeth as moche in englysshe as this preposycyon with. And also this worde solonc may be wryten with e, or els without e

¹ The words *staves vous* are not clear. The use of *a* in the sound *e* seems to be dialectic in *barbe*, see the quotation from Chevallet, p. 75, at bottom. But in *rayre*, (which ought not to be *rare*, but the book is so full of errors that it may be,) to scrape or shave, the remark seems to imply *ay* = (ee).

² Implying, of course, that the final *e*, now mute, was then audible, but only faintly audible, or else the error which he combats, could not have arisen.

³ In this case probably *u* preserved its consonantal power, the remnant of the Latin *b*.

at the ende as solone or solon, but than o ought not to be sounded, yf a consonant immediatly folowe.

[Then follow the headings, Of Nombres, in one paragraph, and Of Gendres, in four paragraphs, the last of which is:]

¶ Many mo rules be concernynge wrytynge and spekyng of frenche, which were to longe to expres in this small treatyse: but the moste perfytenes of this langage is had by custome and vse of redynge and spekyng by often enquiryng: and frequentlyng of company of frenchemen and of suche as haue perfytenes: in spekyng the sayd langage.

[11] [Treatyse of dyuerse frenche wordes after order of the Alphabete .A. B., and then on l. 8 from bottom the author proceeds thus]

¶ This lettre. B. set in the myddes of a frenche worde ought to be soundyd in maner as it is wryten, as *debriser*. to bruse, troubler. to trouble, but in these wordes folowyng .b. is wryten in the myddes and not soundyd as, *debte*. dette, *endebrter*. *desoubz*. vnderneath, *desubz*. aboue, *coubte*. a ribbe, *vng subget*. Also these verbes doubtter. to dout, *tresdoubter*. greatly to dout, *substiner* with all theyr modes and tensys as well synguler as plurell with all nownes and particyples descendynge of them, must haue .b. wryten in the myddes of them and not soundyd, as wryten *doubte* *tresdoubte*. and soundyd *doute*, and *tresdoute*.

[12] Of. C. ¶ This letter .C. wryten in myddes of a worde hathe somtyme the sounde of this letter .s. or .z. as these wordes. *ca*. on this half. *pieca*. a whyle agone. *rancon* a ransom. *francois*. frenche. and in many other lyke wordes whiche soundyth thus with .s. *sa piesa* ransom francois. Also this letter .c. somtyme hath the sounde of .k. as in these wordes in frenche *crou*. *cru*. cause, and *car*. Also these wordes *donc* and *iouc* are wryten with .c. in the ende in synguler nombre, but in the plurell nombre the .c. in them is tournyd in to .x. as *doux ioux*.

Of. E. ¶ E. for the moste parte is soundyd almost lyke .a.¹ and that namely in the ende of a worde. as in this example. *A mon premier commencement soit dieu le pere omnipotent*. At my fyrste begynnyng be god the father almyghty. *Il a vng bon entendement*. these wordes commencement omnipotent entendement vent with other lyke. be soundyd with a. as *commencemant*. omnipotent. *antandemant* vant and other lyke. and all suche wordes must haue a short and sharpe attent or pronounciacion at the ende.

¶ And here is to be notyd that al maner nownes of the masculyne gender endynge in the synguler nombre in .c. g. or .f. as *blanc*. whyt. *vyf*. quicke. *long*. longe. shall be wryten in the plurell nombre with .s. *hauynge* .c. g. or .f. put awaye from them. as *blans*. vis. lons.

Of. G. ¶ Whan this letter .g. is wryten in frenche in myddes of

¹ Though expressed generally, this remark evidently refers exclusively to the syllable *en* where it is now pronounced (aa), which we have seen

Hart also pronounced (an), *suprà* p. 802. See also *infra* in this § for all the French nasals during the xvith century.

a worde bytwene a vowell and a consonant, than shal it be soundyd lyke .n. and .g. As compaignon, compaigne. How be it some wryte suche wordes as they muste be soundyd with .g. and .n.¹ as compaignon. a felawe. compaignie. a company.

Of. H. ¶ H. is no letter but a tokyn of asperacion or sharpynge of a worde, as in these wordes, hors. out, dehors. without, honte. shame, haut. hye, and in other lyke in whiche wordes and lyke .h. is sounded. other wordes be in whiche. h. is wryten and not soundyd as heure. an houre, helas. alas, homme. a man, with other lyke.

Of. I & E. ¶ I. and. E. or any other two vowels ioyned togyder in myddes or in the ende of a worde. whan they are put bytwene two consonants, or bytwene a vowell and a consonant. than eyther of them shall haue his founde as in these wordes biens. goodes, riens. no thyng, Ioie. Ioy, voie. a way, And suche lyke wordes. yet some holde oppynyon that in these wordes, and in suche other .I. or E shall not be soundyd.

¶ Also in true frenche these wordes. Ie. ec, arc. wryten without o. in theyr ende but in pycard, or gascoygne, they are wryten with o. at the ende, as thus ieo eco

Of. K. ¶ This letter .K. in dyuerses speches is put for. ch. As kinal. kien. vak. but in true frenche it is not, but these wordes and suche lyke be wryten with ch. as cheual. a hors, chien. a dogge, vache. a cowe, Also in certaynes countres of Fraunce for c. is wryten ch. as piecha. for a pieca, a whyle ago, tresdoulche for tresdoulce. ryght swete. And so of other lyke.²

[13] ¶ In lykewyse in some countrees of Fraunce names of dygnyte and offyce whiche are the synguler nombre are wryten plurell with, s, at the ende, as luy papes de Rome, luy roys de france, luy sains esperis: but in true frenche these names be wryten without, s. as le pape de rome, the pope of rome. le roy de france, the kyng of fraunce. le saint esperit, the holy goost. and so of lyke.

Of. L. ¶ This lettre .L. set in myddes of a worde immediatly before a vowell shall kepe his full sounde, as nonellement, newly. annuelement, yerely. continucement contynually parlant, spekyng. egallement, egally. But yf a consonant folowe. l immediatly than ,l, shall be sounded as ,u, as loyament, principalment, whiche are sounded thus. loyament, faythfully. principaument, pryncipally.³ Except this worde ,ilz. in whiche worde ,l, and ,z, hath no sounde somtyme. as ilz vont ensemble, they go togyder. and somtyme ,l, hath his sounde and ,z, leseth the sounde whan ,ilz, cometh before a worde begynnyng with a vowell, as ilz ont fait: they haue done.

¹ The reversal of the order in the description of the pronunciation may be accidental. This loose writing, however, gives no reason to suppose that the sound of this *gn* was either (ng) or (gn).

² These remarks must refer to provincial pronunciations, and indicate an

interchange of (k, sh) in French answering to that of (k, tsh) in English.

³ The general observation evidently refers to the particular case, *al* pronounced as *an*, but whether as (au) or (oo) cannot be deduced from such loose writing.

Whan ,l, is wryten in the ende of a worde, and that the worde folowyng begyn with a consonant than shall .l. in suche wordes lese his owne sounde and be sounded lyke an .u. as ladmiral dengleterre, the admyrall of englande, but yf *the* worde folowyng ,l, begyn with a vowell than ,l, shall kepe his owne sounde: as nul honie, no man. nul aultre, none other, nul vsage, no vsage. Also ,l, put in the ende of a worde of one syllable shal haue no sounde at all as il sen est ale, he is gone. ie le veul bien, I wyll it well. In suche wordes il and veul, and other lyke ,l, leseth his sounde .l. double in myddes of a worde must be sounded with hole *and* full voyce.¹ as fille, a doughter. fillette, a lytell mayde. oraille, an cere. and so other lyke.

Of. N. ¶ This lettre. N. put betwene a vowell and a consonant in ende of ony worde whiche is a verbe of *the* thyrde personie plurell, and the indycatyf, or optatyf mode what tens so euer it be, it shall not be sounded in true pronouncynge of frenche, as ilz aymet, they loue. ilz lisent, they rede. whiche wordes and all other lyke must be sounded thus without ,n. ilz aymet. ilz liset. ¶ Out of this rule be excepte verbes of one syllable in whiche ,n, must haue the sounde. as ilz vont, they go: ilz ont, they haue: ilz sont, they are: ilz font, they make, with all theyr modes: tens: and compouendes. in whiche, n shall kepe his ryght sounde.

Of. P. ¶ Whan .P. is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche, and *the* next worde immedyatly folowyng begynnyng with a consonant than shall it lese the sounde, as thus. il a trop grant auoir, he hath to grete goodes. il vient trop tard, he cometh to late. trop hault, to hye. trop bas, to lowe. in whiche worde trop ,p, hath not his sounde, but it must be sounded thus. tro hault. tro bas. tro tard.

¶ Of this rule be except propre names endynge in ,p. in whiche ,p, must haue his full sounde, as, philip. But yf a worde ende in ,p, and the worde nexte folowyng begyn with a vowell than ,p, shall haue his full sounde. as mieulx vault assez *que* trop auoir, better is ynough than to haue to moche. Also these wordes sepmaine, a weke. temps. tyme. corps, a body. and this verbe escrire, to wryte, with [14] all nownes and participles commynge therof, indifferently may be wryten with p. or without p. but though p. be wryten in them it shall nat be soundyd: as semaine, tems, cors escrire.

Of. Q. ¶ Q. in pronounsynge muste haue a softe and lyght sounde,² And it shall nat be wryten in any frenche worde, without two vowels, immedyatly folowyng: of whiche two vowels the fyrste shalbe u. as qui que, *the* whiche, quar, for. querir, to seke, quant, whan, and suche other, but some be whiche wryte q. in suche wordes without this vowell .u. folowyng as qi. qe. &c. whiche maner of wrytyng is vnsemely: And also it is contrary to all rules of ortography or true wrytyng aswell in frenche, as in

¹ The *monille* sound of *l* in French (lj) is certainly very badly expressed by these meaningless words.

² The writer probably only means that it is to be (k) and not (k^{ar}).

other langages and no reason haue they whiche wryte suche wordes without u. to assyst them saue theyr vnreasonable vse agaynst all rules, and good custome. More ouer these wordes quar, querir, quant. &c. maye be wryten indifferently: with, q. k. or c, as quar, or ear, or els kar. &c.

Of R. ¶ This letter. R. put in the ende of a worde shall kepe his owne full sounde, as *cueur*, as thus *Iay grant mal au cuer*, I haue graet dysease at my herte: *Je vous prie pour me consailler*, I pray you counsell me: but in some countres .r. is soundyd, as this letter, z. as *comperce*, a gossyp, is somtyme soundyd thus *comepez*,¹ and so of other wordes endyng in this letter. R.

Of s. syngle. ¶ A syngle .s. in myddes of a worde ought nat to be soundyd if a consonant folowe immediatly: as *tresdoulce*, ryght swete: *tresnoble*, ryght noble: *tresgracious*, ryght gracyous: but .s. in myddes of these wordes folowyng hath his full sounde: as thus: *prosperite*, *chestien*, *substance*, *esperance*, *meschant*, *Instituer*, *eschairuir*, *transglouter*, *Augustynes*, *Inspirer*, *descharger*, *estaincher*, *estandre*, *peschies*, *constrayndre*, *despenser*, *escuser*, with al nownes, and aduerbes commyng of them. In whiche .s. must be soundyd, if² a consonant immediatly folowe .s. But if a vowel folowe this letter. s. in the myddes of a worde and no letter betwene .s. and the vowel, than shall .s. haue his full sounde, as it is wryten, *tresexcellent*, ryght excellent: *freshault*, ryght hye: *freshonore*, ryght honoured: *freshumble*, ryght humble.

Of double .ss. ¶ Whan this letter .ss. double is wryten in myddes of a worde it must alway be soundyd: as *puissant*, myghty with such lyke. More ouer if this letter .s. syngle, be wryten in the ende of a worde, whiche is a pronowne coniuncceion verbe or preposicion, if the worde folowyng .s. begyn with a consonant, than .s. shal nat be soundyd: as *dieu vous sauue*, god saue you. *dieu vous gard*, god kepe you. *vous vous boire*, Wyl ye drynke. *nous sommes beaucoup des gens*, we be moche folke, in which wordes .s. shal nat be soundyd. But whan this letter .s. is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche and that the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowel than must .s. haue his full sounde. as *Je vous ayme*, I loue you. *Je vous empirie*, I pray you. *estes vous icy*, be ye here, *and in* suche other wordes. But in these wordes folowyng. s. shall haue no sounde, all if the wor[15]de folowyng begyn with a vowel. *vous ditez vray*, ye say trouth. *vous ditez vrayment*, ye say truly. In whiche wordes .s. shall lese his sounde. Also in this worde *dis*, whan it is a nowne of nombre *and* taken for ten. if there folowe a consonant .s. shall not be soundyd, as to say *dis liures* .x. ii. it muste be soundyd *di. ii.* But this nombre ten in frenche moost vsually is spelled with .x. as *.dix.* *and not with .s.* as *dis*. But whan ditz is a participle, *and* betokeneth asmoche as sayd than in the same worde .s. or .z. shall kepe his sounde. as *les heures sont ditez* the houres be sayde

¹ See the extract from Palsgrave, exceptions to the rule. See "all if" = *supra* p. 198. although, *infra* p. 812, l. 26.

² Meaning *although*, as these are the

Of. T. ¶ This letter T. put in *the* ende of a worde beyng a verbe of *the* thirde persone synguler and present or preteryt tens of *the* indicatyf mode if *the* worde folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be soundyd. as *est il prest*, is he redy. *Il estoit alostel*, he was at home. But if *the* worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, than T. shal nat be soundyd. as *quest ce quil dist*, what is *that* he sayth *Il est prest*, he is redy. *il fust tout esbahy*. he was al abashed. *Il ny a que vanite en cest monde* There is nought but vanye in this worlde. Also all nownes and participles, whiche ende in *the* synguler nombre in t, in *the* plurell nombre muste be wryten with s. or with z. the samet. [=same t] put away from *the* ende of *the* word as thus worde, saynt, holy. is wryten in *the* synguler nombre with t. in *the* plurell nombre it is thus wryten. as *sainz*. or *sains without*. t. but in some places of fraunce they wryte suche wordes in *the* plurell nombre with t. c. and z. or s. at *the* ende after *the* moste vsed Ortography of frenche. For amonge frenche men this is a general rule. *that* as ofte as t. is put in myndes of a worde beyng a nowne of *the* femynyne gender it shall not be wryten without a vowell immediatly folowyng. as *les saintez vierges du ciel ne cessent de louer dieu*, *the* holy virgyns of heuen cesseth not to laude god. *Il ya des femmes que sont bieu riches marchandes*, there be women whiche be well ryche marchandes. And so may other frenche wordes endyng in tes. be wryten with t. and es. or with z. or s. without t. but it accordeth not to reason to wryte these wordes thus *saintz toutz marchantz* in *the* plurell nombre. all if they be wryten with t. in *the* synguler nombre. for in *the* plurell nombre they ought nat to be wryten with t. for any of these two letters s. or z. in frenche stande for as moche as ts. or tz. But for a conclusion though suche wordes in in certayne countres of Fraunce be wryten with ts. or with tz. in *the* ende. as thus *mon amy sont nous litz faitz*, my frende are our beddes made. *Beau sir sont mez pourpointz faitz*, faire sir be my doublettes made. yet after true ortography of frenche these wordes and other suche muste be bothe wryten and soundyd without t. as *lis fais pourpains* ¶ Also these wordes filz, a sone. miculz better. *fois* one tyme. *assez*, ynoughe. *vous poues*, ye may. *vous prenes*, ye take, *vous enseignes*, ye teche. *vous lisez*, And suche other ought to be wryten without t. but some be whiche wrongly wryte these wordes with t. As *filtz*, *mieultz*, *foitz*, *assetz*, *pouetz*, *prenetz*. &c. whiche wordes in ryght frenche haue no t. neyther in soundyng nor in wrytyng. ¶ Also this coniuncion. betokeneth the same thyng in frenche that it doth in latyn. that is to say, and, in englysshe in whiche coniuncion t. is neuer soundyd though it be wryten with et. as et *le vous fais a seauoir*, And I make you to wytte or knowe.

[16] Of. U. ¶ U. Wryten in myddes of a worde shall often haue no sounde, bothe in latyn frenche and other languages. And that whan it is wryten immediatly after any of these thre letters, that is to say. q. g. or. s. As *qui que*, language, *langue*, a *tonge*. *querir*, to seeke: *guerre*, *warre*, and suche other. In whiche wordes u. is wryten but not soundyd. Neurtherles in dyners Countres after

the foresayd letters they sounde w, doubled as quater, quare, quaysy. Englysshe men, and Scottes alway sounde u. after the letters both in Latyn and in theyr Ulgayre or common langage. In lyke wyse do dutche men, and almayns. As quare, quatuor quart, quayre, qwade. and suche lyke.

Of. X. ¶ This letter X. put in thende of a worde. may eyther kepe his owne sounde, or els it may be soundyd as. z. as cheualx, or cheualz. hors, doulx, or doulz. swete mieulx, or mieulz. better which wordes may indyfferently be wryten with. x. or with z. Also this worde dieulz, ought not to be wryten with x. in the ende except it be in the nominatyf, or vocatyfe case. but by cause of ryme somtyme it hath x. in other cases. And whan x. is wryten in suche cases somtyme it is soundyd and somtyme not. As if dieux be wryten in the nominatyf case and a consonant folowe immediatly than x. shal not be soundyd. as dieux vous sauue, god saue you. dieux vous garde, god kepe you. but if this worde dieux be set in the vocatyfe case: than shall x. kepe his sounde. As benoit dieux ais pitie de moy, O blessyd god haue pyte on me.

Of. Y. ¶ This letter y. hath the sounde of this letter I and in many wordes of Frenche it ought to be wryten in stede of I by cause of comelynes of wrytynge. In latyn wordis y. ought not to be wryten, but whan any greke worde is myngled with latyn wordes for curyosite of the wryter or diffyculite of interpretacion in suche greke wordes y. muste be wryten in stede of I. in Englysshe wordes y. is moste commonly wryten in stede of I, soo that the englysshe worde be not deducte of ony latyn worde: but speccially y: muste be wryten for I, in the ende of englysshe wrodes, and whan n: m, or u, is wryten before, or behynde it.

Of. z. ¶ z. Put in the ende of a worde muste be soundyd lyke s. as querez, seke ye. auez haue ye. liscz, rede ye. And lyke wyse as s. in the ende of a frenche worde is somtyme pronounced, and somtyme not, ryght so, z. put in the ende of a worde foloweth the same rule: somtyme to be soundyd, and somtyme not as aperyth in the rule of .s.

¶ Here is also to be noted for a generall rule, that if a worde of one syllabe ende in a vowell, and the worde folowynge begynne also with another vowell, than both these wordes shalbe ioyned to gyther, as one worde:¹ both in wrytynge and soundynge. As dargent: for de argent. ladmiral, for le admiral, whiche rule also is obseruid in englysshe, as thexchetour, for the exchetour: thexperyence, the experyence.

[Here ends p. 16.]

[17-28] [Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, in alphabetical order.]

[29-30] [Numbers, Days of the Week, Months, Feasts.]

[30] [Lyfe of the graynes, French and English; the English

¹ Another general rule applicable only to a particular case, as shewn by the following examples.

part begins:—God saue the ploughe And he the whiche it ledeth
Firste ere the grounde After sowe the whete, or barly.]

[30-31] [Fishes. Proceed at p. 31, l. 14 as follows.]

¶ And also here is to be notyd *that* many wordes be which
sounde nere vnto latyn and be vsed in bothe the langages of Frenche
and Englysshe amonge eloquent men, as termes indifferently be-
longynge to both frenche *and* englysshe. So that the same sygny-
fycacyon, whiche is gyuen to them, in frenche is also gyuen to
them in englysshe,¹ as thus.

¶ Amite. Auaucement. Audacite. Bounte. Beaute. Breuyte.
Beniuolence. Benignite. Courtoys. Curiosite. Conclusion. Conspi-
racon. Coniuraccon. Compunction. Contricion. Confederacion. Con-
iunction. Detestacion. Detraccion. Denominacion. Deuulgacion.
Diuinite. Dignite. Disesperance. Exchange. Esperance. Euidence.
Fable. Frealte. Fragilite. Fragrant. Gouvernace. Grace. Humy-
lite. Humanite. Intelligence. Intellection. Interpretacion. Insur-
reccion. Indenture. Laudable. Langage. Murmuracion. Mutabilite.
Magnanimite, Patron. Patronage. Picture. Rage. Royall. Regal.
Souerayne. sustayne. Traytre. Tourment Trechery. Trayson.
Trauers. Trouble. Tremble. Transitory. Ualiant. Variance. Variable.
Uesture.

¶ These wordes *with* other lyke betoken all one thyng in
englysshe as in frenche. And who so desyreth to knowe more of
the sayd langage must prouyde for mo bokes made for the same
intent, wherby they shall *the* soner come to *the* parfyte knowlege of
the same.

¶ Here endeth the introductory to wryte *and* to pronounce
frenche compyled by Alexander bareley.

[The above ends at p. 31, col. 2, l. 9; after which: ¶ Here
foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vse of
fraunce *and* other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by
Robert coplande. Then follow on p. 32, col. 1, l. 4 from bottom:
¶ Bace daunces; at the end of which come the two concluding
paragraphs in the book.]

¶ These daunces have I set at *the* ende of this boke to thentent
that euery lerner of *the* sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may
reioyce somewhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydel-
nesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of
the rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lordc.
M.CCCC.xxi. *the*. xxii. day of Marche.

THE LAMBETH FRAGMENT ON FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1528.

This has already been described (*suprà* p. 226, note 1), but the
following extracts relating to the pronunciation, being part of those

¹ This probably does not imply that the *sound* was the same in both languages.

reprinted by Mr. Maitland, should be here reproduced, as the treatise was unknown to A. Didot.

“De la prosodie, ou, accent, comme
on doit pronsteer. briefue admonition

A	aa	¶ voelles
b	be	a. e. i. o. u.
e	ee	Toultres aultres lettrers sont
d	d	cōsonātes, deuisees en mu-
e	e	tes et demy voelles.
	effe	¶ mutes
g	g	b. c. d. f. g. k. p. q. t
h	hache	¶ Demy voelles
i	ij	f. l. m. n. r. s.
	kaa	
l	elle	Sur toultes choses doibuit no-
m	eme	ter gentz Englois, quil leur
n	enne	fault acustumer de pronū-
o	oo	cer la derniere lettre du mot
p	pe	frācois, quelq; mot que ce soit
q	qu	(rime exceptee) ce que la
r	erre	langue englesche ne permet.
s	esse	Car la ou Lenglois dit.
t	te	goode breade, Le francois
v	ou	droit go o de .iii. sillebes
x	ex	et breade .iii sillebes
z	zedes	et &. q con

Ces diptongues sone aisi pronūcees.

Ai	aider, iii.
au	aucun. iii.
ie faiet	meillieur, v. sillebes
eu	eureux iiiii
ou	ouir iii

B 1

A. ought to be pronounced from the bottom of the stomak and all openly. E. a lytell hyer in the throte there proprely where the englysshe man soundeth his a

i more hyer than the e within the mouthe

o in the roundenesse of the lypes

v in puttynge a lytell of wynde out of the mouthe thus, ou, and not you. And ye must also gyve hed fro pronounceyng e for i, nor ay, for i, as do some that for misere say maysiri.¹

A. also betokeneth, hawe or hat, whā it cometh of this verb in latin, habeo, as here after ye may se.

Of two consonantes at the ende of a word often the fyrst is left, and is not pronounced, as in this worde, perds, the d, is not pronounced. Et ie faingz g is not pronouced. Je consentz, t is not pronounced, but thus ben they wrytē bycause if y^e orthography, and to gyve knowledge, y^t perds cometh of this uerbc in latin,

¹ This probably indicates an English Salesbury's (tei-bei) with the modern pronunciation (mai'siri'i). Compare (ti'bi), for Lat. *tibi*.

perdo, and not of pers that is a coulour. . And thus may ye ymagyn of the others How-be it, I am of opynyon y^t better sholde be to pronouce euery lettre and say. . . . [the examples are taken from the French side]. *Ie perds vostre accointace en pronouceant le d)* que *Ie pers.* Pronoœc vng chacun cōme il luy plaira, car trop est difficile a corriger vielles erreurs.

S. in the myddle of a worde leseth a lytell his sowne, and is not so moche whysteled, as at y^e ende of y^e worde, as tousiours, desioyndre, despryuer, estre, despryser Deux, ss, togyder ben moche pronounced, as essayer, assembler, assurer, assieger.

S. betwene two vowelles, pronounceeth by .z. as aize, aise, nizericorde misericorde, vsage. and I beleue that by suche pronuntiaeyon, is the latyn tongue corrupte for presently yet some say mizerere for misereere.

Sp, st, ct, ought not to be deuyded asonder, but we ought to say, e sperance, not es perance, and e spaigne, not es paigne. And e sperit not es perit. e striuer, not es triuer, e stoint, not es toint. Satisfac tion, non satisfac tion. Corre ction. &c.

C. the moost often is pronounced by s, as. france pieca, ca. And yf a consonante, or other letters is ioyned with the vocale that is after the c, y^e c shall be pronounced by q, as Cardynal, concordance, cassier Combyen, couraige, cuider.

G. somtyme is pronounced by i, as, bourgeois bourgeoisse, gregois, what so euer it be, I conceille, y^t they folowe some good autour, w^tout to gyue or to make so many rules, that ne do but trouble and marre the vnderstandyng of people

1528."

PALSgrave ON FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1530.

In addition to the many quotations from Palsgrave's First Book, scattered through the above pages, the following extracts from the "Breffe Introduction of the authour for the more parfytte understanding of his fyrst and seconde bokes," ought to find a place here :

"The frenche men in theyr pronounciation do chefly regarde and couet thre thynges. To be armonious in theyr speking. To be breffe and sodayne in soundyng of theyr wordes, auoydyng all maner of harshenesse in theyr pronounciation, and thirdly to gyue euery worde that they abyde and reste vpon, theyr most audible sounde. To be armonyous in theyr spekyng, they vse one thyng which none other nation dothe,¹ but onely they, that is to say, they make a maner of modulation inwardly, for they forme certayne of theyr vowelles in theyr brest, and suffre nat the sounde of them to passe out by the mouthe, but to assende from the brest straight up to the palate of the mouth, and so by reflection yssueth the sounde of them by the nose. To be breffe and sodayne, and to auoyde all maner harshenesse, whiche myght happen whan many consonantes

¹ Did Palsgrave know anything of an argument for the recent introduction of Portuguese? If he did, this might be of nasality into Portugal.

come betwene the vowelles, If they all shulde haue theyr distyncte sounde. Most commonly they neuer vse to sounde past one onely consonant betwene two vowelles, though for kepyng of trewe orthographie, they vse to write as many consonantes, as the latine wordes haue, whiche theyr frenche wordes come out of, and for the same cause, they gyve somtyme unto theyr consonantes but a sleight and remisshe sounde, and farre more dyuersly pronounce them, than the latines do. To gyue euery worde that they abyde vpon his most audible sound, ... the frenche men iudgyng a worde to be most parfaytly herde, whan his last end is sounded hyghest, vse generally to gyue theyr accent vpon the last syllable onely, except whan they make modulation inwardly, for than gyueng theyr accent vpon the last syllable saue one, and at the last syllable of suche wordes, they sodaynly depresse theyr voyce agayne, forming the vowell in the brest

"Where as I haue sayd that to be the more armonius they make a maner of modulation inwardly, that thyng happeneth in the soundyng of thre of theyr vowelles onely A, E, and O, and that nat vniuersally, but onely so often as they come before M, or N, in one syllable, or whan E, is in the last syllable, the worde nat hauyng his accent vpon hym . . . so that these thre letters M, N, or E, fynall, nat hauyng the accent vpon hym, be the very and onely causes why these thre vowelles A, E, O, be formed in the brest and sounded by the nose. And for so moche as of necessyte, to forme the different sounde of those thre vowelles they must nedes at theyr first formyng open theyr mowth more or lesse, yet whan the vowell ones formed in the brest, ascendeth vpwardes and must haue M, or N, sounded with hym, they bryng theyr chawes to getherwardes agayne, and in so doying they seme to sound an *v*, and make in maner of A, and O, diphthonges, which happeneth by rayson of closyng of theyr mowth agayne, to come to the places where M, and N, be formed, but chiefly because no parte of the vowell at his expressyng shulde passe forth by the mowth, where as els the frenchemen sounde the same thre vowelles, in all thynges lyke as the Italiens do, or we of our nation, whiche sounde our vowelles aryght, and, as for in theyr vowell I, is no diffyeulty nor difference from the Italien sounde,¹ sayyng that so often as these thre letters

¹ This passage, which had not been noted when the observations *suprà* p. 110 were written, seems to confirm the conclusions there drawn respecting Palsgrave's pronunciation of English long *i*, which he here identifies, when sounded "aryght" with the French and Italian *i*. Concerning the Italian sound there was never any doubt. Concerning the French there is also perfect unanimity, except in the one passage from Palsgrave himself, cited *suprà* p. 109. The limitation "aryght," applied to English sounds, implies that the general pronunciation was different

from Palsgrave's, but that he disapproved of that general usage, which we know must have been (ci), and practically identified the "right" sound, that is, *his own* sound of long *i*, with (ii). Yet that it was not quite the same is shewn by the passage on p. 109. Hence the conclusion that it was (ii) appears inevitable. And as this conclusion is drawn from premises altogether different from those which led to the same result for Chaucer's pronunciation (p. 282), it is a singular corroboration of the hypothesis there started for the first time.

I, L, I, or I, G, N, come before any of the fyrst thre vowels A, E, or O, they sound an I, brefely and confusely betwene the last consonant and the vowell folowyng, where as in dede none is written whiche soundynge of I, where he is nat written, they recompence in theyr v, for thoughe they wryte hym after these three consonantes F, G and Q, yet do they onely sounde the vowell next folowyng v. . . . So that, for the most generalte, the frenche men sounde all theyr fyue vowelles lyke as the Italiens do, except onely theyr v, whiche cuer so often as they vse for a vowel alone, hath with them suche a sounde as we gyue this diphthong *ew*, in our tong in these wordes, *rewe* an *herbe*, a *mewe* for a *hawke*, a *clewe* of *threde*.

"And as touchynge theyr diphthonges, besydes the sixe, whiche be formed by addyng of the two last vowelles vnto the thre fyrst, as *ai*, *ci*, *oi*, *au*, *ev*, *ov*, they make also a seuynth by addyng of the two last vowelles together *vi*, vnto whiche they gyue suche a sounde as we do vnto *wy* in these wordes, a *swyne*, I *twyne*, I *dwyne*, soundyng *v*, and *y*, together, and nat distynctly, and as for the other sixe haue suche sounde with them as they haue in latin, except thre, for in stede of *ai*, they sounde most commonly *ei*, and fo *oi*, they sounde *oe*, and for *av*, they sounde most commonly *ow*, as we do in these wordes, a *bowe*, a *crowe*, a *snowe*,¹

"What consonantes so cuer they write in any worde for kepyng of trewe orthographie, yet so moche couyt they in redyng or spekyng to haue all theyr vowelles and diphthonges clerly herde, that betwene two vowelles, whether they chaunce in one worde alone, or as one worde fortuneth to folowe after an other, they neuer sounde but one consonant atones, in so moche that if two different consonantes, that is to say, nat beyng both of one sorte come together betwene two vowelles, they leue the fyrst of them vnsounded, and if thre consonantes come together, they cuer leue two of the fyrst vnsounded, puttyng here in as I haue sayd, no difference whether the consonantes thus come together in one worde alone, or as the wordes do folowe one another, for many tymes theyr wordes ende in two consonantes, bycause they take awaye the last vowell of the latin worde, as *Corps* commeth of *Corpus*, *Temps*, of *Tempus*, and suche lyke, whiche two consonantes shalbe lefte vnsounded, if the next worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, as well as if thre consonantes shuld fortune to come together in a worde by hym selfe. But yet in this thyng to shewe also that they forget nat theyr ternarius numerus of all theyr consonantes, they haue from this rule priuyleged onely thre, *M*, *N*, and *R*, whiche neuer lese theyr sounde where so cuer they be founde written, except onely *N*, whan he cometh in the thyrd parson plurell of verbes after *E*. . . .

"The hole reason of theyr accent is grounded chefely vpon thre poyntes, fyrst there is no worde of one syllable whiche with them

¹ This gives the following usual, as correct pronunciations: *ai* = (ei), *oi* = (oe), *au* = (ou), meaning, perhaps, (oo).

hath any accent, or that they vse to pause vpon, and that is one great cause why theyr tong semeth to vs so brefe and sodayn and so harde to be vnderstanden when it is spoken, especially of theyr paysantes or commen people, for thoughte there come neuer so many wordes of one syllable together, they pronounee them nat distinctly a sonder as the latines do, but sounde them all vnder one voyce and tenour, and neuer rest nor pause vpon any of them, except the *commying* next vnto a poynt be the cause thereof. Seconde, euery worde of many syllables hath his accent vpon the last syllable, but yet that nat withstandynge they vse vpon no suche worde to pause, except the *commying* next vnto a poynt be the causer therof, and this is one great thyng whiche inclineth the frenchemen so moche to pronounce the latin tong *amysse*, whiche contrary neuer gyue theyr accent on the last syllable. The thyrde poynte is but an exception from the secunde, for, whan the last syllable of a frenche worde endeth in E, the syllable next afore him must haue the accent, and yet is nat this rule euer generall, for if a frenche worde ende in Te, or haue z, after E, or be a preterit participle of the fyrst coniugation, he shall haue his accent vpon *the* last syllable, accordyng to the secunde rule. . . .

"Whan they leue any consonant or consonantes vnsonded, whiche folowe a vowell that shulde haue the accent, if they pause vpon hym by reason of *commying* next vnto a poynt, he shalbe long in pronunciation. So that there is no vowell with them, whiche of hymselfe is long in theyr tong As for Enclitica I note no mo but onely the primatiue pronownes of the fyrst and secunde parsones singular, whan they folowe the verbe that they do gouerne."

FRENCH PRONUNCIATION ACCORDING TO THE ORTHOEPISTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The following are the principal authorities, many of which have already been quoted, so that it will only be necessary to refer to them, and to complete this sketch by a few additional citations. They will be referred to by the following abbreviations.

- Bar. Barclay, 1521, *suprà* pp. 803-814.
- L. Lambeth fragment, 1528, *suprà* pp. 815-6.
- P. Palsgrave, 1530, *suprà* p. 31.
- S. Jacobi Sylvii Isagoge, 1531, *suprà* p. 33.
- G. du Guez, 1532, *suprà* p. 31.
- M. Meigret, 1545 and 1550, *suprà* pp. 31 and 33.
- Pell. Pelletier, 1555, *suprà* p. 33.
- R. Ramus, 1562, *suprà* p. 33.
- B. Beza, 1584, *suprà* p. 33.
- E. Erondelle, 1605, *suprà* p. 226, note, col. 1.
- H. Holyband, 1609, *suprà* p. 227, note, col. 1.

See especially Livet (*suprà* p. 33), and Didot (*suprà* 589, note 1), for accounts of all these writers except Bar. L. E. H. Didot's *Historique des réformes orthographiques proposées ou accomplies*, forming appendix D to his work, pp. 175-394, carries the list of authors down to the present day, and is very valuable.

In the following tabular view, simple numbers following any

author's name refer to the page of this work in which the required quotation will be found; if p. is prefixed, the reference is to the page of the author's own work, of which the title is given in the passages just referred to. No pretension is made to completeness.

In order not to use new types, the three varieties of *e* are represented by *e*, *e*, *e*, in all the authorities (except Sylvius, where they could not be clearly distinguished, and where his own signs are *é*, *è*, *ê*, therefore employed), and *x*, *z*, are used for Meigret's forms for *n*, *l*, *mouillés*. In Ramus certain combinations of letters, as *au*, *eu*, *ou*, *ch*, are formed into new letters, and are here printed in small capitals thus *au*, *eu*, *ou*, *ch*. Sylvius employs *at*, *ot*, &c., as diphthongs, where the circumflex properly extends over both letters, but the modern form has been used for convenience.

The Vowels and Diphthongs.

A=(*a*) L. 815, *A*=(*a*) P. 59, *A*=(*a*) "ore largiter diducto profertur" S. 2, *A*=(*a*) G. 61, uncertain (*a*, *a*) M., Pell., R. *A*=(*a*) B. *A*=(*a*), E. 226, n. Afterwards English writers identify it with (*aa*). In this uncertainty it is best taken to be a full (*a*), but not (*ah*), as B. warns, saying "Hæ vocalis. sono in radice linguæ: solis faucibus formato, ore hianthe clarè et sonore à Francis effertur, quum illam Germani *obscurius* et sono quodam ad quartam vocalem *o* accedente pronuntient." B. p. 12. In the termination *-age*=(*ai*) P. 120. "You must note that *a* is not pronounced in these words, *Aoust*, *saoul*, *arner*, *ariste*, which wordes must bee pronounced as if they were written thus, *oat*, *soo*, *orner*, *oreeste*." E.

AI=(*ai*) Bar. 806, doubtful, L. 815, *AI*=(*ai* ci) P. 118. "Diphthongas à Græcis potissimum mutuati videntur, scilicet, *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *oy*, *au*, *eu*, *ou*. Eas tamen quam ceteri Europæ populi plenius et purius pronuntiatione, si quid iudico, exprimimus. Si ipse simul concretæ, debent in eadem syllaba vim suam, hoc est, potestatem et pronuntiationem retinere, ut certe ex sua definitione debent. Frustra enim distinctæ sunt tam literæ quam diphthongi, si sono et potestate nihil differunt. Namque *ai* Græcis propriam, Latinis quibusdam poetis usurpatam, non se seu q cum Græcis: non *ai* divisas vocales cum poetis Latinis, sed *ai* una syllaba utriusque vocalis sonum leniter exprimente, pronuntiamus: qualis vox ægrotis et derepente læsis est plurima." S. p. 8. This should

mean, "not (*r*), nor (*ai*), but (*ai*)," especially as (*ai*) is a common foreign groan answering to the English (*ou*!). But the following passages render this conclusion doubtful: "at diphthongum Græcam ut sæpe dividunt Latini, dicentes pro *h* *μαα* Mai-a, *δ* *ζαι* Ai-ax, & Aulai, aquai. pietai, terrai pro aulæ, aquæ, terræ. Sic nos eandem modo conjunctam servamus, modo dividimus ad significandum diversa, ut G-è trai [g- is the consonant (*zh*), è is the auto-guttural] id est traho et sagittam emitto, quam ob id traiet à tractus vocamus. G-è trai, id est prodo et in fraudem traho, licet hoc à trado videri queat. G'-hai, id est habes et teneo: infinitivo hanoir. G-è hai et g-è hé, id est, habeo odio et odi. infinitivo hair, uti à trai traitre: à trai traitr infinitivos habemus" S. p. 14. "Diæresis, id est divisio unius syllabæ in duas, ut Albai, longai, syluæ trissyllaba; pro Albæ, longæ, syluæ dissyllabus. Eadem modo et Galli *βόσκον* bois, id est lignum et sylva. bois, id est buxus. Habeo g'-hai, id est teneo, et g-è hai, id est odi" S. p. 56. Hence perhaps Sylvius's diphthong was really (*æ*) although he disclaims it. *A*=(*ai*, *ei*, *e*) the last two more frequently, M. 118, Pell., R. 119, B. *A*=(*e*) in *éay*, *ie feray*,=(*a*,*i*) in *Ess-y-e*, *abba-y-e*,=(*i*) in *ains*, *ainçois*, *ainsi*, E. nearly the same II. 227 note. The usage of M., Pell., R., B. seems to be as follows.

(*ai*)—aymant, aydant, hair, payant, gayant, ayant, ayans, aye, ayet, ayons, vraye, nayf, M.—païs, payer, naïue, Pell.—paiant, gaïant, aidant,

paï, aïeul, hair, R.—aimer, in Picardy, B. 583, note 4.

(ei, ei)—soudein, vrey, vreyes (fo. 121) cერიცის, cinsi, çertein, marrein, eyt, sey, seinte, retreintif, mein, eymé, and throughout the verb fo. 109b-111b, je repoudrey, je le ferey, eyder, j'ey, j'aorey, q'il eyt, &c M.—einçoes, contreint, certainement, creinte, dedaigner, eyant, einsi, eide, eidan, eyous, vrel, vreye, Romeine, meintenant, procheinete, je crein conuein, &c. Pell.—fontaine, creindre serteine, eimer, einnant, etein, mein, putein, eiet = *agent*, einsi, procheine, kreint = *craint*, eime, eimee, demein, &c. R.—gucine = *gaine*, B.

(E, e)—grammere, fet, rezons, trette, mes, fere, deruezon, mezon, ses = *sais*, nyes = *niais*, nieze, eze, n' et = *ait*, lesse, contrere, liezon, maouez, treze, fezant, treze = 13, seze = 16, dizezet = 17, deplet, oculere &c. M.—sez, fet, aferes, james, cleremant, mes, fere, malaiseses = *malaisées*, netre, necesere, "les uns diset *eimer*, les autres *emer*," "les uns diset *plesir*, les autres *plesir* par un *e* clos", reson, vulguere = *vulgaire*, &c., Pell.—vreement, terminizon, kontrere, pale, pr, mes, parfet, parfes, vulgerre, vreseau, sere = *serai*, aure = *aurai*, vre, parfes, fis, = *faits*, R.—After the passage quoted supra p. 583, note 4, B. says, "sicut autem posteriores Latini Anlai et Pictai dissyllaba quæ poetæ per διδασκον trissyllaba fecerunt, mutant in Anlae et Pictæ, ita etiam Franci, licet servata vetere scriptura, coeperunt hanc diphthongum per *ae* pronuntiare; sic tamen vt in eius prolatione, neque *a* neque *e* audiatur, sed mixtus ex hac vtraque vocali tertius sonus, is videlicet quem *e* aperto attribuimus. Quum enim vocalis *e* proprie pene conjunctis dentibus enuntietur, (qui sonus est *e* quem elausum vocauimus) in hac diphthongo adjectum *a* prohibet dentes ocludi, et vicissim *e* vetat ne *a* claro illo et sono sono profertur," B., p. 41.

AOU=(au) M. 142,—“Nous auons vne diphthongue de *a* et ou que nous escripuons par *au*, comme en ce mot *Aoust*, qui est en Latin *Mensis Au-*

gustus. Mais cest en ce seul mot, qui se prononce toutefois auioirdhuy presques par la simple voyelle comme oust: et nest ia besoing pour vng mot de faire vne regle: Ceste diphthongue est fort vsitee en Latin, comme en ces mots, *Author*, *Audio*, *Augeo*; ou la premiere syllabe doit estre prononcee comme en *Aoust*.” R. p. 36.

AU=(au) ? Bar. 803. *AU*=(au, oon) P. 141, 817, n. “Super hec, *au* *eu*, cum Græcis: au, eu, cum Latinis pronuntiamus, ut *αὐτονομος* *αὐτοὺς*, *εὐαγγέλιον* *εὐαγγεῖον* (in quibus tamen *u* seu *u* consonantem sonat, non vocalem Græcis, Latinis, Gallis) audire aſiri, neutre neutre” S. p. 8., this is quite unintelligible. *AU*=(ao) M. 141. *AU*=(o) ? Pell. *AU*=(co) ? “vne voyelle indiuisible; . . . ceste voyelle nest ny Greeque ny Latine, elle est totalement Francoyse,” R. p. 6 meaning perhaps that *au* is not pronounced in this way in Latin or Greek, but only French, R. 143, note. *AU*=(o) “sic vt vel parum vel nihil admodum differat ab *o* vocali,” B. p. 43, see 143, note. “Pronounce *au* almost like *ô* long, as *aultre* *d'autant*, *aumône*, almost, but not altogether, as if it were written *ôte*, *dôtaunt*, *ômône*,” B. That is (*oo*) instead of (*oo*) ? Was the change (au, ao, o) ?

E=(*ε*) I. 816, 226, note, G. 61; *E*=(*ε*, *e* ?), and, when now mute and final=(*o*, ?) P. 77, 181 n. 5, and 818. “Literæ omnes vt apud Græcos & Latinos, ita quoque apud Gallos sonum in pronuntiando triplicem exprimunt, plenum, exilem, medium. Plenum quidem, exempli gratia, vocales, quando aut puræ sunt, aut syllabas iniunt, vt ago, egi, ibo, oua, vnus. Exilem quando ipsæ *n* vel *n*, in eadem syllaba antecedunt, vt am, em, im, vm, an, en, in, ou. Medium, quando consonantes alias, vt, al, pl, il, ol, ul. . . . E Gallis tam frequens quam a Italis et Narbonensibus, sonum plenum obtinens, (id est quoties aut purum est, aut syllabam finit) à Gallis trifariam pronuntiat, plene scilicet, qualiter Latini pronuntiant in verbo legere; tuncque ipsum velut acuti accentus virgula signamus, ob id quod voce magis exerta profertur. vt amatus amé, bonitas bonté; et ita in cæteris fermé nominibus in as, et in partici-

piis præteriti temporis primæ. Sed excommunicam, sacrificium et similia, quando scilicet i præcedit, ferè Galli pronuntiant. Deinde exiliter, et voce propemodum muta; quod tum, grauis accentus virgula notamus, quoniam vox in eo languescens velut intermoritur, vt ana aimès, Petrus Pierrè. Medio denique modo, quod lincola à sinistra in dextram partem æqualiter & recte ducta ostendimus vt amate aimès. Adde quod syllabam el, nonnunquam voce Latinorum proferimus, vt crudelis cruel, quo modo Gabriel, aliquando autem ore magis hianti: vt illa ellè. E etiam ante r, s, t, x, & quasdam alias consonantes, in omnibus apud Latinos vocem non habet eandem. Natiuum enim sonum in pater, es à sum, et textus pronuntiatione quorundam retinet. In erro autem, gentes, docet, ex, nimis exertum, et, vt sic dicam, dilutum. Sic apud Gallos sono genuino profertur in pér, à par paris; és à sum; ét, coniunctione: in qua t omnino enprimunt Galli contra rationem. Alieno autem et lingua in palatum magis reducta, diductisque dentibus in erracer pro erracer, id est, eradicare: es, id est assis; écrire [s means s mute], id est scribere ettone, id est attonitus; à pedo pet: epellet, id est appellare, extraire: id est extrahere." — S. p. 2. The passage is very difficult to understand. His *é* seems to be (*ee*), his *è* (*v*), his *ê* (*e*), and his exceptional *e* to be (*e*). *Ê* = (*e*, *e*?) M. 119, note, = (*e*, *e*, *v*?) Pell. R. 119, n. "Tertius huius vocalis sonus Græcis et Latinis ignotus, is ipse est qui ab Hebræis puncto quod Seva raptum vocant, Galli vero *e* foemineum propter imbecillam et vix sonoram vocem, appellant." B. p. 13. — "*e* Feminine hath no accent, and is sometimes in the beginning or midst of a word, as *mesurer*, *mener*, *taçitement*, but most commonly at the ende of wordes, as *belle fille*, *bonne Dame*, hauing but halfe the sound of the *é* masculine, and is pronounced as the second syllable of these latine wordes *facere*, *legere*, or as the second sillable of *namely*, in English, and like these english wordes *Madame*, *table*, sauing that in the first, the english maketh but too sillables, and we make three, as if it were written *Ma-da-me* and in *table* the english pronounceth it

as if the *e* were betweene the *b* and the *l* thus, *tabel*, and the French doe sound it thus, *ta-ble*; you must take heede not to lift vp your voice at the last *e* but rather deprese it. *e* Feminine in these wordes, *le lisoye*, *l'escrivoys*, and such like, is not sounded, and serveth there for no other vse then to make the word long: doe not sound *e* in this word *dea*, as, *ouy dea Monsieur*, say *ouy da*: sound this word *Iehan* as if it werewritten *Ian*," B. And, similarly: "We do not call, *é*, masculine for the respect of any gender, but because that it is sounded liuely: as *dote*, *lapide*, *me*, *te* in Latine: . . . and by adding another, *e*, it shall be called *e*, feminine, because that it hath but halfe the sound of the other, *é*: as *tansée*, *fouëtée*, &c. where the first is sharpe, but the other goeth slowly, and as it were deadly. . . . VVheresocuer you find this, *e*, at the words end, it is an, *e*, feminine. . . . pronounce it as the second syllable of *bodely* in English, or the second of *facere* in Latin," H. p. 156. The transition in case of the present *e* must seems to have been (*e*, *v*, *e*) in French, and in German to have stopped generally at (*v*), though (*e*) is still occasionally heard, 195, n. 2. *EAU* = (*eo*) M. 137. *EAU* = (*vo*?) Pel. who notes the Parisian error *en sio d'io* for *un seau d'eau*, p. 17, shewing only a variety in the initial letter. *EAU* = (*vo*), as *chapeau*, *manteau*, R. p. 37. — "In hac triphthongo auditur *e* clausum cum diphthongo *au*, quasi scribas *eo*, vt *eau* aqua (quam vocem maiores nostri scribebant et proferebant addito *e* foeminino *eaue*)," B. p. 52. "Pronounce these wordes *beau*, *veau*, almoste as if there were no *e*," E. *EI* = (*ci*, *cei*) P. 118, "et quoque [see Syluius remarks on *ai*], seu *ei*, non tantum cum Græcis, neque nunc *i*, nunc *e* cum Latinis, hanc in hei interiectione servantibus, in voce autem Græca in *i*, aliquando in *e* permutantibus et pronuntiantibus; nec ei diuisas vocales efferimus, sed ei monosyllabum, voce scilicet ipsa ex vtraque in unam concreta, ut ingenium engen, non engen, nec engin." S. p. 8. This ought to mean "not (*i*), nor (*e*), nor (*ei*), but (*ei*)," yet the description cannot be trusted, see *AI*. We find: *peine*, *peintres*, *çeinture*, *s'emerveillant*, &c M. —

Meigret, meilheures, peine, pareilhe, Pel.—peine, feindre, peindre, reine, Seine, elaine = Hélène, lt.—“Hæc diphthongus [ei] non profertur nisi mox sequente *n*, et ita pronuntiatur ut panlulum prorsus ab *i* simpliciter differat, vt *gueine* vagina [= *gaine*], *plein* plenus; cuius tamen femininum *plene*, usus obtinuit ut absque *i* scribatur et efferatur, Picardis exceptis, qui ut sunt vetustatis tenaces, scribunt et integro sono pronuntiant *pleine*,” B. p. 46.—“Pronounce these words *neige*, *seigne*, or any words where *e* hath *i* or *y*, after it like *é* masculine, as though there were no *i* at all.” E.

EU=(eu, ey?) Barc. 806, L. 815, *EU*=(eu, y) P. 137.—“Eusonum habet varium, aliquando eundem cum Latinis, hoc est plenum, ut eos cotis c^ocūt, securus seūr, maturus meūr, qualis in euge, Tydeus [this should be (eu)]. aliquando exilem et proprius accedentem ad sonum diphthongi Gæcæ *eu*, ut cēūr [in Sylvius the sign is eu with a circumflex over both letters, and a bar at the top of the circumflex, thus indicated for convenience], soror seūr, morior g-è meūr: nisi quod u in his, non velut f sonat (quomodo in *au* et *eu*) sed magis in sonum u vocalis inclinat (can this mean (ey)?) : id scribendo ad plenum exprimi non potest, pronuntiando potest. Sed in his forte et in quibusdam aliis. hæc vocis eū varietas propter dictionum differentiam inuerta et recepta est. Illam eū, hanc eū lineola in longum superne producta, sonum diphthongi minus compactum et magis dilutum significante notamus.” S. p. 9. The difficulty of distinguishing “round” vowels, that is those for which the lips are rounded, from diphthongs, especially in the case of (y, ø),—see Hart, *suprà* p. 167, p. 796, n. col. 1, and B.’s remark below, makes all such descriptions extremely doubtful. S. may have meant (y, ø) or (y, œ) by these descriptions, and these are the modern sounds. *EU*=(ey) M. 137, see note on that page for G. des autels, Pel. B.—“La sixiesme voyelle cest vng son que nous escripons par deux voyelles *e* et *u*, comme en ces mots, *Peur*, *Meur*, *Seur*, qui semble aussi auoir este quelque diphthongue, que nos ancestres ayent prononcee et escripte, et puis apres,

comme nous auons diet de Au que ceste diphthongue ayt este reduicte en vne simple voyelle: ou bien que lon aye pris a peu pres ce que lon poueroit.” R. p. 9.—“In hac diphthongo neutra vocalis distinctè sed sonus quidem [quidam?] ex *e* et *u* temperatus auditur, quem et Græcis et Latinis ignotum vix liceat ulla descriptio peregrinis exprimere.” B. p. 46.—“*e* In these words, *du feu* which signifieth fire, *en peu* a little, *demeurer* to dwell or tarry, *en Ieu* a Playe or game, *tu veulx* thou wilt, are not pronounced like these: *Je feu* I was, *I’ay peu* I haue bene able, *I’eu* I had, *Je les ay veus* I haue scene them: for these last and such like, ought to be pronounced in this wise *Je fu*, *I’ay pu*, *Iu*, *vus*, as though there were no *e* at all, but *u*, and in the former words, *e* is pronounced and ioyned with *u*.” E. As *eu* is frequently interchangeable with or derived from *o*, *ou*, the probability is that the transition was (n, eu, œ, ø) both the sounds (œ ø) being now prevalent, but not well distinguished, see 162, note 3, and 173, note 1. It will be seen by referring to this last place that I had great difficulty in determining what sounds M. Féline intended by “l’e sourd” and *eu* in modern French. I there decided that the former was (ø) and the latter (œ). M. Féline has been dead several years, but Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who conversed with him on the subject, says that I have just reversed the values of Féline’s letters, and that Féline’s *e* & *œ* are my (œ, ø) respectively. Hence wherever I have hitherto cited Féline’s pronunciations this correction must be made, and especially on 327, the signs (ø, œ) must be interchanged throughout, as (kœ læ siel kelkœ zhur) for (ke lœ siel kelkø zhur). It will be seen in the same place, *suprà* 173, note 1, that M. Tarterer made no distinction between the two sounds. M. Edouard Paris, in the introduction to his translation of St. Matthew into the Picard dialect of Amiens, brought out by the Prince, makes *e* “sourd” in *le*, *peu*, *de*, *jeu*, meaning, as the Prince informed me (lœ, pœ, dœ, zhœ), and *eu* “ouvert” in *vent* *peuple*, meaning, on the same authority, (yœf, peuph). On turning to M. Féline’s

Dictionary I find, as interpreted by the Prince, (læ, pæ, dæ, zhæ; væf, pæpl), so that in the two words *le, de*, Féline differs from 'E. Paris, and the latter agrees with me in the sound I have assigned to these words. According to the Prince, half France says (læ, dæ), and the other half (læ, dœ). In Germany also the sounds (æ, œ) are confused, and have no difference of meaning. In Icelandic they are kept distinct by the different orthographies *u*=(*o*), *ö*=(*œ*), 546, 548. Compare also the mutation or *umlaut*, (*o* . . *i*=*eh*, *e*, *ï*), 557.

I=(*i*, *ii*) L. 815, P. G. 100, 110, occasionally (*ii*?) P. 109, 817, n. *I*=(*i*) S. M. Pel. R. B.—“Our *i* is sounded as *i*, in these english words, *it, is*, or as the english double, *ee* as *si vous avez tiré*, sound as if it were written *see voos ave teéré*.” E.

O=(*o*) P. 93. “A, i, o, Latinorum pronuntiationem, quod sciam, apud Gallos non mutant.” S. p. 2. The traditional pronounciation of Latin *o* in Italy is (*o*); and (*o*), as distinguished from (*o*) which must be attributed to *au*, seems to be the sound accepted for French *o*, by the other authorities. See also B. 131, note col. 2.—“*o* is sounded as in English, and in the same use, as *poë, sot, opprobre*, saving that in these wordes following, *o* is sounded like the english double *oo*, as *mol, fol, sol, col*, which must be pronounced, leauing *l*, thus: *foo, moo, soo, coo*, except this word *Sol*, as *en escu Sol*, a Crowne of the Sun: where enery letter is pronounced.” E.

OEU. “[scribimus] *oeuvre, vocu, oeuf* . . . in quibus tamen omnibus *o* penitus quiescit. Pronuntiamus enim *euure, euf, beuf*.” B. p. 54.

OI=(*oi*, *œ*?) Barc. 806, *OI*=(*oi*, *œ*, *œ*?) P. 130. “*oi*, non *i*, cum Græcis, nec *œ* cum Latinis, sed *vi* utriusque vocalis seruata, ut monachus moine: datiuo *moi*, id est mihi *moi*. Eodem sono *oy* pronuntiamus ut genitivo *mov*, id est mei *môy*.” S. p. 8. This ought to mean *oi*=(*oi*), and the last remark may refer only to the use of *moi* in French for both *moi, mov* in Greek. Again he says: “Quid quod hæc diphthongus pro *e* supposita Parrhisiensibus adeo placuit, ut ipsarum quoque mutarum voces in *e* desinentes, per *oi* Parrhisi-

enses corruptè pronuntient, *boi, cœoi, doi, gœoi, poi, toi, pro be, œe, de, ge, te*; Quo minus mirum est Gallos pronomina *moi toi soi* pronuntiare. Desinant igitur Picardis, puritatem lingue et antiquitatem integrius seruantibus illudere Galli, quod dicant *mi, ti, si raro*; et *mè, tè, sè à mihi vel mi, tibi, sibi, vel ti, si*, analogia primæ personæ. Quamquam *moi, toi, soi, tolerabiliora sint*, et fortè Græcanica, vt in pronomine ostendimus. Neque posthac in Normannos eaulientur, omnia hæc prædicta et consimilia non per *oi*, sed per *e* pronuntiantes, *telè, estellè* [s used for S.'s mark of mute s], *sée, ser, dé, tect, velè, vèrè, ré, lé, amèè, &c. aimèrèè, &c* [modern, *toile, étoile, soie, soir, dois, toit, voile, voire, roi, loi, amaye? amabam, aimeraye? amarem*] Quam pronuntiationem velut postliminio reuersam hodiè audimus in sermone accolarum huius vrbis et incolarum, atque adeò Parrhisiensium. vt verum sit Horatianum illud, Multa renascentur, quæ iam cecidere. Esse quid hoc dicam? pro stella estoillè dicunt adhuc nonnulli. pro stellatus autem si qui estoillè, non estellè, pro adueratus (sic enim pro aserta re et affirmata loquuntur) *au-oïrè*, non *au-erè* [*u*=(*v*)]: endoibté ab indebitatus, id est ære alieno oppressus, non endebté: sofetè non seetè, diminutium à sericem pronuntiet, omnes risu emori et barbarum explodere.” S. p. 21. Viewed in relation to modern habits, some of these uses are very curious. *OI*=(*oi*, *œ*, *œ*?) M. 130. *OI*=(*oi*, *œ*, *œ*), Pell. As in the following words: *sauroes, François, connoessances, j'auœ, renoet, auœt* = *avaient, prononœet, croe, toe, aparœetre, moe, terroer, voyeœ, foœ*, —“Et certain par les Écriz des Vicus Rimeurs François, qu'iz disoet iz aloyet iz fesoyet de troes silabes” Pel. p. 127.—“Aujourd'hui les uns diset *eimer*, les autres *emer*, les uns j'emœe les autres metœt ou y au la pénultime *e* diset j'emœeœe, j'oœeœe les autres. Les uns diset *Reine* les autres *Roœne*. Memes a la plus part des Courtisans vous orrez dire iz alœet, iz venœt: pour iz aloœt, iz venœœt.” Pel. p. 85.—*OI*=(*oi*) *moindre, poindre, point, coin, soin, voyant, oyant, lar-*

moyant, fouldroyant, and = (œ), œies, voela. &c R. *OI*=(oi, œ) and (oa) faultily, B. 130 note.—“Whereas our Countrymen were wont to pronounce these wordes, *connoistre* to knowe, *apparoistra* it shall appere, *Il parle bon François* he speaketh good French, *Elle est Angloise* she is an English-woman, as it is written by *oi* or *oy*: Now since fewe yéeres they pronounce it as if it were written thus, *conétre, apparétra, fraunsés, Auglésc.*” E. *OU*=(ou?) L. 815. *OU*=(u) P. 149, “*ou* seu *ou* cum neutris [Græcis et Latinis] pronuntiamus: siquidem nec per u Græcorum more, sed contra u in *ou* seu *ou* persepe mutamus: Hac autem diphthongo caret sermo Latinus.” S. p. 8. 9. As there is no reasonable doubt that old french *ou*=(uu), this passage is quite unintelligible, unless, by saying that the Greeks called it *u*, he meant to imply that they called it (yy). No other passage in S. elucidates this. *OU* is called “o clos,”=(uh?) M. 149,

but see 131, note, col. 2; Pell. & R. evidently take *OU*=(u).—“In hac diphthongo neque o sonorum, neque u exile, sed mixtus ex utroque sonus auditur, quo Græci quidem veteres suum v, Romani verò suum v vocale vt et nunc Germani, efferebant.” B. p. 49.—E. writes the sound oo in English letters.

U=(y) L. 815, P. 163, “ordine postremum, ore in angustum clauso, et labiis paululum exporrectis” S. p. 2, probably M. 164; and similarly Pell., R.—“Hæc litera, quum est vocalis, est Græcorum ypsilon, quod ipsa quoque figura testatur, efferturque veluti sibilo constrictis labris efflato,” B. p. 17.—E. 227, note 1; H. 228, note.

UI, is not alluded to by any other authority except P., probably because it occasioned no difficulty, each element having its regular sound (yi) as at present. But P. is peculiar, 110, 818. E. writes the sound *wee* in English letters.

The Nasal Consonants and their effect on the Vowels.

M, “in the frenche tong hath three dyuers soundes, the soundyng of m, that is most generall, is suche as he hath in the latyn tong or in our tong. If m folowe any of these thre vowelles a, e, or o, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthyng in the nose, as I have before declared, where I have shewed the soundyng of the sayd thre vowelles [143, 150. and also: “if m or n folowe nexte after e, all in one syllable, than e shall be sounded lyke an Italian a, and some thyng in the noose.”] If m, folowyng a vowel, come before b, p, or sp, he shalbe sounded in the nose and almost lyke an n, as in these wordes *plomb, colômb, champ, domptér, circumspéction*, and suchlike.” P. folio 3, see also supra 817.—“M, est ferme au commencement de la syllabe: en fin elle est liquide, comme *Marie, Martyr, Nom, Bam, Arriereban*: qui a este cause a nos Grammairiens enseigner que m deuant p, estait presques supprimee, comme en *Camp, Champ*. N est volontiers ferme au commencement du mot, et en la fin: comme *Nanin, non*, mais au milieu elle est quelquefois liquide, comme en *Compaignon*,

Espagnol,” R. p. 24. Here the “liquid” n appears to be (nj), and n final is “firm” as well as n initial, but a difference between m final and m initial is found, the latter only being “firm” and the former “liquid,” and this liquidity, which is otherwise incomprehensible, would seem to imply the modern nasality of the previous vowel, were not final n, the modern pronunciation of which is identical, reckoned “firm.” The two passages are therefore mutually destructive of each other’s meaning. In his phonetic writing R. makes no distinction between firm and liquid m, but writes liquid n (nj) by an n with a tail below like that of ç.

N=(n) only, Bar. 810. *N* “in the frenche tong, hath two dyuers soundes. The soundyng of n, thau is moost generall, is suche as is in latyne or in our tonge. If n folowe any of these thre vawelles a, e, or o, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthyng in the nose, as I have before declared, where I have spoken of the sayd thre vowelles. That n leseth never his sounde, nother in the first nor meane syllables, nor in the last syllables, I have afore declared in the generall

rules. But it is nat to be forgotten, that *n*, in the last syllable of the thirde parsons pluresses of verbes endyng in *ent*, is ever lefte vnsounded." P. fol. 13.—In the phrase *enallant*, M. heard *en nallant*, with the same *n* at the end of the first word as at the beginning of the second, 189.—"Francisc sic rectè scripseris *Pierre s'en est alle*, quod tamen sic efferendum est, *Pierre s'en nest alle*. Sic *on m'en a parle* ac si scriptum esset, *on m'en na parle*, illo videlicet prioris dictionis *n* daghessato, et cum voeli sequentem vocem incipiente coniuncta, pro eo quod Parisiensium vulgus pronuntiat: *il se nest alle*, *en me na parle*, per *e* fœmineum vt in pronominiibus *se* et *me*. Sed hoc in primis curandum est peregrinis omnibus quod antea in literam *m* monui [ita videlicet vt non modò labia non occludantur, sed etiam linguæ mucro dentium radicem non feriat p. 30], nempe hanc literam quoties syllabam finit, quasi dimidiato sono pronuntiamdam esse, mucrone videlicet linguæ minimè illiso superiorum dentium radici, alioqui futura molestissima pronuntiatione: quo vitio inter Francos laborant etiamnum hodie Nortmanni. Græcos autem haud aliter hanc literam ante *κ*, *γ*, *χ*, pronuntiare consuevisse annotat ex Nigidio Figulo Agellius." B. p. 32. This description seems to indicate the modern pronounciation nearly. E. and H. have no remarks on M, N.

AM, AN=(*au, m, au, n*) P. 143, 190, but this nasalisation is rendered doubtful by his treatment of final *e* as (*o*), 181, note 5, and 817.—For S. see under *E*, suprâ p. 822, col. 1. "Vrèi et qu'an Normandic, e ancores an Bretagne an Anjou e an. . . . Meine . . . iz prononect l'a dauant *n* un peu bien grossemant, e quasi comme s'il i auoet *ann* par diftongue [which according to his value of *au* should = (*œn*), but he probably meant (*aun*)] quand iz diset Normand, Nautes, Aungers, le Mauns: graund chere, e les autres. Mes tele maniere de prononcer sant son terroir d'une lieue." Pell. p. 125. "Pronounce alwaies *an* or *ans*, as if it were written *aun*, *auns*," E. that is, in 1609. (*aan*, *aans*). "Also in these words following, *o* is not sounded, *en paon*,

en faon, *en tahon* . . . all which must be pronounced leauing *o* thus: *paun*, *faun*, *en taun*." E.

AIN=(*ein*), see under *AI*, for numerous examples. *AI*=(*in*), "Also in these wordes, *ains*, *ainçois*, *ainsi*, or any other word where *a* is ioyned with *in*, *a* loseth his sound and is pronounced as english men doe pronounce their *I*, as if it were *ins*, *insee*, *insois*. Also *pain*, *vilain*, *hau-tain*, *remain*, are to bee pronounced as the english *i*." E.—*AI*=(*in*?) "We sound, *ain*, as, *in*: so in steed of *main*, *maintenant*, *demain*, *saint* . . . say, *min*, *mintenant*, *demin*, *sint*: but when *e*, followeth *n*, the vowel *i*, goeth more toward *a*; as *balaine* a whale, *sepmaine* a weeke, ... and to make it more plaine, *romain*, *certain*, *vilain*, *souverain*, are pronounced as *romin*, *certin*, *vilin*: but adde *e*, to it, and the pronounciation is cleane altered, so that, *romaine*, is as you sound, *vaine*, in English and such like, but more shorter." H. p. 186.

EM, EN=(*em, en*?) except in *-ent* of the 3rd person plural=(*-et*)? Bar. 810; *EM, EN*=(*a, m, a, n*) when not before a vowel, P. 189, "Quid quod Parrhisienses e pro *a*, et *contrâ*, præsertim m vel n sequente, etiam in Latinis dictionibus, Censorini exemplo, et scribunt et pronuntiant, magna sepe infamia, dum amantes pro amantes, et *contrâ* amantes pro amantes, aliâque id genus ratione confundunt." S. p. 11. It is not quite certain whether S. is referring to the Parisian pronounciation of Latin or French, as the example is only Latin, but probably, both are meant. Observe his remarks under *E*, suprâ p. 821, col. 2. *EM, EN*=(*em, en*). M. 189. *EM, EN*=(*am, an*), Pell. who objects to the pronounciation (*em, en*) of M., and says: "mon auis et de deuoir ecrire toutes teles diccions plus tot par *a* que par *e*. Car de dire qu'il i est diference en la prolacion des deus dernières silabes de *amant* et *firmament*, c'est a fere a ceus qui regardet de trop pres, ou qui veulet parler trop mignonnemant: Samblablement antre les penultimes de *conscience* e *alliance*. E le peut on ancor' plus certainement connoistre, quand on prononce ces deus propositions qui sont de *meisme* chye, mes de diuers sans, Il ne

m'an mant de mot: e, Il ne m'an mande mot. Combien que proprement a la rigneur ce ne soet ni a ni e. E. confesse que les silabes équeles nous metons e auant n, me samblet autant maleseers a representer par letres Latines, que nules autres que nous eyons en notre François. Brief, l'e qu'on met vulguere-ment an science sonne autrement que l'e de scientia Latin: la ou proprement il se prononce comme an François celui de ancien, sien, bien." Pel. p. 25. "Toutesfoes pour confesser verite, an toutes teles diccions, le son n'et pleinement e ni a (antre léquez i à diners sons, comme diuer- ses mistions de deus couleurs selon le plus e le moins de chacune) toutesfoes le son participe plus d'a que d'e. E par ce que bonnement il i faudrozt une nouuele letre, ce que je n'introdui pas bien hardiment, comme j'e ja dit quelques foies; pour le moins an atendant, il me semble meilleur d'i metre un a. E sans doute, il i à plus grande distinction an l' Italien, e memes an notre Prouuançal, an prononçant la voyele e auant n. Car nous, e eus la prononçons clerement. Comme au lieu que vous dites santir e mantir deuers l'a, nous prononçons sentir e mentir deuers l'e: e si font quasi toutes autres naciones fors les François." Pel. p. 125.—R. writes phonetically: en, differenses, envoie, enfans, &c like M.—"Coalescens e in eandem syllabam cum m, vt temporel tempo-ralis, vel n, siue sola et sonora vt s'enten ego intelligo: siue adiuncto d vt entend intelligit; vel vt content contentus; pronunciat ut a. Itaque in his vocibus constant constans: and content contentus, An annus, and en in, diuersa est scriptura, pron-unciatio verò recta, vel eadem, vel tenuissimi discriminis, et quod vix auribus percipi possit. Excipe quatuor has voculas, *ancien* trissylla-bum, antiquus; *lien* vinculum, and *moijen* medium, *fem* firmus, dissyl- laba; and *quotidien* quotidianus, quatuor syllabarum: denique omnia gentilia nomina, vt *Parisien*, Parisi-ensis, *Savoisien* Sabaudiensis; in quibus e clausum scribitur et distinctè auditur, i; and e nequaquam in diph- thongum conuenientibus. . . . Alter huius fiterre sonus adulterinus est idem atque literæ i' geminatæ duplicis, in

unam tamen syllabam coalescentis, quanvis scribatur *ie*, litera n sequente atque dictionem finiente. Sic in his monosyllabis rectè pronuntiatis ac- cidit, *bien* bonum, vel benè, *ehien* canus: *Chrestien* Christianum dissyl- labum, *mien* meus, *rien* nihil: *sien* suus; *tien* tuus vel tene, cum com- positis; *vien* venio, vel veni cum compositis: quæ omnia vocabula sic à purè pronuntiantibus efferuntur ac si scriptum esset i duplici *bien* *ehien* &c." B. p. 15.—"When e feminine maketh one sillable with m or n, it is sounded almost like a, as *enfantement*, *emmailloter*, pro- nounce it almost as *anfaumentant*, *ammallioter*, except when i or y commeth before en as *moyen*, *doyen*, *ancien*, or in wordes of one sillable, as *mien*, *tien*, *ehien*, *rien*, *sien*, which be all pronounced by e and not by a. Also, all the verbes of the third per- son plural that doe end in ent, as *Ilz disent*, *Ilz rient*, *Ilz faisoient*, *Ilz chantoient*, there e is sounded as hauing no n at all, but rather as if it were written thus: *ee dizet*, *ee riet*, *ee faizoyet*, *ee shantoyet*." E.

EIN=(ein, ain), see under AI for numerous examples, and the quota- tion from B. under EI. It seems impossible to suppose that in the xvith century it had already reached its modern form (ea), into which modern in has also fallen.

IN=(in). No authority notices any difference in the vowel, as M., Pell, R. all write in in their phonetic spelling, and it is not one of the three vowels, a, e, o, stated by P., under M, N, to be affected by the following m or n. See the quota- tions from E. and H. under AIN. H. gives the pronunciation of *hono- rez les princes* as *onore lé preenees*, which seems decisive.

ON=(on?) Bar. §10, (u n) P. 149.—M. Pel. R. write simply on=(on). E. gives the pronunciation of *nous en parlerons après elles que dira on*, as *noou-zan-parleroon-zaprè-zelles*, *ke deera toon*.

UN=(yn). "V vocalis apud Latinos non minus quàm apud Gallos, sonum duplicem quibusdam exprimit se- quente n, in eadem syllaba. Vt enim illorum quidam eunctus, percunctari, punctus, functus, hunc, et alia quæ- dam natiuo u vocalis sono mane[n]te pronuntiant, ita iidem cum aliis,

pungo, fungor, tanquam per o scripta, pongo, fongor, proferunt, adulterata u vocalis voce genuina. Id quod sequente m, in eadem syllaba omnes Latini ubique faciunt, scamnum, dominum, musarum, et cætera pronuntiantes perinde ac si per o scriberentur: ita ut aliud non sonet o, in tondere, sontes, rhombus, quam u in tundere, sunt, tumba. Atqui o diductiore rictu pronuntiandum est quàm u." S. p. 3. This seems to refer to the French pronunciation of Latin, rather than of French, and it agrees with the modern practice. S. pro-

ceeds thus: "Ita Galli vnus vn communis commun, defunctus defunct, et alia quædam, sono vocalis seruato pronuntiant, [that is, as (yn)]. Contra vndecim vñc's è, uncia vñc's, truceus truce, et pleraque alia, non aliter pronuntiant quàm si per o scriberentur." S. p. 4. No other authority mentions or gives the slightest reason for supposing that either u or n differ in this combination from the usual value. P. writes *en* for his *ung*, and M. has *un, vne*, Pell. has *un*, E. pronounces *il est en honorable personnage* as *ce-lè-tun-nonorable personnage*.

The conclusion¹ from these rather conflicting statements seems to be, that sometime before the XVI th century *ain, en, ein, ien, in, ün* were pronounced (*ain EEN, EN, ein, in, yn*) without a trace of nasality; that during the XVI th century a certain nasality, not the same as at present, pervaded *an, on*, changing them to (*a,n, o,n*), and perhaps (*a,n, o,n*), so that, as explained by P. 817, foreigners heard a kind of (*u*) sound developed, and English people confused the sounds with (*au,n, u,n*). In the beginning of the XVII th

¹ This conclusion was the best I could draw from the authorities cited, but since the passage was written I have seen M. Paul Meyer's elaborate inquiry into the ancient sounds of *an* and *en*. (Phonétique Française: *An et En* toniques. Mém. de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, vol. 1, pp. 244-276). Having first drawn attention to the occasional derivation of Fr. *an, en* from Latin *in*, he says: "Notons ici que le passage d'*iu* à *en* et celui d'*en* à *an* sont deux phénomènes phonétiques d'ordre fort différents. Dans le premier cas l'*n* est encore assez détachée de la voyelle et l'*i* s'éteint en *e*, ce dont on a de nombreux exemples dès le temps des Romains. Le passage de l'*e* à l'*a* ne pourrait se justifier de même. Aussi est-il nécessaire de supposer qu'au temps où le son *en* s'est confondu avec le son *an*, l'*n* faisait déjà corps avec la voyelle. Ce n'est pas *e* pur qui est devenu *a* pur, mais *e* nasalisé qui est devenu *a* nasalisé." p. 246. But this is theoretical. We have the fact that *femme* has become (*fam*) in speech, constantly so rhyming in French classics, and that *solennel* is (*solanel*) and a large class of words like *évidemment* (*evidadama*) change *em* into *am* without the least trace of a nasal vowel having interposed. Hence the proof that M. Meyer gives of the

early date at which *en an* were confounded in French, which is most complete, exhaustive and interesting, does not establish their pronunciation as the modern nasal vowels. M. Meyer gives as the result of his investigation: "En Normandie, et, selon toute probabilité, dans les pays romans situés sous la même latitude, *en* était encore distinct de *an* au moment de la conquête de l'Angleterre (1066), mais l'assimilation était complète environ un siècle plus tard." p. 252. He adds: "en anglo-normand *en* et *an* sont toujours restés distincts, et ils le sont encore aujourd'hui dans les mots romans, qui ont passés dans l'anglais," and says we must acknowledge "qu'en ce point comme en plusieurs autres, le normand transporté en Angleterre a suivi une direction à lui, une voie indépendante de celle où s'engageait le normand indigène." After M. Meyer's acute and laborious proof of the confusion of *en, an* in France, and their distinction in England, we need not be astonished if *ai, ei* in England also retained the sound (*ai*) long after it had generally sunk to (*EE*) in France. These are only additional instances of the persistence of old pronunciations among an emigrating or expatriated people.

century these sounds, or else (a,n, u,n) were adopted by the Frenchman E., in explaining sounds to Englishmen. As to *en*, it became (an) or perhaps (a,n), even in xvith century probably not before, but it must have differed from *an*, because Englishmen did not confuse it with (aun), many Frenchmen wrote (en), and P. 817, does not allow it to be nasal. The complete fusion of *an*, *en*, into one nasal probably took place in xviith century, except in the connection *ien*, where *en* either remained (en) or was confused with *in*. The combinations *ain*, *in*, seem to have been quite confused, and we have no reason to suppose that they were pronounced differently from (in). Whether *ein* followed their example it is difficult to say. Probably it did, as it is now identical in sound. But *un* remained purely (yn). We had then at the close of the xvith century *an*, *on*, *in*, *un*=(a,n, o,n, in, yn). Now in the xviiith or xviiith century a great change took place in French; the final *e* became absolutely mute. Simultaneously with this change must have occurred the disuse of the final consonants, so that words like *regard regarde*, which had been distinguished as (regar regardu), were still distinguished as (regar regard), now (regar, regard). It then became necessary to distinguish *un*, *une*, which would have become confused. About this time, therefore, I am inclined to place the degradation of (in, yn) into (e,n, e,n). We should then have the four forms (a,n, o,n, e,n, e,n), which by the rejection of *n* after a nasalized vowel, a phenomenon with which we are familiar in Bavarian German, would become (a, o, e, e). The change thence to (a_Δ, o_Δ, e_Δ, e_Δ) or (a_Δ, o_Δ, e_Δ, e_Δ) the modern forms is very slight. The subject is a very difficult one, but there seems to be every reason to suppose that there was scarcely a shade of nasality in Chaucer's time, except perhaps in *an*, *on*, which generated his (aun, uun), and that the complete change had not taken place till the end of the xviith or beginning of the xviiith century. One important philological conclusion would result from this, namely that the modern French nasalisation offers no ground for the hypothesis of a Latin nasalisation. If this last existed, it must be otherwise traced. The history of Portuguese nasalisation now becomes interesting, but I am as yet unable to contribute anything towards it. The fact however that only two romance languages nasalise, while the Indian languages have a distinct system of nasalisation, and nasality is accomplished in Southern Germany, and is incipient, without loss of the *n*, in parts of the United States, is against the inference for Latin nasalisation from the existent nasalisation of French and Portuguese.

Other Consonants.

L mouillé. The nature of the sound cannot be inferred from Bar. 810, though it seems to be acknowledged. — "Whan soeuer the .iiii. letters illa, ille, or illo come to gither in a nowne substantiue or in a verbe, the i nat

hauyng an o, commynge next before hym, they vse to sounde an i shortly and confusely, betwene the last l and the vowel folowyng: albe it that in writtyng they expresse none suche, as these wordes, *ribaudaille, faille*,

baillér, gaillàrt, ueillàrt, billàrt, fueille, fille, cheuille, quoeuille, ar-dillon, bastillon, corillon, and *suche* like, in redyng or spekyng they sounde thus: *ribaudaillie, faillie, baillier, gailliar, ueilliar, billiar, fueillie, fillie, cheuillie, quoeuillie, ardition bastillon, corillon*: but, as I haue sayd, if the *i* haue an *o* commyng next before hym, in all suche wordes they sounde none *i* after the letter *l*, so that these nownes substantyues *moylle, uoille, toille*, and *suche* lyke be except from this rule. . . Except also from this rule *uille* whiche soundeth none *i* after his latter *l*." P. i, 7.—"There is two maner of wordes harde for to be pronounced in french. The fyrst is written with a double *ll* whiche must be sounde togider, as *lla, lle, lly, llo, llu*, as in these wordes, *bailla* gave, *tailla* cutte, *ceulle* gader, *seulle* lese, *bally* bayly, *fally* fayle, *mouillet* white, *engenouillet* knele, *mallot* a tymer hamer, *feullu* full of leaves, *houllu*." G.—M. and R. haue new characters for this sound; Pell. adopts the Portuguese form *Ch*. E. talks of *ll* which "must be sounde liquid" in some wordes and "with the ende of the tongue" in others. But II. explains well; "when two, *ll*, follow, *ai, ei, oi, or ui*, they be pronounced with the flat of the tongue, touching smoothly the roofof the mouth: yong boyes here in England do expresse it verie well when they pronounce *lucco* or *sainto*: and Englishmen in sounding *Collier*, and *Scollion*; likewise the Italian pronouncing *roglio, duoglio*: for they do not sound them with the end, but with the flat of the tongue, as *tailler* to cut, *treillis* a grate, *quenouille* a distaffe, *bouillir* to seethe; where you must note that, *i*, [which he prints with a cross under it to shew that it is mute,] serueth for nothing in wordes of *aill* and *ouill*, but to cause the two, *ll*, to be pronounced as *liquides*." H. p. 174. The transition from (li) through (lj) to (lj) was therefore complete in II's time. The sound has now fallen generally to (i, j, jh).

N *monillé*, or G.N. Bar. 809 and note, is indistinct.—"Also when so ever these .iii. letters *gna, gne, or gno* como to gyther, eyther in a nowne substantiue or in a verbe, the redeer shall

sounde an *i* shortly and confusely, betwene the *n* and the vowel folowynge, as for: *gaigné, seigneur, mignon, champignon, uergoigne, maintiengne, charoigne*, he shall sounde, *gaignia, seigneur, mignon, champion, uergoigne, charoigne, maintiengnie, nat chaungynge* therefore the accent, no more than though the sayd *i* were vnsounded. Bat from this rule be excepted these two substantyves *signe* and *regné*, with their verbes *signér* and *regner*, which with all that be formed of them the reader shall sounde as they be wrytten onely." P.—"The second maner harde to pronounce ben written with *gn*, before a uowel, as *gna, gue, gni, gno, gnu*. As in these wordes *gagna* wau, *suigna* dyd blede, *ligne* lyne, *pigne* combe, *uigne* vyne, *tigne* scabbe, *compagne* felowe, *laigne* swell, *mignon* wanton, *mignarde* wanton, ye shal except many wordes that be so written and nat so pronounced, endyng specially in *e*, as *digne* worthy, *cigne* swanne, *magnanime* hyghe corage, etc. They that can pronounce these wordes in latyn after the Italians maner, as (*agnus, dignus, magnus, magnanimus*.) haue bothe the understanding and the pronounceynge of the sayde rule and of the wordes." G.—M. & R. haue distinct signs for this sound; see R. 826 under N. Pell retains *gn*.—"When you meete *gn*, melt the *g* with the *n*, as *ognan mignon*, pronounce it thus, *onion, minien*." E.—"We pronounce *gn*, almost as Englishmen do sound, *minion*; so meiting, *g*, and touching the roofof the mouth with the flat of the tongue, we say *mignon, compaignon*: say then *compa gne*, and not *compag-ne*. When the Italian saith *guadagno, bisogno*, he expresseth our *gn*, verie well." II. p. 198. It is not possible to say whether the original sound was (ni, nj) or (qi, qj), but from II. it is clear that at the beginning of the xvii th century it was (nj), as now.

Final consonants were usually pronounced, L. 815, and all authorities write them, although we find in P. i, 27, "When so euer a frenche worde hath but one consonant onely after his last vowel, the consonant shalbe but remissely sounded, as *auéc, soyf, fil, beaucoups, mot*, shalbe sounded in maner *aué, soy, fi, beaucout, mo*. how

be it the consonant shall haue some lyttell sounde: but if t or p folowe a or e, they shall haue theyr distinct sounde, as *chat*, *debt*, *duét*, *combât*, *handp*, *decrét*, *regret*, *entremét*; and so of all suche other." These examples cross the modern practice of omission and sounding in several places.

H is a very doubtful letter, B. 805 and note 3. The question is not whether in certain French words *H* was aspirated, but whether the meaning attached to "aspiration" in old French was the same as that in modern French or in English. P. gives a list of 100 "aspirated" words. B. 67 says: "Aspirationis nota in vocibus Græcis et Latinis aspiratis, et in Francicam linguam traductis, scribitur quidem sed quiescit," except *hache*, *hareng*, *Hector*, *Henri*, *harpe*.

The other consonants present no difficulty. We may safely assume *B*=(b), *C* (k, s), *Ch* (sh), *D* (d), *F* (f), *G* (g, zh), *J* (zh), *suprà* p. 207, *K* (k), *L* (l), *P* (p), *Qu* (k), *R* (r), *S* (s), *T* (t), *V* (v), *X* (s, z), *Z* (z).

The rules for the omission of consonants when not final, seem to agree entirely with modern usage, and hence need not be collected.

Sufficient examples of French phonetic spelling according to M., Pell., and R. have been given in the above extracts. But it is interesting to see the perfectly different systems of accentuation pursued by P. and M., and for this purpose a few lines of each may be transcribed.

From P. i, 63. "Example how the same boke [the Romant of the Rose] is nowe tourned into the newe Frenche tong.

Maintes gentes dient que en songes
Ne sont que fables et mensonges
Mais on peult telz songes songier
Que ne sont mye mensongier
Ayns sont apres bien apparant, &c.

Maintoiandiet, kansóvngos
Nesovnkofables e mansongos
Maysovnpvettzévngosovngiér
Kenesovnmýomansovngiér
Aynsovntaprebienapparánt, &c.

In M. the accent is illustrated by musical notes; each accented syllable corresponds to F of the bass, and each unaccented syllable to the G below, so that accentuation is held to be equivalent to ascending a whole tone. So far P. agrees with M., for he says (book 1, ch. 56) "Accent in the frenche tonge is a lyftinge vp of the voyce, vpon some wordes or syllables in a sentence, above the resydue of the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence, so that what soeuer worde or syllable as they come toguyder in any sentence, be sowned higher than the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence vpon them, is the accent." The following are some of M.'s examples, the accented syllable being pointed out by an acute: "*ç'êt mon máleur*, *ç'êt món frere*, *ç'êt món am' é mon éspoer*, *ç'êt ma grán'mere*, *ç'êt mon bón compánon*, *ór et il bon ámy*, *jé*

"*Contra verò in vernaculis Gallicis scribitur simul et pronunciatu aspiratio, ut in illis quæ à Latinis non aspiratis deducuntur*," and, as to the quality of the sound, he says: "aspirationem Franci quantum fieri potest emolliunt, sic tamen ut omnino audiatu, at non asperè ex imo gutture efflata, quod est magnoperè Germanis et Italis præsertim Tuscis observandum." B. 25. This seems to point to the modern hiatus.

S was constantly used as an orthographical sign to make *e* into *é*, to lengthen *a* and so on. Hence many rules and lists of words are given for its retention or omission, which may be superseded by the knowledge of the modern orthography, with the usages of which they seem precisely to agree.

VOES á TOE, É TOE á MOE, il n'et pas fórt bon, ç'Ét vn bién bon báton, món compánon, á vizíon, món cónfrere, vit sájement."

P. constantly admits the accent on the last syllable, M. says it is a Norman peculiarity, which is very disagreeable, and proceeds thus: "il faot premierement entendre qe james l'açcent eleué, ne se rencontr' en la dernière syllabe des dissyllabiques, ne polisyllabiques. E qe le ton declinant ou çirconflexe, ne se treuve point q'EN la penultime syllabe, si ell' et long' E la dernière brieue, pouruu q' elle ne soet point terminé' en e brief: car allors il y peut auenir diuersité de ton, selon la diuers' assiete du vocable. . . . car il faot entendre qe le' monosyllabes en notre lange, font varier le' tons d' aocuns vocables dissyllabiques, ny n'ont eu' memes aocun ton stable." fo. 133 a.

Palsgrave says: "Generally all the wordes of many sillables in the frenche tong, haue theyr accent eyther on theyr last sillable, that is to say, sounde the laste vowell or diphthong that they be written with, hygher than the other vowels or diphthongues commyng before them in the same worde. Orels they haue theyr accent on the last sillable save one, that is to say, sounde that vowel or diphthong, that is the last saue one hygher than any other in the same worde commyng before hym: and whan the redar hath lyftvp his voyce at the soundyng of the said vowel or diphthong, he shal whan he commeth to the last sillable, depresse his voyce agayne [compare *suprà* p. 181, note, col. 2], so that there is no worde through out all the frenche tonge, that hath his accent eyther, on the thyrd sillable, or on the forth sillable from the last, like as diuerse wordes haue in other tonges: but as I haue sayd, eyther on the very last sillable, orels on the next sillable onely. And note *that* there is no worde in the frenche tong, but he hath his place of accent certaine, and hath it nat nowe vpon one sillable, nowe vpon another. Except diuersite in signification causeth it, where the worde in writtyng is alone." Book I. chap. lviii.

B. is very peculiar; he begins by saying: "Sunt qui contendunt in Francica lingua nullum esse accentibus locum," which shews, in connection with the diversity of opinion between P. and M., that the modern practice must have begun to prevail. Then he proceeds thus: "Sunt contrà qui in Francica lingua tonos perinde vt in Græca lingua constituent. Magnus est vtrorumque error: quod mihi facile concessuros arbitror quicumque aures suas attentè consuluerint. Dico igitur Francicæ linguæ, vt & Græcæ & Latinæ, duo esse tempora, longum vnum, alterum breue: itidemquæ tres tonos, nempe, acutum, grauem, circumflexum, non ita tamen vt in illis linguis obseruatos. Acuunt enim Græci syllabas tum longas tum breues, & Latinos idem facere magno consensu volunt Grammatici, quibus planè non assentior. Sed hac de re aliàs. Illud autem certò dixerim, sic occurrere in Francica lingua tonum acutum cum tempore longo, vt nulla syllaba producat quæ itidem non attollatur: nec attollatur vlla quæ non itidem acuatur, ac proinde sit eadem syllaba acuta quæ producta & eadem grauis quæ correpta. Sed tonus vocis intentionem, tempus productionem vocalis indicat . . .

Illa verò productio in Francica lingua etiam in monosyllabis animaduertitur, quæ est propria vis accentus circumflexis." B. therefore seems to confuse accent and quantity, as is the case with so many writers, although he once apparently distinguishes an accented from an unaccented long syllable, thus in *entendement*, he says that although the two first are naturally long, the acute accent is on the second; whereas it would be on the last in *entendement bon*, on account of the added enclitic. He lays down important rules for quantity, and without repeating them here, it will be interesting to give his examples, marking those which he objects to¹. *Wrong* mèstrèssè mæssè fèstè pròphèstè mîsèricòrdè pàròlè. *Right* maîstrèssè mæssè faîctè pròphètè mîsèricòrdè pàròlè; ie veû, tu veûx, il veût; veû *votum*, veûx *vota*; beûf beûfs, neûf neûfs, eûlx, ceûlx; fît *fecit*, fîst *faceret*, fût *fuit*, fûst *esset*, eût *habuit* eûst *haberet*, èst, röst, töst, plaîst *placet*, plûst *plueret*, èt *et*, plaîd *contentio iudicialis*, pleûr *placuit*, plût *pluit*; ie meûr *morior*, tu meûrs *morieris*, meûr *maturus*, meûrs *maturi*, meûrè *matura*, sî iè dî, qui èst èc. Rule 1, mîsèricòrdè, èntèndement, ènviè=èn viè, ènvièux. Rule 2, èndormîr, feîndrè, teîndrè, bontè, tèmpòrèl, bôn pàîs, sòmme còmme dônne bônne sônne tønnè, cònsòmme òrdônne rèsônne èstônne, sônger besôgnè; ènnèmi. Rule 3, aîmèè fôndûè vélûè; mûè nûè, dûè fiè liè àmîè joûè loûè moûè noûè aîjè, platjè ioîjè vojèjè, ènvojèjè; mûer nûer fîer lier ioûer loûer noûer, ènvojèr. Rule 4, aûltrè, aûtànt, haûltaîn, haûltèmènt, haûltaînè, haûlt èt droîet. Rule 5, s=(z), iàsèr braîsè saîsôn plaîsîr caüsè bîsè mîsè prîsè ôsèr chôsè pòsèr choîsîr loîsîr noîsè toîsè ûsèr rûsè mûsè frîsè caüsèrà ôsèrà embràsèrà repôsèrà choîsîrà prîsèrà, cuisînè, ûsèrà, accûsèrà, excûsèrà, ûsàgè, visàgè, càmûsè; prîsèè accûsèè excûsèè [the last è should evidently be è]; pèsèr gèsîr gèsînè; trèzè quâtorzè, moîsî, crâmoîsî, voîsîn còûsîn, voîsînè còûsînè. Rule 5 bis, aillè baillè caillè faillè mailleè paillè saillè taillè vaillè. Rule 6, pàsse, aimàsse, ouîsse. Rule 7, (s mute) hàstè îslè, blâsmè, aimàsme, èsmèûtè, èsmouvoîr, blèsmè mèsme, càrèsmè bàptèsmè, èscrîvîsmè, seûsmè, rèceûmè, vîsmè, fîsmè, èntèndîsmè, Còsmè; àsnè àlèsnè [erroneous in original], Ròsnè; èspèrôn èspèrônne, [erroneous in original], èspîèr; èst röst töst fûst fîst eûst, hàstè tástè tèstè bèstè èstrè maîstrè naîstrè fèstè gîstè vîstè cròustè voûstè; dôsnoîjèr; èstè "*pro verbo esse et pro ætate*," röstîr röstè; nôstrè maîsôn, vôstrè raîsôn, iè suîs vôstrè, pàtènòstrè. Rule 8, cataîrrè, càtaîrreûx; ferrèr guèrrè ferrè pouîrrîr, èntèrrèr. Finally B. notices the absence of accent in enclitics, and the final rising inflection in questions, observing, in accord with Meigret, "*cuius pronuntiationis vsque adeò sunt obseruantes Normanni, vt etiam si nihil interrogent, sed duntaxat negent aut affirmant aliquid, sermonis finem acutè, non sine aurium offensione pronuntient.*"

P.'s rules amount to placing the accent on the penultim when the

¹ Beza's treatise is now very accessible in the Berlin and Paris reprint, 1868, with preface by A. Tobler. Un-

fortunately the editor sometimes corrects the original in the text itself.

last contains what is now mute *e*, and on the last in all other cases. Both *M.* and *P.*, make accent to be a rising inflexion of the voice. The French still generally use such an intonation, but it does not seem to be fixed in position, or constant in occurrence upon the same word, but rather to depend upon the position of the word in a sentence, and the meaning of the speaker. In modern French, and apparently in older French (*suprà* p. 331) there is nothing approaching to the regular fixed stress upon one syllable of every word, which is so marked in English, the Teutonic languages, and Slavonic languages, in Italian, Spanish and Modern Greek. The nature of the stress and the effect on unaccented syllables differ also materially in different languages. In English the syllables following the principal stress are always much more obscure than those preceding it. This is not the case at all in Italian. In Modern Greek, the stress, though marked, is nothing like so strong as in English. Mr. Payne considers that the ancient Normans had a very strong stress, and that the syllables without the stress, and which generally preceded it, became in all cases obscure. With the extremely lax notions which we find in all ancient and most modern especially English writers, on the questions of accent, vocal inflexion, and stress, with its effect on quantity, it is very difficult to draw any conclusions respecting ancient practice. A thorough study of modern practice in the principal literary languages of the world, and their dialects, seems to be an essential preliminary to an investigation of ancient usage.

E. gives 12 dialogues in French and English with the pronunciation of such French words as he considers would occasion difficulty, indicated in the margin. The following list contains all the most important words thus phoneticised. The orthography both ordinary and phonetic is that used by *E.*

Achépté asheté, *accoustrements* acoo-
trements, *advancerez* auanserè, *aiguillon*
égeellecoon, *ainsi* inse, *m'ameine* ma-
méne, *d'Anglois* daungléz, *au* ó, *aucun*
ókun, *aucune* ókune, *au-iour-d'hay*
oioordwee, *l'aune* lóne, *aultre* ótre,
aultrement ótreman, *d'aultruy* dótrwee,
l'ausmonies lómónier, *aussi* óssee,
autant ótaun.

Bailliez ballié balliez, *baptisez* bateezé,
besognes bezonies, *blancs* blauns, *boeuf*
beuf, *boiste* boite, *bordeure*, *bordure*,
bouche booshe, *bouilli* boollie, *bouillié*
boillié, *bracelets* braselè, *brillands*
brilliauns, *brusler* brúler.

Caillette kalliette, *ceinture* sinture,
cette ste, *chair* sher, *chauld* shó, *chesnaye*
shénéye, *chevaux* shenós, *cheuclure*
sheuclure, *cheuille* sheuclie, *chrestiens*
kretiens, *cignet* scenet, *cieux* sees cieus,
cœur keur, *coifeure* coifure, *col* coo,
commandé coommandé, *compaignie*
companion, *concepuoir* coonsuoir, *con-*

naissance koonéssance, *corps* cór, *costé*
kóté, *cousteau* kooté, *coustera* cootera,
erespe érépe, *erespelus* krépelu, *cure-*
oreille curorellie.

Debuons deuoons, *demandérons* de-
maunderoons, *démeler* démélér, *des-*
sinner désiner, *desnoient* dénoet,
despouillez depooliez, *diet* deet, *dinere*
deener, *doigts* doi, *double* dooté, *doux*
dod.

Enfants anfauns, *enseignant* ansé-
neeaunt, *enseignent* anséniét, *l'entends*
iantan, *m'entortiller* mantorteellier,
eschorchee ékorshee, *esconduire* écono-
dwere, *d'escarlade* dékarlate, *l'escripray*
lécreeré, *escüier* équier, *d'esgard* dégar,
dégart (before a vowel), *esgaré* egaré
m'esgratignez mégrateeniez, *esguiere*
eguiere, *l'esguier* légn-yzer, *esguilles*
egullies, *l'esguillette* légeclliète, *esleuz*
élúz, *esloignez* élonié, *l'esmeraude* léme-
ròde, *d'espargner* déparnier, *espaules*
épòlle, *espingle* épeengle, *l'espingle-ray*

lepeengleré, *esprit* espreet, *est* è, *qu'est* tant ketaun, *estes* èté, *estiez* ètiéz, *l'estomach* lestomak, *estriller* étrcelier, *l'esturgeon* léturgeon, *l'estuy* letwee, *esveillée* éuclliée, *esventail* evantail, *mercuseriez* meseuzéré.

Fagots fagos, *faillent* falliet, *fait* fét, *faite* fét, *fauldra* fódra, *faut-il* fô-tec, *fenestres* fenetres, *ferets* férés, *felle* feellie, *fillenl* feellieul, *filleule* feellieule, *filz* feez, *fondements* foon-demans, *François* Frauncez, *fruiet* frwœt, *fustaine* fâtine.

Gaillard galliard, *gands* gauns, *gauche* gôshe, *gentilhomme* ianteellioomme *genoulx*, *genoos*, *goust* goot.

Habille abeelié, *n'habiller* mabeellier, *hâtez* hâté, *haulte* hôt, *heure* eur, *hiersoir* ersoir, *homme* oomme, *honneur* onneur, *houppe* hooppe, *huiet* weet, *l'huis* luec, *humains* vmains, *humbles* vmble, *humilité* vmeeleeti.

D'iceluy deecelwee, *qu'ils* kee.

Jesus Christ Iesu-kreet, *joyaux* ioyôz.

Liet leet, *longs* loon.

Mademoiselle madmoyzelle, *main* min, *maistresse*, *métresse*, *mauvaise* mœuêze, *mancheon* maunshoon, *marastre* mâratre, *meilleur* mœlleur, *meittes* meete, *melancholie* melankolie, *merveille* merueilie, *mesme* même, *mets* mé, *monstrez* moontré, *morfonds* morfoons, *moucheoir* mooshoir, *mouiller* moolier, *moult*, *moo*.

Neantmoins neanmoins, *nepreu* neuu, *n'est* né, *niece* niese, *noeud* neu,

nom noon, *nostre* nôtre, *nouveauté* noo-vcôté, *nuict* nweet, *n'out* nôunt.

Obmetons ometoons, *oeilladées* eul-liadé, *œuvres* euure, *ostez* ôté.

Parapetz parapéz, *pareure* parure, *paste* pâte, *peigne* piniée, *peignes* pinies, *peigneoir* pinioir, *peignez* péniez, *pieds*, *pié*, *plaist* plét, *pleu* plu, *plustost* plutô, *poitrine* poitreue, *poignards* poniers, *poignet* poniet, *poudreux* poodreus, *pour* poor, *prestes* prétes, *preztz* prés, *prochains* proshins, *propiciation* pro-peescasscon, *pseaulmes* séômes, *puissant* puecssaunt.

Quatrains kadrins.

Raccoustrez racootrez, *recceu* resu, *rends* ran, *rescomfot* récomfor, *responce* reponse, *responde* répoondre, *rheume* rume, *rideaulx* reedeb, *rognez* roonié, *ronds* roons, *rosmarin* roomarin, *royaulx* royôz, *rubends* ruban.

Sans sauns, *sainct* sint, *sainte* sinte, *saints* sinz, *sasle* sâle, *sauvegarde* souvgarde, *sçais* sé, *seconds* segoôn, *seiche* sêshe, *sept* set, *sœur* seur, *soiz* soo, *spirituels* spœcœtuc.

Tailleur tallieur, *tant* taun, *tantost* tauntôt, *temps*, *tàn* tans, *teste* tête, *tost* tôôt, *touche* tooshe, *tousiours* tooioor, *tout* too, *toutes* toote.

Vyne oozze.

Voir voir, *veoy* voy, *verds* vers, *vestir* vétéer, *vestu* vétu, *veu* vu, *veulx* vouz, *vey* vec, *vée* veese, *viste* vette [vete?], *vistement* vœtemant, *vous* voo.

At the close of the xviii th century Sir William Jones (Works 1799, 4to, i, 176) supposes an Englishman of the time to represent "his pronunciation, good or bad," of French, in the following manner, which he says is "more resembling the dialect of savages than that of a polished nation." It is from an imitation of Horace by Malherbe.

Law more aw day reegyeurs aw nool otruh parellyuh,

Onne aw bo law preey :

Law croellyuh kelay sulh boushuh lays oreellyuh,

Ay noo laysuh crecay.

Luh povre ong saw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh couvruh

Ay soozyet aw say lwaw,

Ay law gawrduh kee velly ô bawryayruh dyoo Loovruh

Nong dayfong paw no rwaw !

The interpretation may be left to the ingenuity of the reader, and the orthography may be compared to the following English-French and French English, in Punch's Alphabet of 25 Sept., 1869.

M ay oon Mossoo kee ponx lweemayn tray

Bowkoo ploog bong-regardong ker vraymong ilay !

N iz é Ninglicheman ! Rosbif !! Olraï !

Milor ! Dam ! Comme il tourne up son Nose ! O maïe aïe !!

Since the above pages were in type, I have been favoured by Mr. Payne with a full transcript of that part of the Mag. Coll. Oxford MS. No. 188, (suprà p. 309, n. 1), which contains the 98 rules for French spelling, partially cited by M. F. Génin in his Preface to the French Government reprint of Palsgrave. This MS. is of the xvth century, but the rules appear to have been much older. They incidentally touch upon pronunciation, and it is only those portions of them which need here be cited. The numbers refer to the rules.

E.

"1. Diccio gallica dictata habens primam sillabam vel mediam in E. stricto ore pronuntiata, requirit hanc literam l. ante E. verbi gratia bien. chien. rien. pierre. miere. et similia." Here is a distinct recognition of a "close e," and the examples identify the sounds in *père, mère*, now open, but close according to the orthoepists of the xvth century, with the vowel in *bien, chien, rien*, which therefore tends to confirm the opinion expressed above p. 829, that *en* was not then nasalized in the modern sense. "2. Quando-cumque hec uocalis. E. pronuntiatur acute per se stare debet sine huius .I. processione verbi gratia .beuez. tenez. lessez." As each example has two syllables in *e*, it is difficult to say whether the rule applies to one or both and hence to understand the meaning of "acute *e*." The last *e* in each is generally regarded as "masculine," but the first in "beuez, tenez," was the "feminine" and in "lessez" the "open" according to other writers. Nor is this obscurity much lightened by the following rules: "3. Quamvis E. in principio alicuius sillabe acute pronuntiatur in fine anterioris sillabe I. bene potest preponi vt bies. priez. lez. affiez &c." Here if *bies* = *biats*, we have the same mixture of masculine and open *e* as before. The two next rules seem to call the "feminine *e*," that is, the modern *e* mute, a "full *e*." "4. Quandocumque adiectivum feminini generis terminat in .E. plene pronuntiata geminabit ec. vt tres honouree dame. 5. Quamvis adiectivum masculini generis terminet [in ?] E. plene pronuntiatur non geminabit .E. vt treshonouree sire nisi ad differenciam vne Comitee anglie a shire. Vn comite anglie a counte 6. Quamvis adiectivum masculini generis non terminet in E. Vt vn homme vient. homme adiectivum tamen femini generis terminabit in simplici cum

se implere [?] pronuntiatur vt meinte femme vne femme." There can be no doubt that *e* feminine was fully pronounced, but how far it differed from the *e* "stricto ore," and *e* "acute pronuntiatur," it is not possible to elicit from these curt remarks. It is observable that *eo* and *e* are noted as indifferent spellings in certain words now having the "muto-guttural *e*." "8. Item ille sillabe. ie. ce. ieo. ceo. indifferenter possunt scribi cum *ceo* vel *ce* sine o."

S.

"12. Omnia substantiua terminancia per sonum .S. debent scribi cum .S. vt signurs lordes. dames ladies." This plural *s* was therefore audible, but the writer immediately proceeds to point out numerous exceptions where *z* was written for *s*, as 13. in *gent*, plural *gents* or *gentz*, 14. in *filz*, 15. or *z* for *s* in *deux loialz*, 16. or the common contraction *9* for *us* in *no⁹* = *nous*, 17. in *nos vos* from *noster vester*, either *s* or *z* may be used. In all these cases it would however appear that (*s*) was actually heard, and if any meaning is to be attached to "aspiration" we must suppose that an (*s*) was sounded in the following case: "18. Item quandocumque aliqua sillaba pronuntiatur cum aspiratione illa sillaba debet scribi cum s. et t. loco aspiracione verbi gratia est fest pleist." The next is obscure. "19. Item si .d. scribitur post .E. et .M. immediate sequitur d. potest mutari in s." In 21. 93. and 94. we find *s* mute in *fimes*, *duresne*, *mandasmes*, and probably by 96. in *feist toust*, and possibly also in: "73. Item in verbis presentis et preteriti temporum scribetur. st. a pres I e. o. v. com baptiste fist est test lust &c.," though this partially clashes with 18.

U after L, M, N.

"23. Item quandocumque hec litera l. ponitur post A. E. et O. si aliquod consonans post l. sequitur l. quasi v. debet pronuntiari verbi gratia. malme

mi soule. loialment bel compaignecoun." This does not mean that *al*, was pronounced (ay), but that it was pronounced as *au* was pronounced, and this may have been (ao) as in Meigret or (oo) as in other orthoepists of the sixteenth century. With this rule, and not with S, we must connect: "67. Item aliquando s. scribitur et vsonabitur cum ascun sonabitur acun," ascun? as M. Génin transcribes. "36. Item iste sillabe seu dicciones quant grant Demandant sachant et huiusmodi debent scribi cum simplici .n. sine .v. sed in pronunciatione debet .v. proferri &c." This can scarcely mean that *an* was pronounced as if written *au* with *au* in the same sense as in the last rule cited. It must allude to that pronunciation of *an* as (aun) to which Palsgrave refers and which introduced an English (aun), *suprà* p. 826, col. 1, and therefore confirms the older English accounts.

Oy and E.

"26. Item moy, toy, soy, possunt scribi cum e. vel o. per y. vel I indifferenter.—58. Item in accusatio singulari scribetur me in reliquis casibus moy." This, together with Barclay's names of the letters, p. 805, is well illustrated by the curious passage from Sylvius, p. 824.

Final Consonants.

"27 Item quodcumque aliqua dictio incipiens a consonante sequitur aliquam dictionem terminantem in consonante in rationibus pendentibus [in connected phrases] consonans interioris dictionis potest scribi. Sed in pronunciatione non proferri vt a pres manger debet sonari a pre manger.—29. Item l. M. N. R. T. C. K. quamvis consonans subsequitur bene possunt sonari per se vel per mutationem litere." Does this *mutation* refer to the following? "51. Item scias quod hec litere C. D. E. F. G. N. P. S. et T. Debent mutari in sono in strictura c. ante uocalem vt clerici. clers et debet in gallico clers rudi homines ruds hommes et debet sonari ruz hommes. bones dames debent bon dames et tunc .n. sonari solempne vyfs hounte [homme?] loget vis homme et sic De alijs.—52. Item quando ista dicio graunt sight magnitudinem adiungitur cum feminino genere ita vt e sit sequens

t. mutatur in D. vt grande dame grande charge." Observe this xvth century use of English *sight* for *great*, as an adjective.—"53. Item quando grant adiungitur masculino generi vt grant seignour vt quando signat confessionem non mutabitur t. in D. quamuis E. sequitur vt iay grante."

GN.

"39. Item quodcumque hec litera .n. scribitur immediate post g. quamuis sonet ante g. non debet immediate prescribi vt significant &c.—40. Item si .n. sonat g. et non subsequitur bene potest A immediate prescribi.—41. Item seignour ton seignour son seignour.—92. Item quodcumque .n. sequitur I in media dictione in diuersis sillabis g debet interponi vt certainement benignement &c. sed g non debet sonari." All these seem to refer awkwardly and obscurely to (nj).

GU, QU.

"46. Item qi qe quant consueuerunt scribi per k sed apud modernos mutatur k. in q. concordant cum latino I k. non reperitur in qũ qd' quis sed I.—54. Item posr G. vel E. quamuis v scribatur non debet sonari vt quatre guerre. Debent sonari quatre gerre."

Words Like and Unlike.

"50. Item diuersitas stricture facit Differentiam aliquam quamuis in voce sint consimiles verbi gratia ciel seel seal celee ceele coy quoy moal moel cerf serf teindre. tenir attendre [Génin has: teindre tendre tenir attendre] esteant esteyant aymer amer foail fel stal [Génin: feal] vcele viel veile ville ville vill' [Génin: vcele viel veile ville vill] brahel breele erde herde euerde essil huissel assel nief neif suet noef [Génin: soef] boaille. baile bale balce litter litere fornier forer forier rastel rastuer mesure meseire piel peel berziz berzi grisil grecle grele tonne towne neym neyn." The transcript was made by Mr. Parker of Oxford, but the proof has not been read by the original; Génin certainly often corrected as he edited; here the transcript is strictly followed.—"86. Item habetur diuersitas inter apprendre prendre et reprendre oez oeps vys et huys kunyl et kenil.—90. Item habetur diuersitas inter estreyt strawe et estreyt hansel.—91. Item inter daym et dayn."

These seem to be all the passages bearing upon the present dis-

cussion. They are not numerous, nor very important, nor always very intelligible, but they seem all to point to such a previous state of pronunciation of French, as our English experience would lead us to suppose might have preceded that of the xvth century as so imperfectly colligible from the writings of contemporary orthoepists.

It should also be mentioned that the Claudius *Holyband* whose *French Littelton* is described on p. 227, note, under date 1609, is called *Holliband* in a previous edition of the same book, dated 1566, in the British Museum. This is 3 years before Hart's book, and as this older edition also contains the passage cited *suprà* p. 228, note, saying that the English seem to Frenchmen to call their *u* like *you*, and to name *q* *kiou*, whereas the Frenchmen pronounce like the Scotch *u* in *qud*, while Hart gives *iu* as the English sound, and identifies it with the Scotch and French vowels (see especially p. 796, note, col. 1. [88])—we are again led into uncertainty as to the sound that Hart really meant, and to consider that the (*iu*) sound, though acknowledged by no orthoepist before Wilkins, may have penetrated into good society at a much earlier period. Again, the confusion of spelling in *Holyband* and *Holliband*, reminds us of Salesbury's identification of *holy* and *holly* (*suprà* p. 779, l. 2 from bottom). And lastly it should be mentioned that this name is but a translation, and that the author's real name, as he writes it elsewhere, is *Desainliens* (under which his works are entered in the British Museum Catalogue) being the same as Livet's de Saint-Lien, or à Santo Vinculo (*suprà* p. 33, l. 8 from bottom). The Latin work there cited is not in the British Museum, but as its date is 1580, and the 1566 edition of the French *Littelton* there preserved does not differ sensibly from that of 1609 here quoted, this occasions no incompleteness in the present collections from French Orthoepists of the xvi th century.

§ 4. *William Bullokar's Phonetic Writing, 1580, and the Pronunciation of Latin in the xvi th Century.*

Bullokar concludes his *Book at Large* with a prose chapter between two poetical ones. The poetry is so bad that the reader will be glad to pass it over. The prose contains a little information amidst an overpowering cloud of words; and as a lengthened specimen of this important contribution to the phonetic writing of the xvi th century is indispensable, I shall transliterate his Chapter 12. There is some difficulty in doing so. Long *a*, *e*, *y*, *o* are lengthened by accents thus *á*, *é*, *ý*, *ó* when they apparently mean (*aa*, *ee*, *ii*, *oo*), and *i* is said to be lengthened by doubling as *iy*, *yi*, when it would also be (*ii*) according to the only legitimate conclusion at which I could arrive in treating of Bullokar's pronunciation of this sound, pp. 114, 817, note. The mention of this combination *iy*, *yi*, which amounts to a reduplication of *i*, although I have not found any instance in which it had been used by Bullokar, and the constant omission of any distinction between long and short *i*, confirm the

former theory that he called long *i* (*ii*). In the present transcript only such vowels are marked long as Bullokar has actually so marked, or indicated by rule, as (*uu*, *yy*). Bullokar's doubled consonants, though certainly pronounced single, have also been retained. Bullokar has also a sign like Greek ζ which he uses for both *s* and *z*, but which he identifies with *s*. It will be transliterated (*s*) or (*z*) according to circumstances. Bullokar's grammatical "pricks and strikes" are entirely omitted. They have no relation to the sound, and are quite valueless in themselves, although he laid great store by them. On the other hand I have introduced the accent mark, for which he has no sign. The title of the chapter is left in ordinary spelling.

¶ The 12. Chapter.

Sheweth the vse of this amendment, by matter in prose with the same ortography, conteining arguments for the premisses.

Hir-in iz sheu'd an ek'sersiiz of dhe amend'ed ortog'rafi biifoor sheu'd, and dhe yys of dhe priks, striiks, and noots, for devi'd iq of sil'lab'lz akord'iq tuu dhe rrylz biifoor sheu'd. Wheer-in iz tuu bii noot'ed, dhat no art, ek'sersiiz, miks'tyyr, si'ens, or okkyy-pasion, what-soe'ver, iz inklyyd'ed in oon thi'q oon'li: but hath in it sever'al disti'q'sionz el'ements, prin'sip'lz, or deviz'ionz, bi dhe whitsh dhe saam kum'eth tuu niz per'fet yys. And bikauz dhe si'g'l deviz'ionz for iig'lish spiitsh, aar at dhis dai so unper-fetli pik'tyyred, bi dhe el'ements (whitsh wii ka'l let'terz) pro-vid'ed for dhe saam (az mai appiir plain'li in dhis foormer treet'is) *Ii* nav set furth dhis wurk for dhe amend'ment of dhe saam: whitsh *Ii* hoop wil bii taa'k'n in gud part akkord'iq tuu mi meen'iq: for dhat, dhat it sha'l sav tshardzh'ez in dhe elder sort, and sav greet tiim in dhe yuth, tuu dhe greet komod'iti of a'l estaats, un'tuu whuum it iz nes'esari, dhat dheer bii a knoou'ledzh of dheir dyy'ti, un'tuu God tshiif'li, and dhen dheir dyy'ti oon tuu an udh'er: in knoou'iq of whitsh dyy'ti konsist'eth dhe nap'i estaat of manz liif: for ig'norans kauz'eth man'i tuu goo uut of dhe wai, and dhat of a'l estaats, in whuum ig'norans duuth rest: wheer-bi God iz greet'li dis'pleez'ed, dhe kom'on kw'ietnes of men hand'ered: greet komon welth deviid'ed, madzh'istraats dis-obei'ed, and infer'iorz despiiz'ed: priv'at gain and cez sowht and dheer-bi a kom'on wo wrowht.

And az dhe dzhudzh'ment of dhe kom'on welth and wo, duuth not li in priv'at personz, (and spes'ia'lli of dhe infer'ior sort,) jet owht dheer tuu bii in ev'eri oon a kaar of niz dyy'ti, dhat niz priv'at liif bii not kontrari tuu dhe kom'on kw'ietnes, and welth of a'l men dzhenera'lli, (and spes'ia'lli of dhe wel mind'ed sort, whuu aar tuu bii boor'n widha'l in sum respekts for dheir ig'norans, when it reetsh'eth not tuu dhe giiv'iq okkaz'ion of liik offens in udh'er: for whuu kan wash niz handz kleen of a'l fa'ltz?

And syyerli (in mi opin'ion) az fa'ltz nav dheir biigin'iq of dhe

first fa'l of Ad am, so iz dhe saam enkre'es'ed bi'ig'norans: dhowh sum wuuld ter'm it tuu bii dhe mudh'er of god'lines: for if men weer not ig'norant, but did knoou wheer-in tryy felis'iti did konsist, dhei wuuld not fa'l in'tuu soo man'i'er'orz, tuu dis'kw'et dheir mi'ndz, and enda'n'dzher dheir bod'iz for trans'itori thi'qz, and sum'ti'mz for ver'i trif'lz. But sum wil sai, a'l thi'qz in dhis wor'ld aar trans'itori, whitsh *Li* wil konfes', az tuintsh'iq a'l kree'tyyrz and ek'sersi'izez in dhe saam.

Jet dhe gift of spiitsh and writ'iq iz lik'liest tuu kontin'yy with dhe last, az loq az dheer iz an'i bii'iq of man: and for dhat, it iz dhe spes'ia'l gift of God, wheer-bi wii bii instrukt'ed of uur dyt'iz from tiim tuu tiim, booth nuu, nav biin, and sha'l bii az loq az dheer iz an'i bii'iq of man, let us yyz dhe saam in dhe per'fetest yys, for eez, profit, and kontin'yyans, whitsh dhis amend'ment wil perfoor'm in iiq'lish spiitsh, and nin'dereth not dhe reed'iq and writ'iq of udh'er laq'gadzh: for *Li* nav left uut no letter biifoor in yys. And dhowh wii duu sum-what var'i from udh'er nas'ionz in dhe naam'iq of sum let'terz, (spes'ia'lli wheer wii nav differ'iq suundz in vois,) jet dheer iz no fa'lt in it, as loq az wii yyz naamz agrii'iq tuu uur ooun laq'gadzh: and in udh'er laq'gadzh, let us yyz naamz akkord'iq tuu dhe suund of dhe saam laq'gadzh, dhat wii wuuld leer'n, if dhei bii proviid'ed of sufis'ient let'terz: and if dhe ortog'raf'i for dheir laq'gadzh bii unper'fet, whuu niid tuu bii offend'ed, if wii (for spiid'i leer'n'iq) yyz fig'yyrz and naamz of let'terz, akkord'iq tuu dhe suundz of dheir spiitsh.

Dhe Lat'in mai remain: az it duuth, bikauz it iz yyz'ed in so man'i kun'triiz, and dhat buuks print'ed in liq'land mai bii yyz'ed in udh'er kun'triiz, and lik'-wiiz dhe print'iq in udh'er kun'triiz, mai bii yyz'ed miir: but if a teetsh'or (for dhe eez of a ruq iiq'lish leer'nor of dhe Lat'in) duu ad dhe strik tuu *c. g. i. v.*¹ bikauz of dheir div'erz sever'al suundz, and naam *th* az it weer but oon let'er, az *th*: and sai dhat *:u*: after *q* iz sypper'fyyus:² and tsha'ndzh *:z*: for *:s*: so suund'ed biitwiin' twuu vu'elz, whuu kuuld dzhust'li fiind fa'lt with-a'l? when dhe Lat'in iz so suund'ed bi'us iiq'lish: whitsh unper'fetnes must bii maad plain bi'oon wai or udh'er tuu a leer'nor and must bii duunn eidh'er bi'per'fet fig'yyr of per'fet naam agrii'iq tuu hiz suund in a word, or bi'dub'l naam'iq of let'terz dub'l suund'ed: udh'erwiiz, dhe leer'nor must of nes'es'siti leer'n bi'root, ges, and loq yys: az uur nas'ion waz driv'en tu duu in leer'n'iq of iiq'lish spiitsh whitsh waz hard'er tuu bii leer'n'ed (dhowh nii had dhe suund and yys dheer-of from hiz in'fans'i) dhan dhe Lat'in, wheer-of nii un'derstuud never a word, nor skant nii'ardd an'i word dheer-of, suund'ed in a'l hiz lif biifoor; dhe rez'n heer-of waz, bikauz dhe let'terz in yys for Lat'in, did a'l'moost fur'nish everi sever'al diviz'ion in dhe saam spiitsh: eksep'tiq dhe dub'l suund'ed lett'erz afoor-said:

¹ Bullokar uses *c*, *g*, *v* for (*s*, *dzh*, *v*), and *i*, for (*dzh*). Italics here indicate ordinary spelling.

² Bullokar writes *q* alone for *qu* in the sense of (*kw*) or rather (*kw*).

whitsh dub'l and treb'l suund'iq (no duut) gryy¹ bi korrup'tiq dhe saam from tîm tuu tîm, bi udher nas'ionz, or bi dhe Lat'inz dhemselvz' miq'g'led with uth'er nas'ionz: for (*Ii* suppooz') dhe *Ital'ian* duuth not at dhîs dai maak :i: a kon'sonant biifoor' an'i vuuel, and giiv un'tuu it dhe suund of :dzh: az wii iiq'lish duu a'l'waiz in dhat plas; but maak'eth it a sil'lab'l of it-self, az in dhîs word :*iacob*: of thrii sil'lab'lz in Lat'in: *iacobus* of fouu'r sil'lab'lz; and wii iiq'lish sai, dzhak'ob: of twuu sil'lab'lz, dzhakob'us of thrii sil'lab'lz; and in miir iiq'lish: Dzhhaamz: of oon sil'lab'l; dhe *Ital'ian* a'l'so for dhe suund of uur :dzh: writ'eth gi: whitsh iz not yyz'ed in dhe Lat'in but :g: oon'li for dhooz twuu suundz of ,g, and, dzh: or, i, biifoor' a, o, u, and sum tîm biifoor' ,e, in Lat'in: bi whitsh wii mai a'l'so ges, dhat ,c, in Lat'in at dhe biig'in'iq had dhe suund of ,k, oon'li, for dhat, dhat dhe Lat'in hath dhe suund of :k: and noo udher let'ter jild'ed dhat suund, but ,c, oon'li in dhe Lat'in: ekssept' :qu: suppl'ed dhe ruum sum tîm: for dhe Lat'in reseiv'² not ,k, in'tuu dhe num'ber of dheir let'terz. And for dhe hîs'iq suund of ,c, (thownt radher tuu bii krept in bi lit'l and lit'l) dhe Lat'in was sufis'ientli proviid'ed bi dheir let'er ,s, whuuz suund wii iiq'lish duu most tîmz in dhe Lat'in, and in uur o'ld ortog'rafi, yyz in dhe suund of ,z, when ,s, kum'eth biitwiin' twuu vuuelz: whitsh ,z, iz thowht tu bii no Lat'in let'ter: and dheer-foor it mai bii thowht dhat dhe Lat'in riht'li suund'ed did not jild so groon iq a suund in dheir hîs'iq suund of :s.

And for uur thrii suundz yyz'ed in ,v, dhe Frentsh duu at dhîs dai yyz oon'li twuu un'tuu it: dhat iz, dhe suund agrii'iq tuu hîz o'ld and kontin'yyed naam, and dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant ,v, wheer-bi wii mai a'l'so ges, dhat dhe Lat'in at dhe biig'in'iq yyz'ed ,v, for dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant: and yyz'ed :u: for dhe sound of dhe vuuel.

But huu-soev'er dub'l or treb'l suund'iq of let'erz kaam in: whi iz it not lau'ful tuu enkrees' let'terz and fig'yyrz, when suundz in spiitsh aar enkrees'ed? for spiitsh waz kauz of let'terz: dhe whitsh whuu-soev'er first invent'ed, nii had a regard tuu dhe divîz'ionz dhat mînt bii maad in dhe vois, and waz wil'iq tuu proviid' for everi of dhem, az wel az for oon, or sum of dhem: and if (sîns dhat tîm) dhe suundz in vois hav biin fuund tuu bii man'i moo and div'erz, amoq' sum udher pii'p'l, whi shuuld not let'terz bii aksept'ed, tuu fur'nish dhat laq'gadzh whitsh iz prop'r tuu a god'li and siv'il nas'ion of kontin'yya'l guv'er'nment, az dhîs uur nas'ion iz? and dhe bet'er iz, and ev'er sha'l bii if leer'n'iq (with Godz gras) flur'ish in dhe saam: dhe grund of whitsh leer'n'iq, and dhe yys and kontin'yyans dheer-of iz let'terz, dhe

¹ Bullokar writes "gre'w, thre'w." He represents (ii) by e', and (u) by v or u with a small semicircle below which may be indicated by Italics. Then after distinctly referring his simple v or u to French (yy), in his

11th Chap. he marks as synonymous the signs: e'v, e'u, v, u, e'w. Hence his gre'w, thre'w = (gryy, thryy) and have been so transcribed.

² Misprinted (reseui).

un-per-fetnes wheer-of over-thryy man'i gud wits at dheir biigin'iq and waz kauz of loq tiim lost in dhem dhat spiidd best.

Dhe Lat'in waz moost-eez'i tuu us iiq'lish tuu bii lee'r'ned first, biikauz of xxj. let-terz, xiiij. or xiiij. weer per-fetli per-fet, agrii'iq in naam and suund, and no let-ter mis-plas'ed, syyperflyyus, or suund'ed, and not wriit'n, eksept in abrevias'ionz, and eksept bi mis-yys (az *It* taak it) wii iiq'lish suund'ed *ignarus* az *ignarus*: *magnus* az *mag'nus*. A'l'so *lignum* az *lig'num*, and so of udher wordz, wheer a vuuc'l kaam nekst biifoor: *g*: in oon sil'lab'l, and *n*: biigan an udher sil'lab'l fol'ouu'iq: a'l'so dhe un-per-fet let-terz of dub'l or treb'l suund in Lat'in, nad oon of dhooz suundz, agrii'iq tuu dhe naam ov dhem, so dheer want'ed but fiv or siks fig'yyrz or let-terz tuu fur'nish ev'eri sever'al diviz'ion of dhe vois in dhe Lat'in, az wii iiq'lish suund dhe saam: whitsh bii dheez, *e' g' i' v' v'¹* (tuu bii suppooz'ed radher ab-yyz'ed bi tsha'ndzh of tiim, dhan so un-ser'tein at dhe biigin'iq,) biisidz dhis, dhe Lat'in hath dhe aspiras'ion or let-ter (*h*) ver'i siil'dum aff'er an-i kon'sonant in oon sil'lab'l, and dhat after: *t*: in dhe suund of: *th*: oon'li and after: *e*: in dhe suund of: *k*: oon'li, and aff'er: *r*: in dhe suund of: *r*: oon'li, in a feu wordz deriv'ed from dhe griik: neidher nath dhe Lat'in dhe suund of, tsh. ii. uu. sh. dh. w. wh. j, (nor dhe suund of the thrii ha'lf vau'elz, 'l. 'm. 'n. in dhe per-fet suund of iiq'lish spiitsh) neidher in siq'g'l let-ter, sil'lab'l, nor suund in word: a'l whitsh aar ver'i kom'on in iiq'lish spiitsh.

Wheer-for dhe Lat'in teetsh'orz, with Lat'in ortog'rafi, did not (nor kuuld) suffis'ientli fur'nish iiq'lish spiitsh with let-terz, but patsh'ed it up az wel az dhe kuuld (or at dhe leest, az wel az dhei vuuld) but nothiq per-fet for iiq'lish spiitsh, az appiir'eth bi dhe foorm'er treetis, so dhat of, xxxvij. sever'al diviz'ionz in vois for iiq'lish spiitsh,² oon'li dheez siks, *a. b. d. f. k. x.* weer per-fetli per-fet, and dheer-bi xxxi diviz'ionz in vois unper-fetli fur'nished: wheer-of sum aar ut'erli want'iq, sum dub'l or treb'l suund'ed, and sum mis-naam'ed, biisid sum mis-plas'ed, sum wriit'n, and not suund'ed, and sum suund'ed dhat aar not wriit'n. Whitsh un-per-fetnes maad dhe nat'iv iiq'lish tuu spend loq tiim in lee'r'niq tuu reed and wriit dhe saam (and dhat tshiif'li bi root) hol'p'n bi kontin'yya'l ek'sersüüz biifoor nad in iiz eerz, bi ni'ariq udher, and bi iiz ooun yys of speek'iq whitsh hii waz fain tuu leen moor untuu, dhan tu dhe güd'iq of dhe o'ld ortog'rafi, so far un-per-fet for iiq'lish spiitsh: whitsh help of ek'sersüüz biifoor sheu'ed in dhe nat'iv iiq'lish, dhe stra'ndzher was ut'terli void of, biisid sum stra'ndzh diviz'ionz of suundz in vois in iiq'lish spiitsh, amoq stra'ndzherz, ut'terli un-yyz'ed:

¹ Bullokar's 37 letters as given in his eleventh chapter will be found *suprà* p. 37, l. 19 from bottom. Several of his letters are in duplicate, for the purpose of keeping his spelling like the old, and making changes chiefly by points. In

a second enumeration he adds *k, ph, r'* = (*k, f, r*).

² Bullokar's signs for (*s, dzh, dzh, u, v*) respectively, the second and third being the same.

whitsh kauz'ed dhem at dhe first sint, not oon'li tuu kast dhe bunk awai, but a'l'so tuu thi'qk and sai, dhat uur spiitsh waz so ryyd and barbarus, dhat it waz not tuu bii lee'rned, bi wriit'iq or print'iq: whitsh dispair man'i of uur ooun nas'ion (wil'iq tuu leer'n) did fa'l in'tuu: for dhe moor wil'iq nii was tuu fol'oon dhe naam of dhe let'ter, dhe fard'er-of nii waz, from dhe tryy suund of dhe word: and ad'iq niir-untuu an un-pas'ient and un-diskreet teetsh'or, man'i gud wits weer ov'er-throou'n in dhe biigin'iq, whuu (udh'erwiiz miht nav gon foo'r'ward, not oon'liin reed'iq and wriit'iq dheir nat'iv laq'gadzh, but a'l'so (bi dhe abil'iti of dheir friindz) prosiid'ed in greet'er duu'iqz, tuu dheir ooun prof'it and stei in dhe kom'on welth a'l'so: of whitsh sort, weer dhe ruth of noo'b'l blud, and sutsh az had par'ents of greet abil'iti: whuu par'ents (throw tend'er luv') kuuld not hard'li enfor's dhem tuu freed dhat pain'ful maaz: and dhe ruth fiind'iq it hard, and dheer-bi had noo delint' dheer-in, took an'i dhe leest okkaz'ion tuu bii ok'kyppied udh'erwiiz wheer-bi knoou'ledzh waz lak'iq in sutsh, in whuum dhe kom'on welth (for dheir abil'iti and kred'it) rek'wiired moost, and sutsh az bi a'l reez'n miht bii lihts tuu giid udh'er, and steiz tu up-ho'ld udh'er, nav biin driv'n man'i tiimz tuu bii giid'ed bi udh'er dheir far-infer'iorz: whuu (for nesess'iti or udher okkaz'ion) man'i tiimz ab-yyz' duu'iqz priv'at, and sum-tiim pertain'iq tuu dhe kom'on welth, whitsh iz tshiif'li maintein'ed bi lee'r'niq (Godz gras biifoor a'l thi'qz prefer'ed): whitsh lee'r'niq in dhe infer'iorz, kauz'eth dyy obeidiens toward' dhe syyper'iorz, and biir'iq in dhe syyper'iorz teeetheth dyy guv'er'nment, and fiina'lli teetsh'eth a'l estaats tu liv in oon yy'nti of dhe estaat of dhe kom'on welth, ev'eri estaat in dheir degrii and ka'l'iq, not withuut dhe partik'yylar prof'it, kwi'etnes, and saaf-gard of ev'eri estaat: wheer-untuu if *Ii* have ad'ed an'i thi'q bi dhis mi amend'ment of ortog'rafi, for dhe yys and prof'it of lee'r'norz and dhe saam aksept'ed akkord'iqli, *Ii* wil not oon'li spiid'li imprint dhe Gram'ar, but a'l'so put mi help'iq hand untuu a nes'essari Dik'sionari agrii'iq tuu dhe saam, if God lend me liif, and dhat *Ii* mai bii eez'ed in dhe bur'd'n, dhat dyy'ti bi nat'yyr kompel'eth mi spesia'lli tuu taak kaar of.

ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN IN THE XVIIth CENTURY.

Information respecting this subject is given incidentally by Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, Bullokar and Gill. Palsgrave generally illustrates the French sounds by the Latin, "when pronounced aright" (*suprà* p. 59), implying that there was a wrong, and therefore perhaps a usual pronunciation, which is the one we most desire to learn. By combining these authorities the result seems to be as follows.

A aa, a, Æ ee, B b, C k, s, CH k, D d, dh, th, E ee, e, F f, G g, dzh, GN qn, H h, I ei, i, J dzh, K k, L l, M m, N n, NG qg, O oo o, u, Æ ee, P p, QU kw, R r, S s, z, T t, th, TH th, U, yy, u, V v, X ks, Y = I, Z z.

¹ By omission of the diacritics, this word is misprinted (lou).

A may have been (a, a, æ), but probably (a) only.

Æ, Œ Palsgrave says (i, 10) "be written in latine and nat sounded," i.e. I suppose, not sounded as diphthongs. It seems clear from Smith (suprà p. 121) that the real sound of Æ, and therefore probably of Œ, was (ee).

C was (k) before a, o, u and (s) before e, i according to present custom, and probably (s) before æ, œ.

CH=(k) according to Bullokar, suprà p. 842, l. 19.

D. The only proper sound was (d), but we find Palsgrave saying of French D (i, 30): "D in all maner thynges confermeth hym to the general rules aboue rehersed, so that I se no particular thyng wherof to warne the lernar, save that they sounde nat d of ad in these wordes, *adultère*, *adoptiõ*, *adoulcër*, like th, as we of our tonge do in these wordes of latine *ath athjuuandum* for *ad adjuuandum* corruptly." I have assumed this th to mean (dh) as being derived from d. But Salesbury writes (kwith) for *quid*.

E. Besides the regular sound of (ee, e), Salesbury shews that (ii) had crept in occasionally, compare (liidzh·it)=*legit*, p. 767. I do not find this mentioned by any other authority.

G=(g) before a, o, u and (dzh) before e, i, as at present. Both Salesbury and Bullokar note and stigmatise the use of (qn) for GN, which seems to have been in general use.

I short =(i) throughout. I long =(ei) in Salesbury, (oi) in Gill most probably. Whether Bullokar said (ii) or (ei) depends on his English pronunciation of long I. It is to be observed that he as well as Smith (p. 112), does not admit the sound of (ii) in Latin. Hence Bullokar's sound of long i must have been quite distinct from (ii), as (ii, ii) are at this day kept quite distinct in Iceland and Teviotdale, in both cases perhaps by inclining (ii) towards (ee), p. 544.

T, usually (t), but when final often (th) as (am·ath) *amat*, according to Salesbury, see D. Palsgrave also finds it necessary to say, in reference to the French word *est*: "if the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be sounded *et*: but neuer *est* sounding s, nor *eth*, soundynge t like th, for t hath neuer no suche sounde in the frenche tonge," (i, 44), which seems to be directed against this Latin usage.

TH=(th) see suprà p. 842, l. 19.

U vowel, when long seems to have been generally (yy) suprà p. 841. But Palsgrave seems to consider this wrong, and to prefer (uu), suprà p. 149. The short vowel could have been nothing but (u, u).

EXAMPLES.—Latin spelling in Italics, pronunciation in Roman letters.

Salesbury gives: *agnus* aq·nus, *amat* am·ath, *dederit* ded·erith, *dei* dee·ei, *dico* dei·ku, *ego* eg·u, *ignis* iq·nis, *Jesu* Dzhee·zyy, *legit* lii·dzhith, *magnus* maq·nus, *qui* kwei, *quid* kwith, *sal* saul, *sanctus* san·tus, *sol* sooul, *tibi* tei·bei, *tollis* tooul·is, *tu* tyy, *vidi* veidei, but objects to every one of these pronunciations.

Bullokar writes, translating his symbols literatim: *Cicero* *rheto*·

rica singulos vicit, Sis'ero rethor'ika siq'gyylooz vi'sit, corvus non voca cucullum korvus non vo'se kyykul'lum, p. 4. Georgius Gigas et Gilbertus gerunt gladium ad extinguendum gibbum germinantem in gula Dzheor'dzhius Dzhig'as et Gilbertus dzher'unt glad'ium ad ekstiqguen'dum gib'bum dzherminan'tem in gyy'la, p. 5. Injustus jejuna't jactuose non juxta juramentum Johannis indzhus'tus dzhe-dzhyy'nat dzhaktyo'ze non dzhuks'ta dzhyyramen'tum Dzhohan'nis p. 5. Invisus miser non delectatur placidis musis invi'zus mi'zer non delekta'tur plas'idis myy'zis, p. 6. Vitiosi judicium fugiunt ob punctionem stultitiæ suæ visio'zi dzhyydis'ium fyy'dzhiunt ob pyynisio'nem stultis'ice syy'ec. Unus vestrum cumulavit hunc acervum yy'nus ves'trum kyymyyla'vit nuqk aser'vum, p. 7. Thraso, Thales, Thessalia, Thra'so, Tha'les, Thessa'lia. Ignarus, magnus, lignum, iqna'rus, maq'nus, liq'num. Bullokar in these examples has neglected to use his accents which mark length.

Gill writes a few Latin names thus, the numbers refer to the pages of his *Logonomia*: Julius Caesar Dzhyy'lius Se'zar 43. Cicero Siz'eroo 43, 85. Terentia Teren'tia 84. Crassus Kras'us 85. Hippia Hip'ia 85. Sylla Sil'a 85. Quintius Kwin'sius 86. Venus Ven'us 100. Cynthia Sin'thia 101. Phoebe Fee'be 101. Charissa Karis'a 101. Corydon Kor'idon 103. Pyrocles Piroo'kles 108.

The use of (ei) for long I, seems to guarantee the old use of (ii), which may have been Bullokar's pronunciation. And the use of (yy) for long U, seems to confirm the conjecture of its old use in the same sound, *suprà* p. 246, rather than (uu), because as (ii) changed into (ei), so would (uu) have changed into (ou), whereas (yy) is naturally preserved. This confirms to some extent the remark on p. 583, note 8. The only other important point is the non-development of *si-*, *ti-* before a vowel, into (shi-), hereby confirming the absence of this development in English, *suprà* p. 214.

§ 5. *Alexander Gill's Phonetic Writing, 1621, with an examination of Spenscr's and Sidney's Rhymes.*

Dr. Gill, born in the same year as Shakspeare, and occupying the high literary position of head master of St. Paul's School, London, at the time of Shakspeare's death, must obviously be considered as the best single authority for the pronunciation of the more educated classes in Shakspeare's lifetime. Hence it is necessary in these examples to give prominence to what has fallen from his pen. We have had frequent occasion to lament that Dr. Gill has not explained the value of all his signs with sufficient clearness. The reasons why I suppose his *j* to have been (ei), and his *d* and *au* to have been (AA) will be found on pp. 115, 145.

The greatest difficulty in transcribing Dr. Gill's phonetic passages arises from the carelessness of the printing. Dr. Gill has furnished a list of Errata, which he requests may be corrected before reading, but in some instances these contain no corrections at all, and they

are exceedingly deficient. The commencing and concluding observations create difficulties :

"Syllabæ quæ naturâ suâ communes sunt, possunt etiam indifferenter per vocales longas aut breves describi, vt (shal) aut (shaal), (dans) aut (daans), (bi bii, ded deed, whoom whuum, modher, mudher, sai saai, mai maai, &c.) Quædam accentu variant, vt ibi dictum est : itaque in his nil titubabis. Errata leuiora præteribis : cognita et agnita sic restitues. Quinetiam characterum penuriam in I, pro J, quoties opus refarciens. Denique capite 25 et deinceps, accentuum notatio, longarum vocalium quantitati veniam inueniet."

It is evident that owing to these errors much doubt must be felt by a reader of the xixth century on many of the very points respecting which precise information is desirable. I had endeavoured to correct errors by a reference to other occurrences of the same word. But after much consideration I determined to give a literal transcript of the text as it stands, as I have done for Hart and Bullokar, correcting only the errors marked in the errata and supplying the accent mark (·), so that the reader will be able to form his own opinion. I have used (i) for the short *i*, believing it to have been the sound intended by Dr. Gill. See also § 7 of this Chapter. But I have let (i) stand for short *i* when it appeared to be a misprint for *i*=(ii).

Almost the only examples of phonetic writing as such, given by Dr. Gill, are Psalms 62, 67, 96, 97, 104 according to the Authorized Version, and as that version had only been published ten years when his book appeared, these transcripts possess a peculiar interest and are given at length.

The poetical examples are chiefly adduced to give instances of rhetorical figures, and are principally taken from Spenser and Sidney,—not one line from Shakspeare being quoted throughout the book, which need not excite surprise, as the first folio edition of Shakspeare's plays did not appear till two years after the publication of Gill's second edition. There are a few epigrams from Harrington, a poem of Withers, a song of Ben Jonson, and one or two other songs cited. I have thought it best to give all the longer quotations from Spenser's *Faerie Queen* in the order in which they occur in the poem, and to collect the other quotations according to the authors. We have thus a very tolerable collection of literary examples differing materially from the dry sticks furnished by Hart and Bullokar. Their main interest, however, consists in their being written phonetically by a man who was contemporary with nearly all the writers, and who therefore was able to furnish us with the pronunciation of English current in their time. We shall not go far wrong if we read like Dr. Gill. At the same time he clung to the older form of pronunciation, not admitting Harts (ee) for *ai*, although he does allow (deseev', konseev') which were the current pronunciations of the xvii th century, and apparently admitted (oi, aa) which properly also belong to that period. It will

be found that his quotations from Spenser often differ from Mr. Morris's (Globe) edition, sometimes designedly, sometimes perhaps from carelessness.

How far Dr. Gill's pronunciation represented that of Spenser, Sidney, and the other authors themselves, is an interesting question; but there is no direct means of answering it. The only path open is an examination of their rhymes. Accordingly Spenser's and Sidney's rhymes will be considered immediately after the specimens which Gill has given. And in the last section of this chapter not only Shakspeare's rhymes, but also his puns will be examined for the purpose of determining his individual pronunciation.

Extracts from Spenser's Faerie Queen.

The references are to the book, canto, and stanza of the F. Q., and to the page of Gill's *Logonomia*.

Mutsh gan dheï praaiz dhe triiz so straiht and hæi
Dhe sail·iq pòin, dhe sec·dar proud and tAAL,
Dhe vøinprop elm, dhe pop·lar nev·er drøi,
Dhe biild·er ook, sool k·iq of for·ests AAL,
Dhe as·pin gud for staa·vz, dhe søi·pres fy·neral.

1, 1, 8, p. 105.

Dhe laa·di sad tu sii h·iz soor konstraint·,
Krøid out, Nou nou, s·ir knøikht, sheu what juu bii.

1, 1, 19, p. 108.

Nou, when dhe rooz·i·fi·q·gred morn·iq faier
Wee·ri of aadzhed Tøi·thoonz saf·ern bed,
Had spred her pur·pl roob thrukh deu·i aier,
And dhe høikh h·ilz T·i·tan d·iskuv·ered.

1, 2, 7, p. 106.

Az when tuu ramz, stird with ambis·ius prøid,
Føikht for dhe ryyl of dhe fair fliis·ed flok;
Dheir horn·ed fronts so feers on eidl·er soid
Du miit, dhat with dhe ter·or of dhe shok
Aston·ied booth stand sens·les as a blok,
Forget·ful of dhe haq·iq v·iktorøi:

So stuud dheez twain unmuuv·ed az a rok.

1, 2, 16, p. 99.

... Mer·si, mersi (Sir) voutsaa·f tu sheu
On sil·i daam subdzhekt· tu hard m·istshans·.

1, 2, 21, p. 116.

H·iz dii·erest Laa·di deed with feer nii found,

1, 2, 44, p. 111.

Her siim·iq deed nii found, with fain·ed feer.

1, 2, 45, p. 111.

qi møi frail eiz dheez løinz with teerz du stiip,
Tu thi·qk hou shii, thrukh gøil·ful, han·dl·iq
Dhokh tryy az tutsh, dhokh daukh·ter of a k·iq,
Dhokh faair az ev·er liv·iq wøikht waz fair,
Dhokh not in word nor diid il mer·it·iq,
Iz from her knøikht divors·ed in despair·.

1, 3, 2, p. 114.

Of groiz'le Plu'to shii dhe daakht'er waz,
 And sad Proserp'ina dhe kwiin of hel:
 Jet shii did thi'qk her pii'erles wurth tu pas
 Dhat par'entadz, with praid shii so did swel:
 And thun'driq Dzhoov dhat hëikh in hev'n duth dwel
 And wiild dhe world, shii klaim'ed for her sàir;
 Or if dhat an'i els did Dzhoov eksel';
 For tu dhee hoi'est shii did st'il aspèir.
 Or if coukht hoi'er weer dhen dhat, did it deezèir.

1, 4, 11. p. 110.

Ful man'i mist'shiifs fol'ou kryy'el wrath;
 Abhor'ed blud-shed, and tyymul'tyyus stroif,
 Unman'li mur'dher, and unthri'fti skath,
 Bit'er dispait, with raqk'erus rust'i knëif,
 Dhe swel'iq spliin, and fren'zi radzh'iq raif.

1, 4, 35. p. 106.

Dhe waaLz weer hoi, but noth'iq stroq, nor thi'k;
 And goold'n fuuul aal ov'er dhem displaaid:
 Dhat pyy'rest skoi with bröikht'nes dheei dismaaid.

1, 4, 4. p. 98.

With h'id'eus hor'or booth togeedh'er smoit,
 And sous so soor, dhat dheei dhe hev'n afrai'.

1, 5, 8. p. 98.

Hii dzhent'loi askt, wheer aal dhe piip'l bii,
 Whitsh in dhat staat'li biild'iq wunt tu dwel?
 Whuu an'swereed him ful soft, nii kuuld not tel.
 Hii askt again', wheer dhat saam knöikht was laid,
 Whoom greet Orgo'lio with pyyis'ans fel
 Had maad hiz kai'tiv thral? again' hii said,
 Hii kuuld not tel. Hii asked dhen, whitsh wai
 Hii in möikht pas? Ignaa'ro kuuld not tel.

1, 8, 32. p. 111.

But, neidh'er dark'nes foul, nor fil'thi bandz
 Nor noi'us smel, hiz pur'pooz kuuld withhoold'.

1, 8, 40. p. 104.

But noi'us smel hiz pur'pooz kuuld not hoould
 But dhat with kon'stant zeel and kour'radzh boould,
 Aft'er loq painz and laa'bors man'foould;
 Hii found dhe meenz dhat priz'ner up tu reer.

1, 8, 40. p. 105.

Dhen shal oi juu rekount' a ryy'ful kaas
 (Said nii) dhe whitsh with dhis unluk'i ei
 gi laat biineld'; and had not greet'er graas
 Mii rest from it, had biin partaak'er of dhe plaas.

1, 9, 26. p. 100.

Wii met dhat vil'an, dhat vail mis'kreant,
 Dhat kurs'ed waikht, from whom oi skaapt whöileer,
 A man of hel, dhat kaaLz himself' Despair'.

1, 9, 28. p. 105.

For what nath loif, dhat mai it luv'ed maak?
 And givz not raadh'er kaaLz it dai'loi tu forsaaak?

Feer, si'knes, aadzh, los, laa'bor, sor'oou, ströif,
Pain, huq'ger, koold, dhat maaks dhe hart tu kwaak;
And ever fik'l for'tyyn radzh'iq roif;
:Aal whitsh, and thouz'andz moo, duu mak a loth'sum loif.

1, 9, 44. p. 103.

Hii dhat dhe blud-red bäl'oouz, löik a waaal
On eidh'er said dispart'ed with hiz rod;
T'il aal hiz arm'ei dräi-fuut thrukh dhem jod.

1, 10, 53. p. 106.

Dh's said, adoun' hii luuk'ed tu dhe ground
Tu haav returnd'; but daazed weer hiz ein
Thruk pas'iq bräikht'nes whitsh did kwöit konfound'
Hiz fiib'l sens, and tuu eksiid'iq shöin.
So dark aar thi'qz on eerth kompaard tu thi'qz divöin'.

1, 10, 67. p. 116.

So doun nii fel, and fuurth hiz loif did breeth
Dhat van'isht in'tu smook, and kloud'ez swift:
So doun nii fel, dhat dh-erth him underneath
Did groon, az fiib'l so greet lood tu lift:
So doun nii fel, az a pyydzh rok'i klift
Whuuz faals foundaa'sion waavz hav washt awai',
And rouul'ing doun greet Nep'tyyn duth dismai',
So doun nii fel, and löik a heep'ed moun'tain lai.

1, 11, 54. p. 121.

. . . moest wretsh'ed man

Dhat tu afek'sionz duz dhe bräid'l lend:
In dheir begin'n'iq dhe ar week and wan,
But suun throukh sufferans, groou tu feer'ful end:
Whöilz dhe ar week, bitäimz' with dhem kontend',
For when dhe oons tu per'fekt streqth du groou,
Stroq warz dhe maak, and kryy'el bat'r'i bend
Gainst fort of Reez'n, it tu ov'erthroou.
Wrath dzhel'osi, griif, luv, dh's skwair nav laid thus loou.

Wrath dzhel'osi, griif, luv, du dhus ekspel'
Wrath is a fair, and dzhel'osi a wiid;
Griif iz a flud, and luv a mon'ster fel:
Dhe fair of sparks, dhe wiid of lät'l siid;
Dhe flud of drops, dhe mon'ster filth did briid:
But sparks, siid, drops, and filth du thus delai':
Dhe sparks suun kwentsh, dhe sprig'iq siid outwiid',
Dhe drops drei up, and filth wöip kleen awai',
So shal wrath, dzhel'osi, griif, luv, dei and deka'i'.

2, 4, 34, 35. p. 123.

No trii, whuuz bran'tshez did not braav'l'i sprig;
No brantsh, wheron' a fäin burd did not sit;
No burd, but did h's shril noot swiit'löi siq;
No soq, but did kontain' a luv'löi dit,
Triiz, bran'tshez, burdz, and soqz, weer fraam'ed fit
For to alyyr' frail mäindz tu kaar'les eez:
Kaar'les dhe man suun woks, and hiz week wit

Waz overkum of thi*q* dhat d*id* him pleez.
So pleez'ed, d*id* h*iz* wrath'ful kuur'adzh fair apee*z*.

2, 6, 13. p. 123.

And *iz* dher kaar in heev'n? and *iz* dher luv
In heev'n'l*ai* spir'its tu dheez kree'ty*yrz* baas,
Dhat mai kompas'ion of dher iiv'l*z* muu*v*?

2, 8, 1. p. 118.

. . . Aal dhat plees'iq *iz* tu l*iv*'iq eer,
Waz dheer konsort'ed in oon har'monii.
Burdz, vois'ez, in'stryments, waa'ter*z*, w*ei*nd*z*, aal agrii.

Dhe dzhoi'us burdz shroud'ed in tsheer'ful shaad
Dheir noots un'tu dhe vois attem'pred swiit:
Dh- andzheel'ikal soft trem'bl*iq* vois'ez maad
Tu dh- in'stryments d*iv*ein' respon'dens miit:
Dhe sil'ver sound'iq in'stryments d*id* miit
With dhe baaz mur'mur of dhe waa'ter*z* faal:
Dhe waa'ter*z* faal with d*if*erens d*isk*riit
Nou soft, nou loud, un'tu dhe w*ei*nd d*id* kaal,
Dhe dzhent'l war'bl*iq* w*ei*nd loou an'swered un'tu aal.

2, 12, 70. 71. p. 118.

Ne let h*iz* faair'est Sin'th*ia* refy*yz*
In mir'or*z* moor dhen oon h*er*self tu sii,
But eidh'er Gloor'aa'na let h*er* tshy*yz*
Or in Belfee'be fash'ioned tu bii:
In dh- oon h*er* r*yy*l, in dh- odh'er h*er* raar tshas't*it*ii.

Pref. to 3, st. 5. p. 101.

Hydzh see of sor'ou, and tempest'us griif,
Wheerin' m*ai* fiib'l bark *iz* tos'ed loq,
Far from dhe hoop'ed haav'n of reliif:
Wh*ai* du dh*ai* kryy'el bil'oo*z* beet so stroq,
And dh*ai* moist moun'tain*z* eetsh on odher throq,
Threet'iq tu swal'ou up m*ai* feer'ful l*ei*f?
O du dh*ai* kryy'el wrath and sp*ei*t'ful wroq
At leqth alai', and st*int* dh*ai* storm'i str*ei*f,
Whitsh in dheez trub'led bou'el*z* rain*z* and raadzh'eth roif.
For els m*ai* fiib'l ves'el, kraazd and kraakt,
Kan'ot endy*yr*'.

3, 4, 8, p. 99.

Fordh*ai* shii gaav him warn'iq ever'i daai
Dhe luv of wim'en not tu entertain';
A les'n tuu tu hard for l*iv*'iq klaai.

3, 4, 26. p. 100.

So t*ik*'l bii dhe term*z* of mor'taal staat,
And ful of sut'l sof'izms whitsh du plai
With dub'l sens'ez, and with faals debaat.

3, 4, 28. p. 97.

Unthaqk'ful wretsh (said hii), *iz* dh*is* dhe miid
With whitsh h*er* sov'rain mer'si dhou dust kw*oi*t?
Dh*ai* l*ei*f shii saav'ed b*ai* h*er* graa'sus diid:
But dhou dust meen with vil'enus d*is*poit

Tu blot her on'or and her heev'nli laikht.
 Døi, radh'er døi, dhen so disloi'aløi
 Diim of her hækht dezert'; or siim so laikht,
 Faair deeth it iz tu shun moor shaam, dhen døi;
 Døi, radh'er døi, dhen ev'er luv disloi'aløi.

But if tu luv disloi'altøi it bii,
 Shal øi dhen naat her [dhat] from deeth'ez door
 Mii broukht? an, far bii sutsh reprotoosh' from mii.
 What kan øi les du dhen her luv dherfoor',
 Sith øi her dyy reward' kannot' restoor?
 Døi, raadher døi, and døi'iq duu her serv,
 Døi'iq her serv, and luv'iq her adoor.
 Dhøi løif shii gaav, dhøi løif shii duth dezerv'.
 Døi, raadher døi, dhen ev'er from her serv'is swerv'.
 3, 5, 45. 46. p. 121.

Diskurteus, disloi'aal Brit'omart;
 What vendzhans dyy kan ek'wal dhei dezart;
 Dhat nast with shaam'ful spot of sin'ful lust,
 Deføild' dhe pledzh komit'ed tu dhøi trust?
 Let ug'løi shaam and end'les in'famøi
 Kul'er dhøi naam with foul reproot'shez rust.
 4, 1, 53. p. 118.

Amoq' dheez knækhts dheer weer thrii bredh'ern boould,
 Thrii booulder bredh'ern nev'er wer iborn',
 Born of oon mudh'er in oon hap'i moould,
 Born at oon burdh'en in oon hap'i morn,
 Throiz hap'i mudh'er, and throis hap'i morn,
 Dhat boor thrii sutsh, thrii sutch not tu bii fond.
 Her naam waz Ag'ape, whuuz tshil'dren weern
 :Aal thrii az oon; dhe first hækht Proi'amond,
 Dhe sek'ond Døi'amond, dhe juq'gest Troi'amond.

Stout Proi'amond, but not so stroq tu stroik;
 Stroq Døi'amond, but not so stout a knækht;
 But Troi'amond, waz stout and stroq aloik'.
 On hors'bak yy'zed Troi'amond tu fækht,
 And Proi'amond on fuut had moor deløit';
 But hors and fuut knyy Døi'amond tu wiild,
 With kurt'aks yy'zed Døi'amond tu smoit;
 And Troi'amond tu hand'l speer and shiild,
 But speer and kurt'aks both, yyzd Proi'amond in fiild.
 4, 2, 41, 42. p. 124.

. . . Doun on dhe blud'i plain
 Herself' shii thryy, and teerz gan shed amain',
 Amoqst' her teerz imm'ks'iq prai'erz milk,
 And with her prai'erz, reez'nz tu restrain'
 From blud'i stroif.

4, 3, 47. p. 110.

Shii held hîr wrath·ful hand from ven·dzhans soor.

But draa·îq neer, eer nii hîr wel biheld :

Iz dhîs dhe faith (shii said ?) and said no moor,

But turnd hîr fast, and fled awai· for ev·ermoor.

4, 7, 36. p. 103.

Fresh shad·oouz, fît tu shroud from sun·î rai ;

Fair landz, tu taak dhe sun in seez·n dyy ;

Swiit sprîqz, in whîtsh a thouz and nîmfs dîd plai ;

Soft rum·blîq bruuks, dhat dzhent·l slumb·er drry ;

Heikh reer·ed mounts, dhe landz about tu vyy ;

Loou luuk·îq daalz, dîsloind· from kom·on gaaz ;

Deloit·ful bourz, tu sol·as luv·erz tryy ;

Fair lab·erînths, fond run·erz eiz tu daaz :

:Aal whîtsh bîi naa·tyyr maad, dîd naa·tyyr self amaaz·.

4, 10, 24. p. 114.

But nii her sup·liant handz, dhooz handz of goold ;

And iik her fiit, dhooz fiit of silver trîi·

Whîtsh sookht unrîikh·teusnes and dzhust·is soold,

Tshopt of, and naid on nîikh, dhat aal mîikhth dhem bîrroold·.

5, 2, 26. p. 111.

Extracts from Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

. . . Reez·n tu mî pas·ion iild·ed

Pas·ion un·tu mî raadzh, raadzh tu a nast·î revendzh·.

3, 1. p. 110.

And naav·îq plaast mîi thoukhts, mîi thoukhts dhus plaas·ed mîi,

Mîi thoukht ; nai, syyr ôi waz, ôi waz in faair·est Wud

Of Samothe·a land, a land dhat whîl·um stund

An on·or tu dhe world, whîl on·or waz dheir end.

4, 9. p. 113.

Dhe feir tu sii mîi wroqd for aq·ger burn·eth,

Dhe aai·er in teerz for mîin aflîk·sîon wiip·eth,

Dhe see for griif tu eb hîz floou·îq turn·eth,

Dhe eerth wîth pît·î dul her sen·ter kiip·eth,

Faam iz wîth wund·er blaaz·ed,

Tîim fliiz awai· for sor·oou,

Plaas stand·eth stîl amaaz·ed,

Tu sii mîi nîikhth of iiv·lz whîtsh nath no mor·oou.

Alas, aal oon·lîi shii no pît·î taak·eth

Tu knoou mîi mîz·erîiz, but tshaast and kryyel

Mîi faal hîr gloo·rîi maak·eth.

Jît stîl hîz eiz gîv tu mîi flaamz dheir fyel.

Fîir, burn mîi kwîit tîl sens of burn·îq leev mîi :

Ai·er, let me draa dhîs breth no moor in aq·guîsh :

See, dround in dhîi of vî·tal breth bîreev mîi :

Erth, taak dhîs eerth wheerî· mîi spîr·îts laq·guîsh :

Faam, sai ôi waz not born,

Tîim, nast mîi dîi·îq ou·er :

Plaas, sii mîi graav uptorn·

Fîir, ai·er, see, eerth, faam, tîim, plaas, sheu juur pour.

Alas, from aal dheir helps am əi eksəild;
 For heɹz am əi, and deeth feerz hɪr displeez-yyr;
 Fəi deeth, dhou art bigəil-ed,
 Dhokh əi bii heɹz, shii sets bəi miɪ no treez-yyr.
 3, 15. p. 125.

Extracts from Sir John Harrington's Epigrams (A.D. 1561-1612.

Fəi but a mans dɪsgraast, noo-ted a nov-ɪs.
 Yee but a mans moor graast, noo-ted of no vəis.
 Dhe miɪd of dhem dhat luv, and du not liv amɪs'.
 2, 17. p. 113.

ʒi kaald dhii oons məi dii-erest Mal in vers.
 Whɪtsh dhus əi kan inter-pret ɪf əi wɪl,
 Məi dii-erest Mal, dhat ɪz, məi kost-lɪest ɪl.
 2, 81. p. 112.

Tu praaiz məi wəif, juur daakht-er, (so əi gadh-er)
 Juur men sai shii resem-bleth moost hɪr fadh-er.
 And əi no les tu praiz juur sun, hɪr brudh-er,
 Affirm dhat hii ɪz tuu mutsh ləik hɪz mudh-er.
 Ei knoou not ɪf wii dzhudzh arəikht, or er,
 But let hɪm bii ləik juu, so əi ləik heɹ.
 2, 96. p. 112.

Markus neer seest tu ven-ter aal on prəim,
 Til of hɪz adzh kwəit waas-ted waz dhe prəim.
 2, 99. p. 112.

Wheer dwelz Mister Kaar-les?
 Dzhest-erz hav no dwel-ɪq.
 Wheer ləiz hi?
 In hɪz tuq bəi moost menz tel-ɪq.
 Wheer boordz hi?
 Dheer wheer feests aar found bəi smel-ɪq.
 Wheer bəits hi?
 :Aal behəind, gainst aal men jel-ɪq.

3, 20. p. 118.
 Konsern-ɪq wəivz hoould dhɪs a sɛr-tain ryyɪ,
 Dhat ɪf at first juu let dhem naav dhe ryyɪ,
 Juurself at last with dhem shal naav no ryyɪ,
 Eksept juu let dhem ev-er-moor tu ryyɪ.
 3, 33. p. 109.

Songs and Miscellaneous Extracts.

What ɪf a dai, or a munth, or a jeer,
 Kroun dhəi dezəirz with a thou-zand wɪsht konten-tɪqz?
 Kannot dhe tshauns of a nəikt or an ouer
 Kros dhəi deləits with a thou-zand sad tormen-tɪqz?
 Fortyyɪn, on-or, beu-tɪ, jyyth,
 Aar but blos-umz di-əɪq [dai-ɪq]:
 Wan-ton pleez-yyr, doot-ɪq luv,
 Aar but shad-dooz fləi-ɪq.
 :Aal our dzhoiz, aar but toiz
 ʒid-l thoukhts deeseev-ɪq.

Noon hath pou'er of an ou'er
In dheir leivz bireev'iq.

Thomas Campian. p. 144, with the music.

Faaier bei na'ttyr bii'iq born,
Bor'ooud beu'ti shii duth skorn.
Hii dhat k'is'eth her, niid feer
Noo unnool'sum ver'nish dheer;
For from dhens, nii oon'lei sips
Dhe pyyr nek'tar of her lips:
And with dhez at oons nii klooz'ez,
Melt'iq ryy'biz, tsher'iz, rooz'ez.

George Withers. p. 98.

Nou dhat dhe nerth iz kround with smail'iq foier
And sum du driqk, and sum du daans,

Sum riq

Sum siq,

And aal du stroiv t- advaans'

Dhe myyz'ik hei'er:

Wheerfoor shuuld oi

Stand si'lent bei?

Whuu not dhe leest

Booth luv dhe kAAZ and AA'torz of dhe feest.

Ben Jonson, ode 14. p. 143.

Moin eiz, no eiz, but foun'tainz of mai teerz:
Mai teerz, no teerz, but fludz tu moist mai hart:
Mai hart, no hart, but har'bour of mai feerz:
Mai feerz, no feerz, but fiil'iq of mai smart.

Mai smart, mai feerz, mai hart, mai teerz, moin eiz,
Ar bleind, draïd, spent, past, waast'ed with mai kröiz.
And jit moin eiz dhokh bleind, sii kAAZ of griif:
And jit mai teerz, dhokh draïd, run down amaaïn:
And jit mai hart, dhokh spent, atenz' reliif:
And jit mai feerz, dhokh past, inkrees' mai paain:
And jit oi liv, and liv'iq fiil moor smart:
And smart'iq, kröi in vain, Breck hev'i hart.

SONG, "Break Heavy Heart." p. 119.

Swiit thooukhts, dhe fuud on whitsh oi fiid'iq starv;
Swiit teerz, dhe driqk dhat moor AAgment' mai thirst;
Swiit eiz, dhe starz bei whitsh mai kours duth swarv;
Swiit hoop, mai deeth whitsh wast mai laif at first;
Swiit thooukhts, swiit teerz, swiit hoop, swiit eiz,
Hou tshaaNST dhat deeth in swiit'nes loiz?

SONG, "Deadly Sweetness." p. 119.

Maa'tshil iz haq'ed, Dhe diil naz -in faq'ed
And bren'ed iz hiz byyks. In hiz kryyk'ed klyyks.
Dhokh Maa'tshil iz haq'ed Maa'tshil iz haq'ed
Jit nii iz not wraq'ed. Anb [and] bren'ed iz hiz byyks.

Reus Macchiavellus, Northern Dialect. p. 122.

Raaz'iq moi hoops, on hilz of heiikh dezöir,
Thiqk'iq tu skaal dhe neev'n of hir hart,
Mai slend'er meenz prezumd' [prezyymd'] tuu hei a part.

Her thund·er of disdain· forst mii retoir·,
And thrÿy mii doun &c.

Daniel, DELIA, Sonnet 31. p. 99.

Kontent· whuu lîvz with trôid estaat,
Niid feer no tshandzh of froun·iq faat :
But mii dhat siiks, for un·knoun· gain,
Oft lîvz bei los, and leevz with pain.

Specimen of Phonetic Spelling. p. 20.

Dhe loq ar laa·zi, dhe lit·l ar loud :
Dhe fair ar slut·ish, dhe foul ar proud.

p. 76.

Praiz of an hœik rek·niq·, an a trik tu bii greet·lii renoun·ed
Juu with juur prik·et pur·tshast. Lo dhe vik·tori faa·mus
With tuu godz pak·iq· oon wum·an sil·li tu kuz·n.

*Accentual Hexameters. Stanhurs's Translation of
Virg. Æn. 4, 93-95. p. 100.*

Psalm 62. p. 20.

1 Tryy·lœi mœi sooul wait·eth upon· God : from nîm kum·eth mœi
salu[y]·[aa·sion. 2 Hii oon·lœi iz mœi rok and mœi salvaa·sion : Hii iz
mœi defens·; œi shal not bi greet·lœi muuv·ed. 3 Hou loq wrl jii
imadz·in mœi·tshiif against· a man ? jii shal bi slain aal of juu :
az a bou·iq waal shall ji bii : and az a tot·eri·q fens. 4 Dheei
oon·lœi konsult· tu kast nîm doun from nîs ek·selensœi, dheci delœit·
in laiz : dheci bles with dhecir mouth, but dheci kurs in·wardlœi·
Sel·an. 5 Mœi sooul wait dhou oon·lœi upon· God : for mœi ekpek·
ta·sion iz from nîm. 6 Hii oon·lœi iz mœi rok and mœi salvaa·sion ;
Hii iz mœi defens·; œi shal not bi muuv·ed. 7 In God iz mœi sal·
vaa·sion and mœi gloo·ri ; dhe rok of mei stregh and mœi refyydzh
iz in God. 8 Trust in nîm at aal tœimz ji piip·l ; pour out juur hart
bifoor· nîm : God iz a refyydzh for us. Sel·an. 9 Syyr·lœi men
of loou degrii· ar van·itœi, and men of mœi degrii· ar a lei : tu bi
laid in dhe bal·ans, dheci ar aaltogedh·er lœikht·er dhen van·itœi.
10 Trust not in opres·ion, bikum· not vain in rob·eroi ; if ritsh·ez
inkrees·, set not juur hart upon· dhem. 11 God hath spook·n
oons ; twœis naav œi naard dhis, dhat pour biloq·eth un·to God. 12
:Aal·so un·to dhii, oo Lord, biloq·eth mer·si : for dhou ren·derest
tu ev·eroi man akkord·iq tu nîz wurk.

Psalm 67. p. 21.

1 God bi mer·siful yy[u]·n·tu us and bles us : and kaa·z nîz faas tu
shœin upon· us. Sel·an. 2 Dhat dhœi waai maai bi knoun upon
certh, dhœi saav·iq heelth amoq· aal naa·sionz. 3 Let dhe piip·l
praiz dhi, oo God ; let aal dhe piip·l prais dhii. 4 O let dhe
naa·sionz bi glad, and siq for dzhoi : for dhou shalt dzhudzh dhe
piip·l rœikht·euslœi, and gov·ern dhe naa·sionz upon· certh. Sel·an.
5 Let dhe piip·l praiz dhii oo God ; let aal dhe piip·l praaiz dhii.
6 Dhen shal dhe certh jiild nîr in·krees ; and God, iiv·n our coun
God, shal bles us. 7 God shal bles us, and aal dhe endz of dhe
certh shal feer nîm.

Psalm 96. p. 22.

1 O siq un'tu dhe Lord a nyy soq; siq un'tu dhe Lord aal dhe eerth. 2 Siq un'tu dhe Lord, bles hiz naam; sheu fuurth hiz salvaas'ion from dai tu dai. 3 Deeklaar hiz gloo'ri amog' dhe needhen: hiz wun'derz amog' aal piip'l. 4 For dhe Lord iz greet, and greet'loi tu bi praiz'ed: Hii iz tu bi feer'ed abuv' aal Godz. 5 For aal dhe godz of dhe naa'sionz ar ei'dolz: but dhe Lord maad dhe heev'nz. 6 On'or and Maa'dzhestei ar bifoer him: streqth and beurti ar in hiz sank'tuarai. 7 Giv un'tu dhe Lord (oo jii kin'drez of dhe piip'l) giv un'tu dhe Lord gloo'ri and streqth. 8 Giv un'tu dhe Lord dhe gloo'ri dyy un'tu hiz naam: briq an of'riq and kum in'tu hiz kuurts. 9 O wur'ship dhe Lord in dhe beurti of hoo'l'ines: feer bifoer him aal dhe eerth. 10 Saai amog' dhe needh'en dhat dhe Lord reei'neth: dhe world aal'so shall bi estab'lished dhat it shal not bi muuv'ed: Hii shal dzhudzh dhe piip'l reikh'teuslai. 11 Let dhe heev'nz redzhois', and let dhe eerth bi glad: let dhe see roor and dhe ful'nes dheerof. 12 Let dhe fiild bi dzhoi'ful, and aal dhat iz dherin': dhen shal aal dhe triiz of dhe wud redzhois'. 13 Bifoer dhe Lord; for Hii kum'eth, for Hii kum'eth tu dzhudzh dhe eerth: Hii shal dzhudzh dhe world with reikh'teusnes, and dhe piip'l with hiz tryyth.

Psalm 97. p. 22.

1 Dhe Lord reei'neth; let dhe eerth redzhois: let dhe multi'ty'd of dhe eilz bi glad dherof. 2 Kloundz and dark'nes ar round about him: reikh'teusnes and dzhudzh'ment ar dhe habitaas'ion of hiz thron. 3 A foi'er go'eth bifoer him: and burn'eth up hiz en'emoiz round about. 4 Hiz laikht'niqz inlaikht'ned dhe world: dhe eerth sau, and trem'bled. 5 Dhe hiz melted laik waks at at dhe prez'ens of dhe Lord; at dhe prez'ens of dhe Lord of dhe whool eerth. 6 Dhe heev'enz deklaar hiz reikh'teusnes: and aal dhe piip'l sii hiz gloo'ri. 7 Konfound'ed bi aal dheei dhat serv graav'n ei'madzhez, and boost dhemselvz of ei'dolz: wur'ship him aal ji godz. 8 Si'on haard, and waz glad, and dhe daakh'terz of Iur'da redzhois'ed: bikauz of dhai dzhudzh'ments, oo Lord. 9 For dhou Lord art haikh abuv' aal dhe eerth: dhou art eksalt'ed far abuv' aal godz. 10 Jii dhat luv dhe Lord, naat iiv'l; Hii prezerv'eth dhe soulz of hiz saints: Hii deliv'reth dhem out of dhe hand of dhe wi'k'ed. 11 Laikht iz sooun for dhe reikh'teus, and glad'nes for dhe up'reikht in hart: 12 Redzhois: in dhe Lord, jii reikh'teus: and giiv thaqs at dhe remem'brans of hiz hoo'l'ines.

Psalm 104. p. 23.

1 Bles dhe Lord, oo mai sooul: oo Lord mai God dhou art ver'i greet: dhou art klodh'ed with On'or and Madzh'estei. 2 Whuu kuv'rest dhai self with laikht, az with a gar'ment: whuu stretsh'est out dhe heev'nz laik a kur'tain; 3 Whuu lai'eth dhe beemz of hiz tsham'berz in dhe waa'terz; whuu maak'eth dhe kloudz hiz tsharet: whuu walk'eth upon dhe wiqz of dhe wæind. 4 Whuu

maak'eth hîz an'gelz spîr'its: hîz mîn'isterz a flaam'iq fôier.
 5 Whuu laid dhe foundaas'ionz of dhe eerth: dhat it should not
 bi remuuv'ed for ev'er. 6 Dhou kuv'erest it with dhe diip az with
 a garment: dhe waaterz stund abuv' dhe moun'tainz. 7 At dhai
 rebyyk' dheei fled: at dhe vois of dhai thund'er dheei maast'ed
 awai. 8 Dheei go up boi dhe moun'tainz, dheei go down boi dhe
 val'leiz un'tu dhe plaas whitsh dhou nast found'ed for dhem. 9
 Dhou nast set a bound dhat dheei mai not pas over: dhat dheei
 turn not again' tu kuv'er dhe eerth. 10 Hii sendeth dhe spriqz
 in'tu dhe val'leiz; whitsh run amog' dhe hîlz. 11 Dheei giv' driqk
 tu ev'rai beest of dhe fiild; dhe wôild as'es kwentsh dheer thîrst.
 12 Bôi dhem shal dhe foulz of dhe hev'n haav dheer habitaas'ion,
 whitsh siq amog' dhe bran'shez. 13 Hii waat'ereth dhe hîlz from
 hîz tsham'berz: dhe eerth iz sat'isfoied with dhe fryyt of dhai
 wurkz. 14 Hii kAAZ eth dhe gras tu groou for dhe kat'el, and
 herb for dhe serv'is of man: dhat hii mai briq' fuurth fuud out of
 dhe eerth. 15 And woin dhat maak'eth glad dhe hart of man, and
 oil tu maak' hîz faas tu shoin, and breed whitsh streng'th'eth mans
 hart. 16 Dhe triiz of dhe Lord ar ful of sap: dhe see'darz of
 Leb'anon whitsh Hii nath plant'ed. 17 Wheer dhe bîrdz maak'
 dheer nests: az for dhe stork dhe fîr triiz are hîr hous. 18 Dhe
 hîkh hîlz ar a ref'uydz for dhe wôild goots: and dhe roks for
 dhe kun'iz. 19 Hii apuunt'ed dhe muun for seez'nz; dhe sun
 knoou'eth hîz goo'iq down. 20 Dhou maak'est dark'nes, and it iz
 naikht: wheerin' aal dhe beests of dhe for'est du kriip fuurth.
 21 Dhe juq loi'onz roor aft'er dheer prai, and siik dheer meet
 from God. 22 Dhe sun arôiz'eth, dheei gadh'er dhemselvz' tu-
 gedh'er, and lai dhem down in dheer denz. 23 Man go'eth
 fuurth un'tu hîz wurk; and tu hîz laa bor, untîl' dhe iiv'niq. 24
 O Lord nou man'itould ar dhai wurks? in wîz'dum nast
 dhou maad dhem aal: dhe eerth iz ful of dhai rîsh'ez. 25
 So iz dhîs greet and wôid sec, wheerin' ar thiqz kriip'iq
 innum'erabl, booth smaal and greet beests. 26 Dheer go dhe
 ships; dheer iz dhat Levi'athan [Levô'athan?] whuum dhou
 nast maad tu plai dheerin'. 27 Dheez wait aal upon dhii dhat
 dhou maist giv' dhem dheer meet in dyy seez'n. 28 Dhat dhou
 giv'est dhem dheei gadh'er: dhou oop'nest dheei hand, dheei ar
 fil'ed with gud. 29 Dhou hoid'est dhai faas, dheei ar trub'led:
 dhou taak'est awai' dheer breth dheei dôi, and return' tu dheer dust.
 30 Dhou send'est forth [fuurth] dhai spîr'it, dheei ar kreaat'ed:
 and dhour enyy'est dhe faas of dhe eerth. 31 Dhe gloo'ri of dhe
 Lord shal indyyr' for ev'er: dhe Lord shal redzhois' in hîz wurks.
 32 Hii luuk'eth on dhe eerth, and it trem'bleth: hii toutsh'eth
 [tutsh'eth?] dhe hîlz and dheei smook. 33 Qi wîl siq un'tu dhe
 Lord az loq as ôi lîv': ôi wîl praiiz mòi God whail ôi haav mòi
 bii'iq. 34 Mòi medîtaas'ion of hîm shal bi swiit: ôi wîl be glad
 in dhe Lord. 35 Let dhe sîn'ers bi konsum'ed [konsyym'ed?] out
 of dhe eerth, let dhe wîk'ed bii no moor: bles dhou dhe Lord, oo
 mòi sooul. Praiz jii dhe Lord. Amen.

AN EXAMINATION OF SPENSER'S RHYMES.

An inspection of the examples of Spenser's pronunciation as given by Dr. Gill, pp. 847-852, shews that as Dr. Gill read them the rhymes were not unfrequently faulty.¹ If then this authority is to be trusted we have entirely left the region of perfect rhymes, and have entered one where occasional rhymes are no guide at all to the pronunciation, and very frequent rhymes are but of slight value. Still it seemed worth while to extend the comparison further, and see how far Spenser in his rhymes conformed to the rules of pronunciation which we gathered from contemporary authorities in Chap. III. Before, however, giving the results of an examination of all the rhymes in the *Faerie Queen*, I shall examine the bad rhymes in contemporary poems of considerable reputation, in order that we may see and understand what limits of approximation in the sound of rhyming vowels and even consonants, some of our best versifiers deem to be occasionally or even generally sufficient, that is, how closely they approach to final or consonantal rhyme (p. 245) on the one side, and assonance on the other. For this purpose I have selected Thomas Moore and Alfred Tennyson. Every one admits that Moore was at least a master of the mechanical part of his art. His lines are generally rhythmical, and his rhymes good, as might be expected from a song writer with a delicate perception of music. Of his writings I choose the most elaborate, the *Loves of the Angels*, and *Lalla Rookh*, and note all the rhymes which are false according to my own pronunciation. Of Tennyson, who is also a master of his art, I select the *In Memoriam*, as his most careful production in regular rhymed verse, and do the like with it. The following are the results.

Mode of Reference.

FW 1, 2 Fireworshippers, part 1, paragraph 2.

LA prol., *Loves of the Angels*, prologue. LA 2, 3. Do., story 2, paragraph 8.

LH 6, *Light of the Harem*, paragraph 6.

PP 24, *Paradise and the Peri*, paragraph 24.

VP 3, 17, *Veiled Prophet*, part 3, paragraph 17.

T 28, Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, section 28. Tep. Do. epilogue.

The examples are arranged according to the sounds, which, according to my pronunciation, are different, but must have been identical, according to the pronunciation of the poets, if the rhymes are perfect.

*Faulty Rhymes observed in Moore and Tennyson.*I. *Both rhyming syllables accented.*

(aa)=(æ)

last hast VP 2, 24

command brand VP 1 2

[in all these cases the first word is occasionally pronounced with (æ), more frequently with (ah).]

command hand VP 3 5—T ep.

glance expanse LA 1, 20. PP 5.

¹ In the few extracts that are given we find: (Aal fyyneral 1, 1, 8. waz pas 1, 4, 11. wholeer despair 1, 9, 28. luv muuv 2, 8, 1. morn weern 4, 2, 41. foikht smoit 4, 2, 42.) And the following seem to be forced, a double value to -er, and -y being assumed,

(Britomart dezart 4, 1, 53. harmonii agrii 2, 12, 70. tshas'titii bii 3, intr., 5. dislo'alai dai 3, 5, 45.) The spelling here used is the preceding transliteration of Dr. Gill's, the references are to book, canto, stanza, of the *Faerie Queene*.

(aa)=(a, aa, o, oo)
 bar war VP 3, 14
 guard lord T 124
 haunts wants T 96 [the first word has
 sometimes (AA), and the second either
 (A) or (o).]

(aax)=(ex, x)
 hearth earth T 30. 76

(aa, AA)=(ee)
 vase grace VP 2, 5. [the first word is
 very rarely called (vees), or (veez)
 generally (vaaz, vaaz).]

(A)=(aa), see (aa)=A
 (AA)=(aa), see (aa)=(AA)
 (AA)=(ee), see (ee)=(AA)
 (æ)=(aa), see (aa)=(æ)
 (æ)=(ee)

amber chamber FW 4, 37 [the second
 word in these cases is usually
 (tsheem·ba), occasionally (tsheam·ba);
 I do not know (tsheam·ba).]
 clamber chamber FW 1, 8
 have grave T 54

(e)=(ee)
 death faith T 80. 106. 112.
 said maid VP 1, 28 [the word *said* is
 perhaps occasionally called (seed).]
 unsaid maid T 72

(e)=(i)
 heaven driven FW 1, 1. 1, 15. 2, 11.
 4, 8. LA 2, 42. VP 1, 33. 2, 33.
 heaven forgiven LA 1, 14. 2, 13. 2, 65.
 FW 4, 1. PP 32.
 heaven given FW 1, 2. 4, 4. 7. 4,
 24. LA 1, 9. 2, 8. 2, 37. 2, 46. 3, 1.
 3, 5. LH 23. VP 1, 3. 1, 19. 1, 25.
 2, 8. 2, 24. 2, 27.—T 16. 39
 heaven o'erdriven T 61
 heaven riven FW 3, 1. LH 6
 heaven unriven VP 3, 11

[any attempt to say (riv'n) would
 no doubt have been scouted by any
 poet, but all poets allow the
 rhyme.]
 inherit spirit PP 14 [(sper·it) is now
 thought vulgar]
 yes this FW 3, 2 [compare Sir T.
 Smith, *suprà* p. 80].

(e)=(ii)
 breath beneath LA 1, 15. 2, 2. VP 2,
 31
 breath underneath T 98
 breath wreath LH 18. 22. VP 1, 9
 death beneath FW 1, 17. 1, 18. 3, 6.
 3, 14.—T 40

death sheath FW 4, 28. VP 1, 2.
 death wreath FW 2, 13.—T 71
 death underneath VP 3, 17
 deaths wreaths LA 2, 63
 heaven even FW 1, 17. LA 1, 6. 2,
 38. PP 26. VP 1, 34
 treads leads v. FW 4, 25

(ex, x)=(oox, oox)
 earth forth LA 3, 13. LH 30

(ex, x)=(aax) see (aax)=(ex, x)
 (o)=(o)

done upon FW 2, 11
 done gone LA 1, 12
 dusk kiosk VP 1, 24
 one gone LH 5
 one on T 42. 80. 82. cp.
 one upon LA 2, 71. PP 32
 rough off LH 5
 run upon VP 1, 34
 shun upon LA 2, 43. 2, 62
 sun upon LA 2, 17. VP 1, 1

(o)=(oo)
 above grove LH 2
 above love wove LA 3, 8
 beloved roved LH 3
 come home LA 2, 74. 3, 8. LH 18
 twice. 22. VP. 2, 33. 3, 17.—T 6.
 8. 14. 39.

discover over LH 4
 love grove LH 20
 love rove VP. 1, 18. 2, 35
 lover over LH 1. 6.
 loves groves FW 1, 9. LH 6. VP 1, 13.
 one alone LH 24.—T 93
 one shone VP 1, 15. LA prol. 5
 one tone FW 4, 25

(o)=(u)
 blood good T 3. 33. 53. 82. 104
 blood stood FW 2, 12. 2, 13. 4, 9
 blood understood VP 1, 27. 3, 21
 bud good T ep.
 flood good T 126
 flood stood FW 1, 13. 1, 18. 2, 8. 3,
 11. 4, 29. PP 9
 flood wood LH 25.—T 84
 floods woods PP 12.—T 83
 shut put T 35
 thrush push T 89

(o)=(uu)
 beloved moved T 51
 blood brood FW 1, 2, 3, 1. 4, 4.
 blood food FW 3, 14.
 come dome FW 1, 1.
 come tomb FW 2, 9.—T 83
 flood food VP 2, 5,
 love move FW 4, 7. LH 5.—T 17.
 25. 39. 109

love prove T prol. 26. 47. 83.
 loved proved PP 15. VP 1, 20.—T 103.
 129. ep.
 loved removed LA 3, 10.—T prol. 13.
 loved unmoved FW 1, 3, 2, 12. LA 1,
 16. VP 2, 27
 loves moves T ep.
 some dome=*judgment* VP 1, 16

(əɪ, ɪ)=(əɪ, əəɪ)

curse horse T 6
 words chords LA 2, 36. 2, 67. LH 33.
 VP 2, 17.—T 47
 word lord LA prol. 2.

(əɪ, ɪ)=(ooɪ, ooɪ)

return'd mourn'd FW 2, 13
 urn mourn T 9
 [some persons say (muum)]
 word adored VP 1, 29
 word sword FW. 1, 13. 2, 3
 words swords VP 1, 2. 1, 8

(ee)=(ii)

bear fear T prol.
 bears years T 51
 wears tears s. LA 1, 15

(ee)=(aa), see (aa)=(ee)

(ee)=(æ), see (æ)=(ee)

(ee)=(c), see (c)=(ee)

(ee)=(ii)

to day quay T 14

(oi)=(i)

Christ mist T 28
 Christ evangelist T 31
 behind wind s. VP 1, 8
 blind wind s. VP 3, 5
 find wind s. T 8
 kind wind s. VP 3, 2.—T 106
 mankind wind s. T 28

[many readers always read (wəind)
 in poetry instead of wind; Gill
 has generally (wəind) even in
 prose.]

(əi)=(oi)

I joy T ep. [the pronunciation (əi
 dzəi) would be out of the question]

(ou)=(oo, ouu)

brow below LH 5
 brow know T 89
 down grown VP 2, 10
 down own LA 2, 39. PP 24
 now low T 4
 powers doors T 36
 shower pour LH 2. [the pronunciation
 (pou) is now vulgar.]

(i)=(c), see (c)=(i)

(i)=(oi), see (oi)=(i)

(i)=(ii)

did seed T ep.

(ii)=(c), see (c)=(ii).

(ii)=(ec), see (ec)=(ii)

(ii)=(ee), see (ee)=(ii)

(iu)=(un)

anew through LA 3, 10
 anew two VP 3, 27
 dew through VP 2, 4
 ensue through T 115
 few true FW 1, 17
 hue drew LA 1, 20
 hue knew through LA 1, 15
 hue threw LH 25
 hue too VP 1, 36
 hue true FW 3, 10
 hue who VP 3, 3

[if *hue* is pronounced (ʃhuu) and not
 (hiu) the six last cases may be
 esteemed rhymes.]

knew too FW 1, 13
 new too T 13
 perfume bloom LA prol. 2
 perfume gloom T 93
 lure sure VP 1, 29
 lute shoot VP 1, 29. [some say (luur,
 luut).]
 mute flute VP 3, 2. [some say (fiut).]
 view true VP 1, 23. [some say (triu).]
 use chose T 34
 yew through T 74

(o)=(aa), see (aa)=(o)

(o)=(ə), see (ə)=(o)

(o)=(oo)

font wont T 29. [some say (wont) and
 others (wənt).]
 God rode FW 3, 5. 4. 15
 gone alone LA 1, 20. 2, 71. LA prol.
 5. VP 2, 10.—T 103
 gone shone FW 2, 9. PP 18. VP 1,
 29. LA 1, 3. [some say (shon).]
 loss gross T 40
 lost boast T 1
 lost ghost T 91
 lost most LA 3, 7. 3, 9.—T. 27. 83
 tost host VP 3, 6
 on shone LA 1, 2. 2, 20. VP 1, 7.
 [some say (shon).]
 wan shone FW 4, 15

(oi)=(oi), see (oi)=(oi)

(or)=(or, ɪ), see (or, ɪ)=(or)

(or, əəɪ)=(ooɪ, ooɪ)

lord adored FW 4, 12

storm form T 16. [some say (fɔam)
always, others distinguish (fɔam)
shape, (foam) seat.]

(oo)=(o), see (o)=(oo)

(oo)=(ou), see (ou)=(oo)

(oo)=(u)

mode good T 46

(oo)=(uu)

door moor T 28. [some say (moor).]

hope group FW 4, 16

more moor T 40. [probably a rhyme
riche p. 246, as: here hear T 35.]

more poor T 77

(oor)=(er, i), see (er, i)=(oor)

(oor)=(or, see (or)=(oor)

(oor)=(or, i), see (or, i)=(oor)

(oor)=(ou), see (ou)=(oor)

(u)=(o), see (o)=(u)

(u)=(oo), see (oo)=(u).

(u)=(uu).

foot brute T prol.

good food VP 2, 33

woods moods T 27. 35. 87

(uu)=(o), see (o)=(uu)

(uu)=(iu), see (iu)=(uu)

(uu)=(oo), see (oo)=(uu)

(uu)=(u), see (u)=(uu)

(dh)=(th)

breathe wreath s. VP 2, 7

(dhz)=(ths)

breathes sheaths FW 1, 2

breathes wreathes LH 2

(i)=(oi, ooi), see (oi, ooi)=(i)

(i)=(ooi, ooi), see (ooi, ooi)=(i)

(s)=(z)

bliss his VP 1, 2

else tells T 75

face gaze T 32

grace vase VP 2, 5 [adopting the pro-
nunciation (vaaz, vaaz) or (veez),
this is faulty; only the unusual (vees)
saves the rhyme.]

house s. boughs T 29

(th)=(dh), see (dh)=(th)

(z)=(s), see (s)=(z)

house s. bows T 35

house s. vows T 20

ice flies T 105

paradise eyes LA 2, 11. VP 1, 3.—T
24. ep.

peace disease T 104

peace these T 88

race phase T ep.

this is PP 10.—T 20. 34. 83.

II. An Unaccented Rhyming with an Accented Syllable.

(u, i) unaccented=(er, i) accented

islander myrrh VP 3, 4

(er, i unacc.=(ii) acc.

universe fierce VP 1, 25

(el, el) unacc.=(al) acc.

festival all VP 3, 19

musical fall VP 2, 17

(en, æn) unacc.=(aan, ahn) acc.

circumstance chance T 62. [some say
(sɪ'kɛmstæns) with a distinct second-
ary accent on the last syllable.]

countenance chance T 112

deliverance trance VP 3, 18

inhabitants plants LH 10

utterance trance LH 33

visitant haunt VP 1, 12

(em, ɔm) unacc.=(oom) acc.

masterdom home T 100

(en, ɔn) unacc.=(on) acc.

Lebanon sun FW 2, 11. PP 22

orison one VP 1, 22

(i) unacc.=(oi) acc.

agony I, LA 2, 42

energies cries T 111

harmony die LA 2, 42

insufficiencies eyes T 110

miseries eyes FW 4, 7

mysteries replies T 37

obscurity lie LA 2, 60

prophecies rise T 90

sympathy die T 30

sympathy I T 61

tastefully hic VP 2, 2

(i) unacc.=(ii) acc.

agonies seas FW 1, 13

armory see VP 3, 1

canopies breeze VP, 3, 2

constancy be T 21

desperately sea FW 1, 17

destinies please LA 3, 15

energies case VP 2, 7

eternities seas VP 2, 7

exquisite sweet FW 3, 13

harmonies breeze VP 2, 10. LH 17

history be T 101

immensity see LA 1, 20
 immortality thee VP 2, 9
 impatiently me LH 10
 instantly sea LH 19
 mockeries breeze VP 1, 9
 mystery thee T 95
 mystery sea LA 2, 38
 mysteries these LA, 2, 41

partially thee VP 1, 21
 philosophy be T 52
 poesy thee T 8
 purity bee LA 2, 16
 purity be LA 1, 7. 1, 16
 solemnly she LA 2, 44
 witchery free LH 24
 yieldingly three LA prol. 4

Some of these rhymes, as may be seen, are justifiable by diversities of pronunciation. Others are really rhymes of long and short vowels. But others cannot be made into rhymes with the help of any known received pronunciations. Thus:—1) bar war, guard lord, clamber chamber, amber chamber, have grave, heaven given [very common], heaven even [also common], death beneath, death sheath, &c. [common], earth forth, one gone, rough off, above grove, come home [very common], love grove &c., one alone &c., blood, good &c., flood stood &c., thrush push, blood food, come tomb, love move &c., curse horse, word lord [so that as we have: guard lord, we might have: word guard!] word sword, Christ mist, I joy, brow below, down grown &c., now low, loss gross, lost boast &c., mode good, hope group:—2) breathe wreath, breathes sheaths, bliss his, else tells, house *s.* boughs &c., ice flies &c.—are about as bad rhymes as can be, the first division being purely consonantal rhymes, and the second mere assonances. The rhymes of an unaccented and accented syllable are all bad, but the double use of unaccented final *-y*, *-ies*, to rhyme either with (*-ii*, *-iiz*) or (*-oi*, *-oiz*) at the convenience of the poet is really distressing; compare: agony I, agonies sees; energies cries, energies ease; harmony die, harmonies breeze; mysteries replies, mysteries these &c. It is at once evident that any attempt to derive the pronunciation of the xixth century from an examination of modern rhymes must utterly fail.

Now the extended examination of Spenser's rhymes above named, leads to a similar result. It would not only be impossible from them to determine his pronunciation, but his usages cross the known rules of the time, even if we include Hart's varieties, so multifariously, that the poet was evidently hampered with the multiplicity of rhyming words which his stanza necessitated,¹ and became careless, or satisfied with rough approximations.

The language in which he wrote was artificial in itself. It was not the language of the xvi th century, but aped, without reflecting, that of the xv th. The contrast between the genuine old tongue of Chaucer, or modern tongue of Shakspeare, and the trumped up tongue of Spenser, which could never have been spoken at any time, is painful. Coming to the examination of Spenser's rhymes fresh from those of Chaucer, the effect on my ears was similar to that produced by reading one of Sheridan Knowles's mock Elizabethan English dramas, after studying Shakspeare. It is sad that so great a poet should have put on such motley.

¹ The scheme of his rhymes is *a b a b b c b e c*, necessitating 2, 3, and 4 rhyming words.

Sometimes, either the author or the printer,—it is impossible to say which, but in all subsequent citations I follow Mr. Morris,¹—seems to think he can make a rhyme by adopting an unusual spelling. At other times unusual forms of words, long obsolete or else provincial, are adopted, and different forms of the same word chosen to meet the exigencies of the rhyme.

Unusual Spellings and Forms for appearance of Rhymes.

- iufusd chusd = *chose* used 2, 2, 5
 fire yre stire = *stir* 2, 5, 2.
 draws jawes wawes = *waves* 2, 12, 4.
 [see Salesbury, *suprà* p. 785.]
 strond hond fond stond = *strand hand found strand*, 2, 6, 19. lond fond = *land found* 3, 2, 8. hand understand fond = *found* 3, 1, 60. [here the two first words have been left unchanged.]
 aboard affoord foord = *aboard afford ford* 2, 6, 19.
 entertayne demayne = *demean* 2, 9, 40
 paramoure succoure floure = *floor pour* 2, 10, 19.
 fayre hayre = *heir shayre* = *share* 2, 10, 28.
 weet = *wit v. feet* 2, 10, 71. [*weet* is constantly used.]
 gate hate awate = *await* 2, 11, 6.
 assault exault withhault = *withheld fault* 2, 11, 9. fault hault assault 6, 2, 23.
 tooke strooke = *struck* 2, 12, 33. strooke looke 2, 12, 33. broken stroken wroken, 6, 2, 7. tooke strooke awooke looke 6, 7, 48.
 vele = *veil* unhele concele 2, 12, 64.
 vele appele revele 3, 3, 19. vele concele 4, 10, 41. Florimele vele 5, 3, 17.
 paynt faynt taynt daynt = *dainty* 3, intr. 2.
 way conway = *convey assay way* 3, 1, 2.
 surcease encrease prease = *press peace* 3, 1, 23. prease = *press* surcease peace 4, 9, 32.
 fayre debonayre compayre = *compare*, repayre 3, 1, 20. fayre prepayre = *prepare* 3, 4, 14. chayre = *chere, dear*, ayre, fayre 3, 5, 51.
 sex wex = *wax v. vex flex* = *flax* 3, 1, 47.
 beare appeare theare 3, 2, 11.
 accomplishid = *-ed hid* 3, 3, 43.
 clim = *climb* swim him 3, 4, 42.
 alive deprive atchive = *achieve* 3, 5, 26.
 strowne sowne overflowne = *overflowed* 3, 9, 35.
 towne crowne downe compassiowne 3, 9, 39.
 blood stoud remoud = *blood stood removed* 3, 9, 43.
 furst nurst = *first nursed* 3, 11, 1.
 rowme renowme = *room renown* 3, 11, 47.
 food feood = *feud blood brood* 4, 1, 26.
 eraft drafft = *draught beraft* = *bereft* engraft 4, 2, 10.
 burds = *birds* words lords 4, 2, 35.
 appeard reard affeard sweward = *sword* 4, 3, 31. 33.
 speach = *speech* empeach reach 4, 10, 36.
 yeares peares = *peers* 4, 10, 49.
 powre recoure = *recover* boure stoure 4, 10, 58. lowre conjure recure = *recover* 5, 10, 26.
 Waterford boord = *board* 4, 11, 43.
 clieffe grieffe = *cliff grief* 4, 12, 5.
 grieve misbelieve shrieve mieve = *move* 4, 12, 26.
 layd sayd mayd denayd = *denied* 4, 12, 28.
 course sourse wourse = *source worse*, 5, intr. 1.
 hard outward shard = *sheared* 5, 1, 10.
 achieved believed prievied = *proved* 5, 4, 33. grieved relieved reprieved, 5, 6, 24.
 enter, bent her, adenter = *adventure*, center 5, 5, 5.
 knew rew = *row* vew dew 5, 5, 22.
 threw alew = *halloo* few 5, 6, 13.
 hight keight = *caught* dight plight 3, 2, 30. fight dight keight 5, 6, 29.
 wond fond kond = *woned found conned* 5, 6, 35.
 bridge ridge, lidge = *ledge* 5, 6, 36.
 smot = *smote* forgot not spot 5, 7, 29.

¹ The Globe edition Complete Works of Edmund Spenser, edited from the original editions and manuscripts by R. Morris, with a memoir by J. W. Hales, London, 1869. In this edition the stanzas of the *Faerie Queen* are

numbered, and hence my references to book, canto, and stanza can be easily verified. It has not been considered necessary to extend this examination beyond the *Faerie Queen*.

brast = *burst* fast past 5, 8. just lust
thrust brust = *burst* 5, 3, 22.

strooke shooke quooke = *quaked* 5, 8, 9.
betooke shooke quooke 6, 7, 24.

had bad sprad 5, 9, 25.

price devise flourdelice 5, 9, 27.

Eirene [in two syllables] elene strenne =
strain, race 5, 9, 22.

treat extreat = *extract* great seat 5, 10, 1.
happinesse decesse = *decease* wretched-
nesse 5, 10, 11.

left theft reft gift = *gift* 5, 10, 14.

streight bright quight despight = *quite*
despite 5, 11, 5. quight sight des-
pight sight 6, 11, 25.

strooke smooke = *struck* smoke looke
shooke 5, 11, 22.

doole = *dole* schoole foole 5, 11, 25.

askew hew arew = *on a row* blew = *blue*
5, 12, 29.

espyde cryde scryde eyde = *espied cried*
(de)cried eyed 5, 12, 38.

erst, pearst = *pierced* 6, 1, 45. earst
pearst = *erst pierced* 6, 3, 39.

reliv'd = *relieved* reviv'd riv'd depriv'd
3, 8, 3.

abroad troad = *tread* s. 6, 10, 5.

flud = *flood* mud 6, 10, 7.

breast drest chest kest = *breast drested*
chest cast 6, 12, 15.

gren = *grin* v. men when 6, 12, 27.

Occasionally, but not very often, Spenser indulges in unmistakable assonances, or mere consonantal rhymes, or anomalies, which it is very difficult to classify at all, as in the following list.

Anomalies, Eye Rhymes, Assonances.

mount front 1, 10, 53.

fyre shyre conspyre yre 1, 11, 14 [here
shyre was a mere rhyme to the eye.]

away decay day Spau 1, 11, 30.

bath wrath hat'th = *hateth* hath 2, 2, 4.

bough enough 2, 6, 25 [where *enough*
is quantitative and not numerative.]

mouth drouth couth = *could* 2, 7, 58.
[eye-rhymes.]

towre endure sure 2, 9, 21. [conso-
nantal rhyme.]

deckt sett = *decked* set 2, 12, 49. [an
assonance.]

Chrysogonee degree 3, 6, 4, [but] Chry-
sogone alone gone throne 3, 6, 5.
[the very next stanza, whereas the
former spelling is reverted to in 3,
6, 51.]

nest overkest = *overcast*, opprest 3, 6, 10.

more store yore horrore = *horror* 3, 6, 36.

stayld strayd sayd denayd = *denied* 3,

7, 57. day tway denay = *deny* dismay
3, 11, 11.

gotten softene often 4, intr. 5. [an
assonance.]

health wealth deal'th = *dealeth* stealth
4, 1, 6. [this may only be a long and
short vowel rhyming.]

maligne benigne indigne bring 4, 1, 30.
[even if -igne is pronounced (-ign),
as occasionally in Gill this will only
be an assonance.]

follie jollie dallie 4, 1, 36.

evill grevill devill 4, 2, 3. [even when
the two last words rhymed, as they
were usually spelled, as *drivel* *divel*,
they only formed consonantal rhymes
with the first, and the spelling seems

to have been changed to make an
eye-rhyme.]

yborn morne morne werne = *weren* 4,
2, 41. [see above p. 855, note.]

mid hid thrid = *thread* undid 4, 2, 48

emperisht cherisht guarisht florisht 4,
3, 29 [consonantal rhymes.]

discover mother other brother 4, 3, 40
[assonance]

aimed ordained 4, 4, 24 [assonance]

ventred = *ventured* entred = *entered* 4,
7, 31 [this would have been a rhyme
in the xvii th century.]

dum = *dumb* overcum mum becum =
become 4, 7, 44, [here the spelling
seems unnecessarily changed, the
rhyme being, probably, good.]

foure paramoure 4, 9, 6 [consonantal
and eye rhyme]

woont = *wont* hunt 5, 4, 29. [change of
spelling probably used to indicate
correct pronunciation, compare]

wount hunt 6, 11, 9.

neare few 5, 4, 37 [this may be con-
sidered as an assonance. (neer feen),
which takes off much of the harsh-
ness apparent in the modern (niir
fu).]

grovell levell 5, 4, 40

warre marre darre farre = *war mar*
dare far 5, 4, 44, [the spelling ap-
parently altered to accommodate
dare, which had a long vowel, the
others having short vowels]

thondred sondred encomber nombred
5, 5, 19, encomber thunder asonder
6, 5, 19, [assonance]

endeavour labour favour behaviour 5, 5,

- 35 [part assonance, part consonantal rhyme.]
 attend hemd = *hemmed* kemd = *kempt*
eombed portend 5, 7, 4, [assonance,
 it is curious that *kemd* was unnecessarily forced in spelling.]
 discover lover endever ever 5, 7, 22
 [consonantal rhyme].
 stronger longer wronger = *wrong* doer,
 5, 8, 7. [Did Spenser say (stroq'er
ruoq'er), or (stroq'ger, ruoq'ger),
 or did he content himself with an
 assonance? I lately heard (*siq'ga*)
 from a person of education.]
 desynes betymes crymes clymes = *designs*
betimes crimes climbs 5, 9, 42. [assonance.]
 tempted consented invented 5, 11, 50.
 [assonance.]
 washt scracht = *washed scratched* 5, 12,
 30. [assonance.]
 roade glade = *did ride, glade* 6, 2, 16.
 [consonantal rhyme.]
- most ghost host enforst = *enforced*, 6,
 3, 39. [not only are the consonants
 different in the last word, but the
 vowel is probably short and not long
 as in the others.]
 queason reason season scisin 6, 4, 37.
 [With the last rhyme compare Sales-
 bury's *seesyn* (seez'in) for *season*,
 p. 783.]
 maner dishonor 6, 6, 25.
 hideous monstrous hous battailous 6,
 7, 41. [consonantal or eye rhyme,
 unless Spenser called *hous* (hus).]
 live e. give drive thrive 6, 8, 35. [con-
 sonantal or eye rhyme]. forgive drive
 live e. grieve 6, 9, 22.
 alone home 6, 9, 16. [assonance.]
 wood stood bud aloud flud = *flood* 6, 10,
 6. [Did Spenser, like Bullokar, say
 (aluud')?]
 turne mourne learne 6, 10, 18. [con-
 sonantal rhyme.]

The above examples, which it does not require any historical knowledge to appreciate, are amply sufficient to prove that Spenser allowed himself great latitude in rhyming, so that if we find him continually transgressing the rules of contemporary orthoepists, we cannot assume that he necessarily pronounced differently from all of them, or that he agreed with one set rather than another. When however we come to examine other words which he has rhymed together, where his rhymes, if they could be relied on would be valuable orthoepical documents, we find not only apparent anticipations of usages which were not fixed for at least a century later, but such a confusion of usages that we cannot be sure that he was even aware of these later pronunciations. Hence his rhymes not only do not shew his own custom, but they do not justify us in supposing that the more modern practice had even cropped up in stray cases. The principal conclusion then to be drawn from such an examination is that we have left the time of perfect rhymes, exemplified in Chaucer and Gower, far behind us, and that beginning at least with the xvth century we cannot trust rhymes to give us information on pronunciation. The previous examination of the rhymes of Moore and Tennyson shew that the same latitude yet remains. The esthetic question as to the advantage of introducing such deviations from custom does not here enter into consideration. But it would seem sufficiently evident that they arose at first from the difficulty of rhyming,¹ and there is no doubt that they remain in the majority of cases for the same reason. Their infrequency, and the mode in which they are generally disguised by orthography, or apparently justified from old usage, would seem to imply that the poet did not in general consciously adopt them, as musicians have adopted and developed the use of discords, in order to produce a

¹ See what Chaucer says, *suprà* p. 254, note 2.

determinate effect. Hudibras is of course an exception, and all burlesque poems, where the effect intended is evident and always appreciated, but is not exactly such as is sought for in serious poems.¹ The following examples from Spenser may seem over abundant, but the opinion is so prevalent that old rhymes determine sounds, and Spenser's authority might be so easily cited to upset the conclusions maintained in the preceding pages on some points of importance, that it became necessary to show his inconsistency, and the consequent valuelessness of his testimony, by extensive citations. The arrangement as in the case of the modern poets is by the sounds made equivalent by the rhymes, but Dr. Gill's pronunciation, as determined by his general practice is substituted for my own. At the conclusion a few special terminations and words are considered, which I could not conveniently classify under any of the preceding headings.

Anomalous and Miscellaneous Rhymes in Spenser.

(a)=(aa)

awakt lakt=*awaked lacked* 2, 8, 51.
 blacke lake make partake 5, 11, 32.
 lambe came 1, 1, 5. lam sam dam=
lamb same dam 1, 10, 57. ame=*am*
 dame same 1, 12, 30.

starr farr ar=*are* 1, 1, 7.

gard hard ward prepard=*prepared* 1,
 3, 9.

was chace 6, 3, 50.

waste s. faste waste v. 1, 2, 42. past
 last hast=*haste* 1, 4, 49.

¹ Those who wish to see the ludicrous and consequently undesirable effect which is often produced by such false rhymes, should consult a very amusing book called: *Rhymes of the Poets by Felix Ago*. (Prof. S. S. Haldeman), Philadelphia, 1868. 8vo. pp. 56. These rhymes are selected from 114 writers, chiefly of the xviiith and xviiith centuries, and were often correct according to pronunciations then current. The following extract is from the preface: "*It is better to spoil a rhyme than a word.* In modern normal English therefore, every word which has a definite sound and accent in conversation, should retain it in verse; *great* should never be perverted into *greet* to the ear, *sinned* into *signed*, *grinned* into *grind*, or *wind* into *wind*" (wind, wæind). "A few words have two forms in English speech, as *said*, which Pope and Th. Moore rhyme with *laid* and *head*; and *again*, which Shakespeare, Dryden, and Th. Moore rhyme with *plain* and *then*, and Suckling with *inn*." "The learned Sir William Jones is the purest rhymist known to the author, questionable rhymes being so rare in his verse as not to attract attention. His *ARCADIA* of 368 lines has but *forlorn* and *horn*; *god*, *rode*; *wind*, *behind*; *mead*, *reed*

(*mead* of *meadow* being *med* and not *meed*)." In a foot note he cites the rhymes: *mead* head, *meads* reeds *Dryden*, tread head *Herrick*, *mead* reed *Johnson*. "*CAISSA* of 334 lines, *SOLIMA* of 104, and *LAURA* of 150, are perfect. *THE SEVEN FOUNTAINS*, of 542 lines, has only *shone*—*sun*, and *stood*—*blood*. *THE ENCHANTED FRUIT*, 574 lines, has *wound*—*ground* twice, which some assimilate. The few questionable rhymes might have been avoided; and these poems are sufficiently extended to show what can be done in the way of legitimate rhyme. Versifiers excuse bad rhymes in several ways, as Dr. Garth [A.D. 1672–1719]—

Ill lines, but like ill paintings, are allow'd
 To set off and to recommend the good:

but it is doubtful whether the Doctor would thus have associated *allow'd* and *good*, if he could have readily procured less dissonant equivalents. Contrariwise, some authors make efficient use of what to them are allowable rhymes, and much of the spirit of Hudibras would be lost without them.

Cardan believ'd great states depend
 Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end;
 That, as she whisk'd it t'wards the Sun,
 Strew'd mighty empires up and down;
 Which others say must needs be false
 Because your true bears have no tails!

—Butler."

(aa)=(aa)? or=(a)?

[in most of the following as in some of the preceding one of the words has now (*ee*).]

ame=*am* came shame 1, 5, 26.

prepar'd hard far'd 2, 11, 3. reward hard prepar'd 3, 5, 14. [compare 3, 8, 14, 4, 2, 27, 5, 4, 22.]

hast=*haste* fast 1, 6, 40. haste past fast hast *v.* 1, 9, 39. tast=*taste* east 2, 12, 57. [compare 3, 2, 17, 3, 7, 38, 6, 10, 35, 6, 12, 16.]

gave have crave brave 1, 1, 3. wave save have 2, 6, 5. brave have selave 2, 7, 33. [compare 2, 8, 24, 2, 10, 6.]

w initial does not affect the subsequent *a*?

ran wan 1, 8, 42. man wan *a.* began

overran 2, 2, 17. ran wan *v.* wan *a.*

can 2, 6, 41. began wan *a.* 3, 3, 16.

farre starre arre=*are* warre 1, 2, 36.

ward saufgard far'd 2, 5, 8. reward

far'd shard 2, 6, 38. 2, 7, 47.

hard regard reward 3, 1, 27, 3, 5,

14, 4, 2, 27. w.rd unbard=*un-*

barred far'd 4, 9, 5.

dwarfe scarfe 5, 2, 3.

was gras has 1, 1, 20, was pas 1, 1, 30.

1, 8, 19, was grass pas alas! 1, 9, 36.

2, 1, 41, 2, 6, 37. was masse 2, 9,

45. has was mas 2, 12, 34, 3, 4, 23.

5, 7, 17. was chace 6, 3, 50.

al=(*al*, *aal*, *aal*)?

fall funeral 1, 2, 20. fall martial call

1, 2, 36. shall call fall 3, 1, 54. vale

dale hospitale avale=*hospital avail*

2, 9, 10.

(*ee*)=(*aa*)

[The following rhymes in one stanza shew that *ea* could not have had the same sound as long *a*: speake awake weake shake sake be strake knee bee=*be*, 1, 5, 12, but the spelling and rhyme would lead to the conclusion that *ea* and long *a* were identical in:]

weake quake bespake 3, 2, 42.

dare spear 3, 10, 28. fare share com-

pare appeare 5, 2, 48. fare whyleare

prepare bare 6, 5, 8.

regard rear'd 3, 8, 19.

grace embrace cace=*case* encrease 2, 7, 16.

late gate retrate=*retreat* 1, 1, 13.

estate late gate retrate 1, 8, 12, 4,

10, 57, 5, 4, 45, 5, 7, 35. intreat

late 4, 2, 51. treat late ingrate hate

6, 7, 2. entreat obstinate 6, 7, 40

nature creature feature stature 4, 2, 44.

receave=*receive* gave have 2, 10, 69.

cndeavour, save her, favour, gave her 5,

4, 12. have save gave leave 5, 11,

46, leave have 6, 1, 9. save reave

forgave gave 6, 7, 12.

(*ai*)=(*aa*)

[The word *proclaim* has a double form with or without *i*, as we have seen supra p. 253, and similarly for *claim*; the latter word has both forms in French, hence such rhymes as the following are intelligible.]

proclame overcame dame same 1, 12, 20,

frame same name proclame 2, 5, 1.

came game fame proclame 5, 3, 7.

clame shame 4, 4, 9. came name clame

same 4, 10, 11. came clame tame

4, 11, 12.

[The following rhymes, however,

seem to lead to the pronunciation of *ai*

as long *a*, and if we took these in the

conjunction with the preceding, where

ea is equal long *a*, we should have *ai*=

ea as in Hart, and both=long *a*, con-

trary to the express declarations of

contemporary orthoepists, and to the

rhymes of long *a* with short *a* already

given. As Spenser's contemporary,

Sir Philip Sidney apparently read *ai*

as (*ee*) in Hart's fashion, see below p.

872, Spenser may have adopted this

pronunciation also, and then his rhymes

of *ai*, *a*, were faulty. But it is im-

possible to draw any conclusion from

Spenser's own usage.]

Hania day 2, 10, 24. sway Menervia 3,

3, 55. pray day Emylia 4, 7, 18.

say Adicia 5, 8, 20.

staide=*stayed* made shade displaide 1,

1, 14, 5, 4, 38. made trade waide

=*weighed* 1, 4, 27. made dismaide

blade 1, 7, 47, 6, 10, 28. layd sayde

made 1, 8, 32. said made laid 2, 7,

32. displayd bewrayd made 2, 12,

66. mayd blaed=*blade* dismayd 3,

1, 63. playd made shade 3, 4, 29, 3,

10, 10. decayd dissuade 4, 9, 34.

taile entraille mayle bale 1, 1, 16.

whales scales tayles 2, 12, 23. faile

prevaille bale 3, 7, 21. assayle flayle

avayle dale 5, 11, 59.

laine paine bane 2, 11, 29. retaine

Gloriane 5, 8, 3.

aire rare spare 1, 2, 32. fayre dispayre

shayre=*share* 1, 3, 2. chaire fare

sware bare 1, 3, 16. faire bare 1, 4,

25. ware=*auare* faire 1, 7, 1. declare

fayre 1, 7, 26. fare whylebare dispayre

rare 1, 9, 28 [see p. 858, note.] fayre

hayre shayre = *share* 2, 10, 28. 6, 2, 17. repaire care misfare share 4, 8, 5. care aire faire 4, 8, 8. haire = *hair* [certainly (heer)] bare are [certainly (aar)] faire 4, 11, 48. faire care 5, 9, 40. faire despaire empaire misfare, 5, 11, 48.
 faire compare, 1, 2, 37 [see : compare appeare under (ee) = (aa).] payre prepare 1, 3, 34. fayre prepaire stayre declare 1, 4, 13. fayre hayre = *hair* (certainly (heer)) even in Chaucer,] ayre prepayre 1, 5, 2. rare faire compare 1, 6, 15 faire repaire *v. restore* rare 1, 8, 50. 3, 2, 22. fayre dispayre ayre prepayre 2, 3, 7 compare fayre 2, 5, 29, faire debonaire prepaire aire 2, 6, 28, eyre prepayre 2, 11, 36. 3, 4, 14. fair threesquare spare prepare 3, 1, 4. fayre debonaire compayre repayre 3, 1, 26. 3, 5, 8. faire compare share 4, 3, 39. rare fare prepare faire 4, 10, 6. repayre fayre propayre ayre 4, 10, 47.
 grate *v. bayte* 2, 7, 34. state late debate baite, 4, intr. 1. late gate awaite prate 4, 10, 14. gate waite 5, 5, 4.
 dazed raizd = *dazed raised*, 1, 1, 18. amaze gaze praise 6, 11, 13.

(ai) = (ai) ?

streight might fight 5, 10, 31. streight bright quight despight 5, 11, 5. streight right fight 5, 12, 8; [if we adopt the theory that Spenser's *ci* was generally (ee), these examples shew a retention of the old sound as in the modern *height*, *sleight*, although (heet, sleet) may be occasionally heard.]

aught = ought.

raught ought fraught saught = *sought* 2, 8, 40. raught wrought taught wrought 2, 9, 19.

(ce) = (e) = (ii) = (ai)

leach = *physician* teach 1, 5, 44. speach = *speech* teach 6, 4, 37.
 proceede = (proceed) breede 1, 5, 22. doth lead, aread, bred. sead = *seed* 1, 10, 51. did lead, aread tread 2, 1, 7. reed = *read* weed steed agreed 4, 4, 39. tread procead arcad dread 4, 8, 13.
 wreake weeke, seeke 6, 7, 13.
 congealed heald = *held* conceal'd 1, 5, 29. beheld yeeld 4, 3, 14. beheld weld = *wield* 4, 3, 21.
 beame teme = *team* 1, 4, 36. esteeme streeme extreme misceme 3, 8, 26.

deemed seemed esteemed stremed 4, 3, 23. doeme extreme 4, 9, 1.
 scene beene cleane keene = (ee, ii, ee, ii) 1, 7, 33. beene scene clene weene 1, 10, 58. queene unscene cleene 2, 1, 1. meane leen atweene bene = *been* 2, 1, 58. keene scene cleane 3, 8, 37. 3, 12, 20. 5, 9, 49. greene clene bescene beene = (ii, ee, ii, ii) 6, 5, 38.
 feend = *fend* attend defend spend 3, 7, 32. freend = *friend* weend end amend 4, 4, 45. defend feend kend = *kenned* send 5, 11, 20.
 keepe sheepe deepe chepe = *cheap* 6, 11, 40.
 heare *v.* [= (iiir) see § 7] neare inquire weare 1, 1, 31. teare *v. feare* heare 1, 2, 31. feare there require 1, 3, 12. heare teare *s.* = (tiir) feare inquire 1, 3, 25. heare = *hair* beare appeare deare 1, 4, 24. deare appeare were heare *v.* 1, 9, 14. fare whyleare dispayre rare, 1, 9, 28. [see under (ai) = (aa).] were appeare feare seare 1, 11, 13. yeare forbear neare weare = *were* 2, 1, 53. reare cleare appeare 2, 2, 40. yeares peares = *peers* teares *s.* 2, 10, 62. were dreare teare *v.* beare *v.* 2, 11, 8. deare, meare = *mere* 2, 11, 34. cleare appeare dispoire whylcare 5, 3, 1. beare appeare here fere = *companion* 5, 3, 22. beare cleare cheare = *cheer* despayre 5, 5, 38. neare care feare reare 5, 12, 6. fere = *companion* pore = *peer*, dcre = *dear*, clcre = *clear* 6, 7, 29. steare = *steer* beare teare *v.* neare 6, 18, 12.
 were here 1, 8, 49. there neare feare 1, 9, 34. there heare appeare 2, 12, 14. teare *v.* there heare 5, 8, 41.
 weary cherry merry 6, 10, 22.
 perceerce reherce = *perceer fierce* rehearse 1, 4, 50. erst pearst = *pierced* 6, 1, 45.
 peace preace = *press* release cease 1, 12, 19. surcease encrease preasse = *press* peace 3, 1, 23. release possesse willingness 4, 5, 25. cease, suppress 4, 9, 2.
 beast brest = *breast* suppress 1, 3, 19. 1, 8, 15. beasts behests 1, 4, 18. feast beast deteast = *detest* 1, 4, 21. 1, 11, 49. beast, creast = *crest* feast address 1, 8, 6. east creast 1, 12, 2. beasts crests guests 2, 12, 39. east increast gost 3, 2, 24.
 heat sweet eat threat = (ee, ii, ee ?) 1, 3, 33. heate sweat eat 1, 4, 22. great heat threat beat 1, 5, 7. scat great excheat 1, 5, 25. 2, 2, 20. 2, 11, 32. great treat intrete [see under

(ee) = (aa)] discrete 1, 7, 40. heat
forget sweat 2, 5, 30. threat entreat
3, 4, 15. greater better 4, 1, 7. en-
treat threat retreat 4, 7, 37.
death breath uneath 1, 9, 38. 2, 1, 27.
together ether = *either* thether =
thither 6, 12, 10.
conceiv'd perceiv'd berev'd griev'd 3,
6, 27.

(e) = (i).
left bereft gift lift 6, 8, 1.
spirit merit 4, 2, 34.
address brest wrost = *addressed breast*
wrist 2, 3, 1.
sitt bitt forgett fitt 1, 3, 14.

(i) = (ii).
elieffe grieffe = *cliff grief* 4, 12, 5.
field build kild skild = *killed skilled* 2,
10, 73. wield shield field skild 4, 4,
17.

(i) unaccented = (ii) accented.
tragedie degree hce 2, 4, 27. see jeo-
pardee thee 3, 4, 10.
diversly free he 1, 2, 11.
forsee memorce 2, 9, 49.
bee thee perplexitie 1, 1, 19, knee see
maiestee = *majesty* 1, 4, 13. batterce
bee chastitee see 1, 6, 5. see libertee
jollitee free 1, 9, 12. courtesee
modestee degree nicetee 1, 10, 7. bee
modestee see 2, 9, 18.

(i) = (oi).
alive revive give rive 2, 6, 45. liv'd
depriv'd surviv'd deriv'd 2, 9, 57.

(i) unaccented = (oi) accented.
prerogative reprove = *reprove* alive 4,
12, 31.
avyse lyes v. melodies 2, 12, 17. jeo-
pardyly spydesery 2, 12, 18. jeopardy
cry enemy 3, 1, 22. supply jeopardy
aby lie 3, 7, 3. abie remedie 3, 10, 3.
fly fantasy privily sly 1, 1, 46. greedily
ny 1, 3, 5. diversly jollity hyc = *high*
daintily 1, 7, 32. envy by continually
1, 7, 43. thereby die eternally 1, 9,
54. incessantly eye industry 2, 7, 61.
suddenly hastily cry 2, 8, 3. furiously
aby hy fly 2, 8, 33. hy victory readily
armory 3, 3, 59. cry forcibly dy 3,
10, 13. fly eye furiously diversely 3,
10, 14.
flies applies enemies lyes 1, 1, 38. flye
dye enemy 2, 6, 39. enemy dy destiny
2, 12, 36.
harmony sky hy = *high* dry 1, 1, 8.
company fly venery eye 1, 6, 22. hyc
ly tyranny by and byc 1, 8, 2. cry fly

espy agony 2, 12, 27. jealousy fly
villany thereby 3, 1, 18. eye destiny
3, 3, 24. lyes supplies progenyes 3,
6, 36. eye villany family spie 5, 6, 35.
victorie lye armory enimie 1, 1, 27.
eyes miseryes pyles idolatryes 1, 6,
19. thereby memory dy 1, 11, 47.
perjury fly injury 1, 12, 27. despise
miseries 2, 1, 36. eye skye chivalrye
hyc 2, 3, 10. I enemy victory 2, 6,
34. arise flies skies injuries 2, 9, 16.
fealty agony dy 1, 3, 1. deiteye flye
nye = *nigh* 1, 3, 21. cry dishonesty
misery chastity 1, 3, 23. eye skye
chastitye 1, 6, 4. eye hyc majesty
tye, 1, 7, 16. enemy tragedy cry
libertie 1, 9, 10. mortality by fly
victory 1, 10, 1. apply melancholy
jollity 1, 12, 38. flye hyc = *hie* per-
plexitye 2, 4, 13. skye envye principi-
pality incessantly 2, 7, 8. thereby sty
dignity 2, 7, 46. envy sovereignty
enmity fly 2, 10, 33. majesty victorie
faery dy 2, 10, 75. apply captivity
infirmity tyranny 2, 11, 1. eye tran-
quillity boystrously 3, 10, 58.

[Numerous poetical proparoxynon
in [i] saepe ultimam productam acuit,
vt, (mizerai, konstansoi, destinaoi):
vnde etiam in prosa ferè obtinuit, vt
ultimā vel longā vel breui aequaliter
seribatur, et pronuncietur, non acu-
antur tamen.—Gill *Logonomia*, p. 130.]

(ii) = (oi).
wilde defilde vilde yilde = *wild defiled*
vile yield 1, 6, 3.

(oi) = (oi).
chyld spoild beguyld boyld 5, 5, 53.
exyled defyld despoyled boyled 5,
9, 2.
beguuld recoyld 1, 11, 25.
while foyle guyle style 4, 2, 29. despoile
guile foile 6, 6, 34.
awhile toyle turmoyle 2, 12, 32. spoile
turmoile while toile 6, 8, 23.
stryde ryde annoyd guide 4, 8, 37. re-
plide annoyd destroyd 6, 1, 7. side
annoyde destroyde pryde 6, 5, 20.
vile spoile erewhile stile 2, 8, 12. pyle
guyle spoile toyle 2, 11, 7. wyld des-
poild toyld 3, 10, 39. awhile vile
exile spoile 3, 11, 39. while toyle
spoyle 4, 9, 12. 5, 2, 11. guile des-
poile 5, 4, 31. awhile mile toile spoile
6, 4, 25.
spyde destroyd applyde 3, 8, 2.
awhile soyle 3, 3, 33. toyle awhile
soyle 4, 3, 29. 4, 4, 48.

(oo)=(un)=(u).

rose expose lose 3, 1, 46. disposed
loosd 4, 5, 5. loos'd enclos'd disclos'd
4, 5, 16. whom become 4, 7, 11.
wombe come roam home 4, 12, 4.
groome come somme=*sum* 5, 6, 8.

(oo)=(o)=(u).

rocke broke 2, 12, 7. wroth loth
goth=*goeth* 2, 12, 57. wroth loth
blo'th=*bloweth* 3, 7, 8. alone anone
bemone swone = *bemoan swoon* 6,
6, 30.
lord ador'd scor'd word 1, 1, 2. sworne
retourne mourne 1, 12, 41. sword word
abhor'd 2, 1, 11. abord ford word
lord 2, 6, 4. foure paramoure 2, 9,
34. paramoure succoure floure poure
=*floor pour* 2, 10, 19. attone done
on 5, 6, 17. retourne forlorne 5,
6, 7.

(o)=(u).

long wrong tong 1, int. 2. along tong
strong hong 1, 5, 34. tong hung
stong 2, 1, 3. wrong tong strong 2,
4, 12. prolong wrong dong long 2,
8, 28. strong along sprong emong
2, 12, 10. sprong emong flong 3, 4,
41. hong strong 3, 11, 52.

ou, ow=(ou)? or =(uu)?

downe sowne=*sound* swowne=*swoon*
towne 1, 1, 41. bowre howre stowre=
bower hour stour 1, 2, 7, 2, 3, 34.
towre powre scowre conqueroure 1,
2, 20. howre lowre powre emperour
1, 2, 22. wound stound found 1, 7,
25. wound sownd 1, 8, 11. found
hound wound 2, 1, 12. bower haviour
2, 2, 15. towre endure sure 2, 9, 21.
wonderous hideous thus piteous 2,
11, 38. hous valorous adventurous
victorious 3, 3, 54. Hesperus joyeous
hous 3, 4, 51. hous ungratious hideous
3, 4, 55. hous glorious 3, 6, 12. thus
hous 3, 11, 49. thus outrageous 4,
1, 47.

ow=(oo)?

none owne unknowne 1, 4, 28. foe flow
show grow 1, 5, 9. so foe overthroe
woe 2, 4, 10. overthrowne knowne
owne none 6, 1, 14.

ir=(ur)?

fourth worth birth 2, 3, 21.

er=(ar)

harts=*hearts* smarts parts desarts =
deserts 2, 2, 29. desert part 2, 4, 26.
serve starve 2, 6, 34. serve deserve

swerve 3, 7, 53 [(er) or (ar)?] dart
smart pervart=*pervert* hart=*heart*
3, 11, 30. Britomart part heart de-
sart 4, 1, 33. depart hart art revert
4, 6, 43. hart smart dart convert 5,
5, 28. parts smarts arts desarts 6, 5,
33. regard mard prefard=*marred pre-
ferred* 6, 9, 40. [In reference to
this confusion of (er, ar) it may be
noticed that Prof. Blackie of Edin-
burgh, in his public lectures, pro-
nounces accented *er* in many words,
in such a manner that it is difficult
to decide whether the sound he
means to utter is (er, er, ar), the *r*
being slightly, but certainly, trilled.
A similar indistinctness may have
long prevailed in earlier times, and
would account for these confusions.]
marinere tears 1, 3, 31. [does this
rhyme (er, eer)?]

(uu)=(u)

brood mood good withstood 1, 10, 32.
blood good brood 1, 10, 64. groome
comesomme=*sum* 5, 6, 8. mood stood
woo'd 5, 6, 15. approve move love 2,
4, 24.

u=(u)?=(uu)?

Lud good 2, 10, 46. flood mud blood
good 5, 2, 27. woont hunt 5, 4, 29,
push rush gush 1, 3, 35. rush bush 2,
3, 21. rush push 3, 1, 17.
but put 1, 6, 24.
truthensu'th youth ruth 1, 6, 12, 2, 3, 2.

u=ew.

use accuse abuse spues 1, 4, 32. vewd
rude, 3, 10, 48. newes use 5, 5, 51.

(s)=(z).

blis enemis=*bliss enemies* 4, 9, 16. prise
=*prize* thrise=*thrice* cowardise em-
prise 5, 3, 15.

-e, -ed syllabic.

to the long raynes at her commande-
ment 3, 4, 33.

salvagesse sans finesse, shewing secret
wit 3, 4, 39 [*salvagesse* has its final
e elided, *finesse* preserved, shewing
inconsistency.]

wondered answered conjectured 2, 4, 39.
accomplishid hid 3, 3, 48. led ap-
pareled garnished 3, 3, 59. fed for-
wearied bed dread 5, 5, 50. [but -*ed*
is constantly =(-d, -t).]
formerly grounded and fast setteled 2,
12, 1. [this is remarkable for both
the last syllables].

gh mute.

spright sight quight=*quite* sight 1, 1, 45. diversely jollity hyc=*high* daintily 1, 7, 32. 1, 8. 2. 2, 8, 33. unites dities=*lights* smites lites=*lights* 1, 8, 18. exercise emprize lies thics=*thighs* 2, 3, 35. bite night 3, 5, 22. write, light, knight 3, 9, 1. bite knight might 6, 6, 27. delight [generally without *gh*] sight knight sight 6, 8, 20.

made trade waide=*weighed* 1, 4, 27.

[see also (na)=(ai).]

bayt wayt strayt=*straight* sleight 2, 7, 64. [see also (ai)=(oi).]

heard=(hard)=(herd)?

heard embard=*embarr'd* 1, 2, 31. regard heard 1, 12, 16. heard far'd prepar'd 2, 2, 19. heard unbard prepar'd=*unbarred* prepar'd 5, 4, 37. heard reward 5, 7, 24. heard hard debard 5, 9, 36.

heard beard afeard seard 1, 11, 26. heard affeard reard 2, 3, 45. 2, 12, 2. heard beard heard steard=*steered* 3, 8, 30. heard feard reard beard 5, 11, 30.

heir=(hair)=(haar)=(heer).

fayr hayre 1, 12, 21

affayres shayres hayres cares 2, 10, 37. deare heyre 2, 10, 61.

inquire=(inkweer)=(inkwair).

inquire sperc=*spear* 2, 3, 12. nere=*near* were inquire 3, 10, 19. inquire were nere 5, 11, 48.

retire inquire desire 5, 2, 52.

-i-on in two syllables.

submission compassion affliction 1, 3, 6. devotion contemplation meditation 1, 10, 46. Philemon anon potion 2, 4, 30. upon anon confusion 2, 4, 42. conditions abusions illusions 2, 11, 11. fashion don complexion occasion 3, 6, 38. fashion anon gon=*gone* 3, 7, 10. [these examples of *fash-i-on*, are valuable, because the *sh* spelling seemed to imply *fash-ion* in two syllables]. compassion upon affliction stone 3, 8, 1. foundation reparation nation fashion 5, 2, 28. discretion oppression subjection direction 5, 4, 26. Gergon oppression subjection region 5, 10, 9. Coridon contention 6, 10, 33.

inclination fa-shion 6, 9, 42.

[Whether the two last syllables are to be divided or no, it is difficult to say; if they are, the lines have two super-

fluous syllables. The stanza begins thus—

But Calidore, of courteous inclination
Tooke Coridon and set him in his place,
That he should lead the dance as was his fashion.

On account of the laxity of Spenser's rhymes it is impossible to say whether this was a rhyme or an assonance, that is, whether the *-tion* was pronounced as *-shion*. I am inclined to think not. See the remarks on Shakspeare's rhyme: passion fashion, below § 8.]

like=(lîtsh).

witch pitch unlich=*unlike* twitch 1, 5, 28. bewitch sich=*such* lich=*like* 3, 7, 29.

love.

love hove move 1, 2, 31. approve move love 2, 4, 24. love behove above reprove 6, 2, 1.

one.

one shone gone 1, 1, 15. throne one fone=*foes* 3, 2, 33. gone alone one 3, 8, 46.

shew=(shoo, shoo; sheu)?

show low 1, 2, 21. slow show 1, 3, 26. foe flow show grow 1, 5, 9. slow low show 1, 10, 5. shewn known, own thrown 5, 4, 18. show flow know 5, 9, 13. forgoe, showe 6, 1, 27. shewed bestrowed unsowed sowed 6, 4, 14. moe=*more* showe knowe agoe 6, 11, 11. view vew shew 1, 2, 26. 2, 3, 32. 3, 1, 41. 5, 3, 23. vew knew shew crew 1, 4, 7. newes shewes 1, 7, 21. subdewd shewd 2, 8, 55. shew vew knew hew 2, 9, 3. 2, 11, 13. grew hew shew 3, 3, 50. dew shew 3, 6, 3. hew new trew shew 4, 1, 18. drew threw shew hew 4, 8, 6. trew embrew shew rew. 5, 1, 16. vew pursew shew 6, 5, 22. vew shew askew hew 6, 10, 4.

would, could, should.

mould could would 1, 7, 33. tould would 1, 7, 41. mould should defould 1, 10, 42. gold bold would mould 2, 7, 40. behold shouldould 3, 11, 34. behold holdould 4, 10, 16. wouldould 5, 5, 55. mould could should 5, 6, 2. could behold 5, 7, 5. Gould could wouldould 6, 1, 29. bold wouldould 6, 5, 15.

wound, sround.

wound round sound 1, 1, 9. stownd ground wound 2, 8, 32. found sround ground 4, 7, 9.

Sir Philip Sidney's Rhymes.

Gill cites several passages from Sir Philip Sidney (A.D. 1554-86) who was the contemporary of Spenser (A.D. 1552-99). Mr. N. W. Wyer has kindly furnished me with a collection of rhymes from Sir Ph. Sidney's version of the Psalms, which I have arranged as follows. It will be seen that Sidney was a more careful rhymers than Spenser. But he seems to have accepted the mute *gh*, Hart's pronunciation of *ai* as (ee), the inexpediency of distinguishing (oo) and (oo), and the liberty of making final -y=(i) rhyme with either (ii) or (ei). His other liberties are comparatively small, and his imperfect rhymes very few. In the following list the numbers refer to the numbers of the psalms in which the rhymes occur. The arrangement is not the same as for Spenser's rhymes, but rather alphabetical.

Apparently imperfect Rhymes.

Cradle able 71, is a mere assonance.

Hewne one 80, is difficult to understand, unless *hewn* like *shown*, had occasionally an (oo) sound.

Abandon randon = *random* 89, the imperfection is here rather apparent than real, as *randon* is the correct old form.

Proceeding reading 19, it is very possible that in *proceede*, *succeed*, *proceed*, the *e* was more correctly pronounced (ee), or at least that a double pronunciation prevailed. See Spenser's rhymes, p. 863, col. 1, under (ee) = (ii).

Share bare ware = *wear* 35, this must be considered a real bad rhyme.

A.

Long and short: am game 22, am came 37, forsake wrack 37, inviolate forgate estate 78, tary vary 71, grasse place 37, hast last 9, barre are 82, farr are 88, 103, past haste 88, wast = *waste* plast 31, plac'd hast 5. 8, plast fast 31, cast defast 74, tast caste 18, oreast tast 16, hath wrath 2.

Have rhymes with: grave 5. 16, crave 16, save 28. 33, wave 72.

W does not affect the following *a*, in: wast last 9, was passe 18, flashed washed 66, quarrell apparrell 89, wander meander 143.

AI.

Uncertain, (ai) or (ee): praies = *preys* staies tay say ay 28, afraid laide 3.

Probably imperfect, ai = (aa): praise phrase 34, repaire are 91.

Nearly certain ai = (ce), since even Gill writes *conceit* with (ee), though he admits (ei, eei) in *they obey*: they saye 3, conceite waite 20, waite deccite 38, conceite seate 40, obey daie 45.

Quite certain ai = (ce), seas laics 33, sea survey 72, sea way 136, praise ease 10, daics ease 37, pleased praised 22, praiseplease waies raise 69, staine cleane 32, meane vaine 2, chaine meane 28, streames claims 32, waite greate 26, waiteth seateth 1, disdayning meaning 37, hereaves glaives leaves 78, heyre were 90, and hence: aire heire 8, while the rhyme ai = (e) in *plaint lent* 22 strongly confirms the belief that the above were natural rhymes to Sidney's ear, and consequently the co-existence of (ai, ee) for the sound of *ai* in the xvth century among polite speakers, notwithstanding Gill's denunciation.

AU, AW.

The following few rhymes do not establish anything, but they serve to confirm the orthoepist's dictum of the development of (u) after (a) when (l) or (n) follows: crawl'd appal'd 74, shall appall 6, all shall 2, vaunting wanting 52, chaunces glances 52.

E.

Probably Sidney said (frend) and not (friind) *suprà* p. 779, as in: frend wend 38, frend defend 47.

EA.

The confusion of *ea* and *e* short in spelling, and the rhymes of similar orthographies, confirm the general pronunciation of *ea* as (ee): greater better 71, greate sett 21, greate seate 48, distresse release 74, encreast oppress 25, rest brest neast 4, head spred 3, treads leads 1, leade tread 25, treadeth leadeth 84, seate freat 100. 102, encrease prease 144, pearced rehearsed 22, breack weak, 2.

The influence of *r* is felt in the following words, where *ea* or *e* would be naturally pronounced (*ee*), but was undoubtedly at times (*ii*), p. 81, and poets may have taken the liberty of using either pronunciation as best suited their convenience: *heere teare*, 55, *here nere* 91, *deere feare appeare* 20, *heare appeare* 6. 57, *earc feare appeare* where 55, *appeares yeares endeares speares* 39, *neere cleere* 34, *there heare* 102, *beare there* 55, *feare bear* 34, *beare were* 22, *deere were beare cleare* 55, *beare weare = were* 48, *care outbeare* *appeare weare c'cere feare weare* 49, *sphere en'cleare* 77, *heire forbear mere speare* 55.

EI.

The rhymes: *heard barr'd* 34, *guard heard* 116, which certainly corresponded to a prevalent, though not generally acknowledged pronunciation, properly belong to the same category as: *parts harts = hearts* 12, *avert heart* 51, *desert part hart* 6, *avert hart* 119, *preserved swarved* 37, *art subvert* 100. 102. See *suprà* p. 871, c. 1, under *heard*.

EU, EW, IEW, U.

These all belong together. The orthoepical distinctions (*yy*, *eu*) seem to have been disregarded. Whether they were sunk into (*iu*, *ju*) cannot be determined, and is perhaps not very likely at so early a period. See however the remarks on Holyband's observation in 1566, *suprà* p. 838: *true adieu* 119, *view pursue* 46, *ensue grew new view* 60, *pursue dew new* 105, *you pursue* 115, *you true renewe* 31, *renew ensue you* 78, *knew true rue* 18, *new you* 96, *grew imbrue* 73, *subdue brew* 18, *chuse refuse* 89.

GH.

We know that the guttural was only faintly pronounced (*suprà* p. 779) although even Hart found it necessary to indicate its presence by writing (*h*). The poets of the xvth century however generally neglected it in rhyming as: *prayeng weighing* 130, *waigh alway alley stay* 55, *pay weigh* 116, *surveying waighing* 143, *day decay stray wagh* 107, *laide weighd* 103, *delighted cited* 1, *sprite wight* 9, *sight quight* 25, *quite sight spight light* 69, *wight quite* 39, *bite spight* 3, *sprite might* 13, *high thy* 43, *high awry* 119, *eye high* 131, *I high* 46, *high dy cry* 9, *though goe* 43, *wrought thought caught* 9, *aloft wrought* 77.

GN.

After a vowel the *g* appears to have been regularly mute as: *Assigned kind find minde* 44, *assigned enclined* 11, *remaineth raigbeth* 3.

I.

There was probably some little uncertainty in the pronunciation of *i* in the following words, as we know that Gill had great doubts concerning *build*: *build shield* 35, *shield fil'd yeeld* 28, *field reconcil'd* 60, *theevery delivery* 75, *give relceve greeve* 82.

The uncertainty of the final *-y*, which Gill gives both as (*oi*) and (*ii*), is shown by the following examples which are quite comparable with Spenser's, p. 869, col. 1.

High apply perpetually 9, unceasingly cry 77, eye effectually 115.

Sacrifice ly 4, magnify hie 9, fly slippery 35, misery supply 79, memorie flie I orderlie 50, injuries suffice applies lies 58, memory relye 105;—but: be chivalry 20.

Jollity eye 31, jolities tiranize 94, veritie lie 31, verity hie 57, ly iniquity 10, high vanity lie 4, high try equity 6;—but: infirmity me 41, see vanity 39, equity me thee 4, be vanity 39, thee eternity 21, be iniquity he 36, bee thee see degree me treachery free enemy 54, be constancy 34.

L.

It would seem that the practice of omitting *l* in *folk*, was at least known, if not admitted, by Sidney, as he rhymes: *folk cloak* 28, *folkes invokes* 32,

O.

The following rhymes all point to the pronunciation of long and short *o* as (*oo*, *o*) and not as (*oo*, *o*): *crossed engrossed* 69, *coast hoast* 33, *ones bones* 42, *one alone moane* 4, *mones ones* 74, *none bone* 109, *therefore adore* 66, *borne scorn* 2, *fleore rore* 96, *abroad God* 10, *God load* 67, *upon stone* 40, *fully holy* 43, *sory glory* 42.

The following imply that *o* was also occasionally pronounced as (*uu*) or (*u*), though the three last rhymes were more probably imperfect: *approve love* 1, *love move* 12, *moved beloved* 20, *love above grove remove* 45, *doe unto* 119, *begunn undunn down* 11, *become dumb* 38, *sunn done* 79, *slumbered encombered* 76, *punished astonished* 76, *dost*

unjust 77, sprong tongue 8, wrong flong 45, flong song 60, strong dunge 83.

OI.

The rhymes here are insufficient to convey much information, yet perhaps they rather imply (oi) than (ui): anoid enjoy'd 81, destroy'd anoi'd 10.

OO.

This is used rather uncertainly, as (uu, u) and even as rhyming to (oo): good blood 9, brood bloud 57, poore more 69, wordes boordes affordes 78, lord worde 50. The rhyme: budds goodes, is strongly indicative of the old pronunciation of *u* as (*u*) without any taint of the xviith century (o).

OU, OW.

The following are quite regular as (ou): wound undrowned 68, wound bound found 105, power hower=*hour* 22, thou bowe 99, thou now 100.

In: thou two 129, yours towres 69, the older sound of (uu) seems to have prevailed, and in: mourn turn 69, us glorious 115, such touch much 35, we have the regular short (u), belonging to the same class.

In: could gold 21, would hold 27,

we have the same curious emancipation of *ou* from this category that was observed in Spenser, p. 872, col. 2, and is still occasionally met with, as I have heard it in use myself.

In: soule rowle=*roll* 26, soule extoll 103, we have apparently the regular action of *l* on *o* long to produce (oo), but the following rhymes shew that even if the (u) had not been developed the rhyme would have been permissible: know so 72, unknown one 10, knowers aftergoers 85, alone unknown none forgone 44, flowes inclose 105, blows foes 3, shoves goes 10, bestoe goe 100, throw show goe 18, woe goe show; woe row show 107, repose growes 62, woe growe 41, own one 16—and the rhyme: owner honor 8. 37, in connection with these, shews how indifferent the long and short sounds of *o* were to the ear of a rhymist.

S.

In: this is 10, is his misse 11, is misse 115, blisse is 4, sated defaced 79, we have a confusion of (s) and (z), but in: presence essence 68, sacrifice cries 50, sacrifices sizes 66, the rhymes may have been pure. In: sent patient 6, we have an indication of *si*-untransformed into (sh).

§ 6. *Charles Butler's Phonetic Writing, and list of Words Like and Unlike, 1633-4.*

The indistinctness with which Butler has explained, and the laxity with which he apparently denotes his vowels, have occasioned me considerable difficulty in attempting a transcription of his phonetic writing. But inasmuch as he has printed two books of fair dimensions, his *Grammar* and his *Feminine Monarchy*, in his own character, so that he is the most voluminous phonetic writer with whom we have to deal, it was impossible to pass him over, and I have therefore endeavoured to transliterate a short passage from his *Feminine Monarchy* or *History of Bees*, 1634, which was printed in the ordinary as well as well the phonetic orthography. The vowel system is, so far as I can understand it, more truly of the xviith century than even Dr. Gill's, and therefore this is the proper place for it, although it was published after the first third of the xviith century. At the conclusion are annexed some extracts from his List of Words Like and Unlike, in his own orthography, using italics to represent his variants of old forms. In the following extract probably (*i*) should be read for (i), but the whole vowel system is too uncertain to insist upon such minute distinctions.

Extract from Butler's FEMININE MONARCHY, p. 2-4.

And aul dhis under dhe guv'ernment of oon Mon'ark . . . of whuum, abuv' aul thingz, dhei haav a prin'sipal kaar and respekt luuv'ing rev'ersing and obe'ing Her in aul thingz.—If shii goo fuurth tu soo'laas hir self, (as suum'teim shii wil) man'i of dhem attend' her, gard'ing hir per'son bifo'or' and bin'eind': dhei whitsh kuum fuurth bifo'or' her, ev'er nou and dhen return'ing, and lunk'ing bak, and maak'ing withaul' an ekstra,ord inari nois, as if dhei spaak dhe lang'gwaadzh of dhe Knikht Mar'shalz men; and soo awai' dhei flei tugged'her and anon' in leik man'er dhei attend' her bak again' . . . If bei hir vois shii bid dhem goo, dhei swaarm; if bii'ing abrood' shii disleik' dhe wedh'er, or leikh'ting plaas, dhei kwik'li riturn' hoom again'; wheil shii tshiir'eth dhem tu bat'el, dhei feikht; wheil shii is wel, dhei ar tshiir'ful about' dheir wu'rk; if shii drup and dei, dhei wil nev'er after endzhoi' dheir hoom, but eidher lang'gwissh dheer til dhei bii ded tuu, or jild'ing tu dhe Rob'berz, flei awai' with dhem. . . . But if dhei haav man'i Prin'ses (as when twuu flei awai' with oon swaarm, or when twuu swaarmz ar heiv'ed tugged'her) dhei wil not bii kwei'et til oon of dhem bii cassiir'ed; whitsh suum'teim dhei bring down dhat iiv'ning tu dhe man'tl, wheer ju mai feind her kuv'erd with a lit'l heep of Biiz, udh'erweiz dhe nekst dai dhei karri her fuurth ei'dher ded or ded'li wound'ed. Konserning whitsh mat'ter, ei wil hiir rilaat' oon mem'orabl eksperiment. "Twuu swaarmz bii'ing put tugged'her, dhe Biiz on booth seidz as dheir mau'er is, maad a mur'muring noiz, as bii'ing dis'konten'ted with dhe sud'dain kon'gres of strain'dzherz: but knoov'ing wel dhat dhe moor dhe mer'rier, dhe saa'fer, dhe warm'er, jee, and dhe bet'er provideed, dhei kwik'li maad friindz. And haaving agrii'ed whitsh Kwiin shuuld rein, and whitsh shuuld dei, thrii or focur Biiz brookht oon of dhem down bitwiin' dhem, pul'ling and haal'ing her as if dhei weer leed'ing her tu eksekyy'siun whitsh ei bei tshaans perseev'ing, got noould of her bei dhe wingz, and with mutsh aduu' tuuk her from dhem. After a wheil (tu sii what wuuld kuum of it) ei put her in'tu dhe Heiv again: noo suun'er was shii amung' dhem, but dhe tyy'mult bigan' afresh' greet'er dhan bifo'or'; and pres'entli dhei fel tugged'her bei dhe eerz, feers'li feikht'ing and kil'ling oon an udh'er, for dhe spaas of moor dhan an our tugged'her: and bei noo miinz wuuld sees, until' dhe puur kondem'ned Kwiin was brookht fuurth slain and laid bifo'or' dhe duur. Whitsh duun dhe streif pres'entli end'ed, and dhe Biiz agrii'ed wel tugged'her."

INDEX OF WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE.

"Soom words of lik' sound hav' different writing: as soon *filius*,
 SUN *sol*: soom of lik' writing hav' different sound: as a mous *mus*,
 MOUS *strues* pl. of MOU: soom of like sound and writing differ in *de*
 accent: as PRECEDENT *precedens*, PRECEDENT *exemplum quia praecedit*:
 and soom of lik' sound, writing, and accent, differ yet in signification:
 wic den must bee discerned by the sens of *de* words precedent and

subsequent: as EAR *auris*, EAR *spica*, to EAR *aro*: wenc' EARABLE arabilis. Of *wic* sorts you hav' heereafter oder examples."

The object of the list which is thus introduced by the author seems to be to discriminate words of like sound as much as possible by various spellings, which in Butler's system would represent different but nearly identical sounds. The list therefore is not of much value or assistance, especially as the like and unlike words are not inserted separately. He seems to have trusted to an orthography which is extremely difficult to understand from his description. Hence instead of giving the whole list, 28 pages long, it will be sufficient to extract those parts in which some mention of pronunciation is made, and for these to adopt the author's own orthography, as in the above citation, because of the difficulty of interpreting it. The italic letters represent generally simple varieties of ordinary types, thus, *oo*, are joined together, forming one type, and so for *ee*, and *c*, *d*, &c., have bars through them, *t* is *ʔ*, a turned *t*, and so on. These will occasion no difficulty. The final (') answers to mute *e*. It is the value of the simple vowels and digraphs and the effect of this mute (') as a lengthener, which it is so difficult to determine satisfactorily from Butler's indications. The small capitals indicate the usual orthography and generally replace Butler's black letters.

a COFER, D. KOFFER, F. *coffre*, (yet wee writ' and sound it wit a singl' *f*, to distinguish it from cowger *wic* is sounded COFFER).

DEVIL, or rader DEEVIL not divel: (as soom, far fetcing it from *diabolus* woold' hav' it).

ENOUG *satis*, but importing number it is bot' written and pronounced witout *de* aspirat': as Ecclus. 35. 1. SACRIFICES ENOU. ENOU for even nou, *modò*: In *de* pronouncing of *wic* 2 words, *de* onl'y difference is *de* accent: *wic* *de* first hat in *de* last, and *de* last in *de* first. For ENOUG wee commonly say ENUF: as for LAUG daughter, soom say LAF, DAFTER: for COWG all say COF: and for *de* Duite AKTER, wee altogether bot' say and writ' AFTER.

to ENTER *intrare*, to ENTÉR *in-humare*.

EAR *auris*, to EAR *aro*, ERE before prius, ERST first *primò*, (not YER YERST) as in Dute ERE, ERST. Hence ERENOG', EREWIL', AND ERELY *i*. former: as OF ERELY THINGS I WIL DEETEL: for *wic* is nou written (I know not *wy*) FERLY.

Certain words beginning wit *es* ar soomtim' spoken and written witout *e*: as ESCAP', ESPECIAL, ESPI; scape, special, spi: to ESPOUS, and to ESTRANGE, [verbs:]; SPOUS, and STRANGE [nouns:]; ESQIR', ESSAY, ESTABLI, ESTAT'; SQIR,

SAY, STABLI, STAT': SO EXAMPLE and EXCUS'; WITOUT EC, SAMPL' SCUS': and EXCHANGE, WITOUT EX, CANGE.

EW not YEW *ovis famella*; as IW not YIW, (vid. IW *taxus*) dowg *de x* bee vulgarly sounded in dem bot'.

ENGLAND . . . is vulgarly written England; but always sounded *England*; as wee now bot' sound and writ' many oder words wit *Ee*, *wic* anciently were written wit *E*: as *seem'*, *seede'*, *seek'*, &c.

In steed of our *r* *de* Nederlanders hav' v . . . *wic* dialect is yet found in *de* Western partes.

HAY *fenum*, of *de* Sax. HAWEN *secare*, becaus it is cut grass, a HEY or cunni-net, of *de* Fr. *hay* (*wic* dey sound *hey*; . . . and wee ar as reddi, bot in sound and writing, to follow *deir* sound, as *deir* writing: *wer'* dey writ' *mouton* and say *mootton*, wee writ' and say *mootton*; *dey* writ' *quatre* and say *catre*, wee writ' and say *CATER*: *dey* writ' *bon* and say *boone*, wee writ' and say *boon'*; *dey* writ' *plaid* and say *plead*, wee writ' and say *PLEAD* [a *hedg*].

IW [tree] not YIW, doug it bee so sounded: *de* Frenc being *If*, and *de* Duite *IIF*, *IEN* OR *EIBEN*: as wee say YEW, and yet writ' EW *ovis famella*.

Nic' or coy *curiosus*, a NIAS hauk,

[not an *eyas*] F. *niais*, It. *nidaso*, taken out of the *neast*: as a hawk flown is called a brancer.

WIN¹ vinum, to WIND¹, *torqueo*, a WIND¹ or WIND ventus: henc¹ a WIND-oor, i. e. a door¹ for *de* wind¹ to enter: (as in Greek¹ *θύρας* of *θύρα*) down now *de* glas, in most¹ places, doo¹t sut it out.

WOUND, of to wind¹, *tortus*, a woond¹, *vulnus*.

You *vos*, sounded according to *de* original, *yu*. [Here Butler refers to a former note on his p. 40: "you, D. u: so your, D. uwe, G. uwer. So dat, as wel by original as sound, des¹ woods, shoold¹ rader bee written *yu*, and *yur*¹: for ou is a diphthong, which

hat an oder sound: as in *dou* and *our*."]

Troug by, or by means of, *torow*, from on¹ sid¹ or end¹ to *de* oder: as TROUG KNUST¹, *torow de* WILDERNES.

SEER¹ pur¹ or unmixt *simplex*, as SEER¹ corn, SEER¹ boorn¹, cleer¹ water: [here B. adds in a marginal note: of which a town in Dorset. and a village in Hampt. is called Sheerboorn:] to SEAR, or rader SEER¹, as it is pronounced, D. *seeren tondeo*: anciently it was written *ser*¹, *e* for *ee*, as *de* maner den was: henc¹ *sar*¹, a part¹ or portion; and *sir*¹, a count¹ or part¹ of a dominion: *vic*, in *de* Sout part¹s, is sounded SEER¹, *comitatus*.

§ 7. *Pronouncing Vocabulary of the Sixteenth Century, collected from Palsgrave 1530, Salesbury 1547, Cheke 1550, Smith 1568, Hart 1569, Bullokar 1580, Gill, 1621, and Butler 1633.*

For ascertaining and comparing the different accounts of the pronunciation of the xvith century which have come down to us, it is necessary to have an alphabetic list of all or most of the words which have been spelled phonetically by various writers, with a uniform transcription of their various notations. This is attempted in the present section. The following vocabulary contains:

- 1) all the English words cited by PALSgrave, p. 31, with the pronunciations as inferred from his descriptions.
- 2) all the English words cited by SALESbury, pp. 32, 34, in his accounts of Welsh and English Pronunciation, with the pronunciation he has actually or inferentially assigned to them, as explained in the passages cited pp. 789–794.
- 3) numerous words from Sir JOHN CHEKE's *Translation of Matthew*.¹
- 4) all the words pronounced in Sir THOMAS SMITH's *Treatise* p. 34.
- 5) all the examples of diphthongs, and a few other words only from HART, pp. 35, 794, whose pronunciation, as has been already frequently mentioned, was in several respects exceptional.
- 6) All the exemplificative words in BULLOKAR's lists, with many others collected from various parts of his *Book at Large*, pp. 36, 838.

¹ The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and part of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Saint Mark translated from the Greek, with original notes, by Sir John Cheke, knight &c. Prefixed is an introductory account of the nature and object of the translation, by James Goodwin. B.D., London, Pickering, 1843, 8vo. pp. 121. Cheke

was born 16th June, 1514, and died "of shame and regret in consequence of his recantation" of Protestantism, 13th Sept., 1557. This translation, of which the autographic MS. is preserved (not quite perfect) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is supposed by Mr. Goodwin to have been made about 1550.

7) all, or almost all words in GILL's *Logonomia*, pp. 38, 845; the provincialisms are not quite fully given, but GILL's whole account of them will be found below, Chap. XI, § 4, and they are best consulted in that connection.

8) A few characteristic words from BUTLER, pp. 39, 874.

The modern orthography has been followed in the arrangement of the vocabulary. Palsgrave and Salesbury occasionally give an old orthography different from that now in use, but the variation is not material. The others only give the phonetic spelling. Occasionally short observations from Smith and Gill have been added in the original Latin, and in some cases the Latin translation given by these authors is inserted. Some doubts may arise as to the propriety of retaining so many words about the pronunciation of which little hesitation can be felt by those who have mastered the main principles, such as, *abandon*, *abhor*, *abound*, *absence*, *absent*, *§c. bill*, *bit*, *bless*, *boast*, *boat*, *§c.*, but after much consideration, it has been resolved to retain them, as no rule of exclusion could be framed, which did not seem to assume the very knowledge and familiarity which the vocabulary was meant to supply, and it is only by such accumulated proofs that the certainty of the results can impress itself on the reader's mind. These results are however extremely important in the history of our language, as they present the first sure ground after the time of Orrmin, and the only means by which we are able to rise to the pronunciation of Chaucer. Thus the certainty of the pronunciation of *ou*, *ow* as (uu) by Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the probability of their pronunciation of long *i* as (*ii*), are great helps towards conceiving the general use of these sounds in the xiv th century.

The various phonetic orthographies of the above writers (except Cheke's) have been translated into palaeotype to the best of my ability, although a few, unimportant, cases of doubt remain, generally pointed out by (?). The position of the accent is always hypothetical, except for the words cited from G. 128-138, in which Gill has generally marked or indicated the accent. It was at first intended to refer to Levins (p 36,) for the position of the accent in each case, but his usage was found too uncertain to be made available. The use of (w, j) at the beginning of combinations where some writers employ (u, i), and conversely the use of (u, i) at the end of combinations where some writers employ (w, j), has been consistently maintained. The difference between these writers and myself is purely theoretical: we mean to express the same sounds in each case. *Qu* has been interpreted as (kw) throughout, because this is believed to have been the sound intended. Bullokar uses the single letter *q*. The initial *wr* has been left, but (*rw*) has been subjoined with a (?) as this is believed to have been the sound. Except in the words *spangle*, *entangle*, where the sound (qg) is especially indicated, G 10, the introduction of (qg) for *ng* in the following vocabulary is quite hypothetical, for none of the writers cited seem to have thought the distinction between (q) and (qg) worth marking at all times.

There was a great difficulty in determining the length of the

vowels. Palsgrave does not note the length and Salesbury is not consistent in his notation. Smith, Hart, and Gill generally use diacritical signs, and Bullokar does so in many cases. Now when this is the case the diacritical sign is often omitted by either the writer or printer, and it is difficult to know in any given case whether it ought to be added or not (p. 846, l. 3). The difficulty is increased when the diacritic implies a difference in quality as well as quantity, thus *z*, *i* are (ei, *i*) in Smith but (ii, *i*) in Gill, and *i* *i* are probably (*ii*, *i*) in Bullokar (p. 113). In these cases I have generally searched for other instances of the word, or been guided by the use of other writers, or by analogy. In Bullokar *y* is not unfrequent, but *iy*, *yi* may be said never to occur, although he gives both as marks of the long sound, and *i* is most frequently used for both (*ii*) and (*i*) although *i* ought to have been used in the former case. By reference to pp. 110, 114, the reader will see the great difficulty which attaches to the value of long *i* in Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the reasons which have induced me, after repeated consideration for several years, to consider that it must have been (*ii*) or some closely cognate sound, acknowledging at the same time that this pronunciation was quite archaic at the time, just as *obleege*, *obleest* (obliidzh', obliist') in Scotland and *obleecht* (obliitsht') in English are still existent archaic forms, for which the greater number of English speakers say (obloidzh', obloidzhd'). For the reason why Gill's *j* has been rendered (oi) rather than (ei) see p. 115, and the reason why his *ā*, *au*, are each rendered by (aa) is given on p. 145, where we may add that Gill in adducing "*HALL* Henriculus, *HALE* trahere, et *HALL* aula," says: "*exilior est a in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertiā fere est diphthongus*," (G. 3,) so that he possibly hesitated between (au) and (aa). Hart's (yy) has been considered on p. 167, p. 796 note, col. 1, and p. 838.

Another source of error is the use of an old letter in a new sense. Thus Smith employs *e* for (tsh) and he consequently continually leaves *e* for (k, s) where his old habits misled him. Gill employed *j* for (ai), and the confusion between *i*, *j* in his book is very perplexing. Extremely slight distinctions in the forms of the letters are also confusing. Thus Smith distinguishes (*i*, *e*) as *e*, *e*, which have a diæresis mark superposed to imply length. The consequence is that it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine whether he means (*ii*) or (*ee*), and, considering that in his time the distinction of the sounds had not yet been thoroughly established by the orthographies *ee*, *ea*, this confusion is perplexing and annoying.

For any errors and shortcomings of this kind, the indulgence of the reader is requested, and also for another inevitable source of error. The nature of the compilation, rendered it impossible to verify every word afterwards by referring to the passage from which it was quoted. I have therefore had to rely on the accuracy of my original transcript, and it is impossible that that should have been always correct.

Sir John Cheke's orthography is rather an attempt to improve the current spelling than strictly phonetic. Hence it has not been

transliterated, but left as he wrote it, and is therefore printed in Italics. The following appear to have been the values of his symbols, which were not always unambiguous: *aa*=(*aa*), *ai*=(*ai*, *ee*?), *ea*=(*ec*?) unfrequent, *ee*=(*ec*) and =(*ii*), *ei*=(*ai*, *ee*?) *ij*=(*ci*, *ii*, *ii*?), *o*=(*o*) and (*u*), *oa*=(*oo*?), *oo*=(*oo*?) and (*uu*), *cow*=(*ou*), *ou*=(*uu*) only? *ow*=(*ou*), *uu*=(*yy*). The *i* most commonly did service for (*i*) and (*j*), but *y* was sometimes used as (*j*), although it most frequently stands for (*th*) and (*dh*), for which also *th* occasionally occurs. The use of *i* is doubtful, sometimes it seems meant for *ij*=(*ci*), sometimes as in *dai* it would seem only to indicate the diphthong, but it is used so irregularly that no weight can be attached to its appearance. The terminations *-ty*, *-ble*, occasionally appear in the forms *-tee*, *-bil*. Final *e*, being useless when there is a distinct means of representing long vowels, is generally, but not always omitted. The comparison of Cheke's orthography with the phonetic transcriptions of others seems to bring out these points.

The authority for each pronunciation is subjoined in chronological order, but not the reference to the passage, except in the case of Gill and Cheke. The figures refer to the page of the second edition of Gill's *Logonomia* (suprà p. 38) and the chapters of Sir John Cheke's translation of Matthew. The references to Salesbury will be found in the index, suprà pp. 789-724. Smith and Bullokar's words can generally be easily found in their books, from their systematic lists. The example from Bullokar p. 839, and Hart, p. 798, are also sufficient guarantees of the correctness of the transcription. The authors' names are contracted, and a few abbreviations are used as follows. All words not in palaeotype, with exception of the authors' names, are in Italics.

ABBREVIATIONS.

<i>Aust</i>	<i>Australes</i> ; Southern English Pronunciation.	<i>Occ</i>	<i>Occidentales</i> ; Western English Pronunciation.
<i>Bor</i>	<i>Borcales</i> ; Northern English Pronunciation.	<i>Ori</i>	<i>Orientales</i> ; Eastern English Pronunciation.
<i>B</i>	Butler, 1633.	<i>P</i>	Palsgrave, 1530.
<i>Bull</i>	Bullokar, 1580.	<i>poet</i>	<i>poeticè</i> .
<i>C</i>	Cheke, 1550.	<i>pr</i>	<i>præfatio</i> , the preface to Gill, which is not paged.
<i>cor</i>	<i>corruptè</i> ; a pronunciation considered as corrupt by the author cited.	<i>prov</i>	<i>provincialiter</i> ; any provincial pronunciation.
<i>G</i>	Gill, 1621.	<i>S</i>	Smith, 1568.
<i>H</i>	Hart, 1569.	<i>Sa</i>	Salesbury, 1547 & 1567.
<i>Lin</i>	<i>Lincolnienses</i> , Lincolnshire Pronunciation.	<i>Sc</i>	<i>Scoti</i> ; Scotch Pronunciation.
<i>Mops</i>	Gill's <i>Mopsæ</i> , and Smith's <i>mulierculæ</i> , suprà pp. 90, 91; indicating an effeminate or thinner pronunciation.	<i>Transtr</i>	<i>Transtrentani</i> ; English Pronunciation North of the river Trent.
		<i>?</i>	interpretation doubtful, or apparent error, or misprint, in the original.

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

A.

a a G pr
abandon abandon G 133
abbreviation abreviasion Bull
abhor abhor Bull, *abhorred* abhorred G 106
able aa-bl Sa, S, Bull, G 65, ab-l G 32
abide = *abide* C 2
Abington Ab-iq-tun see *Trumpington* G 134
abound abound G 89
about about Bull, about G 23
above abuv Bull, abuv G 22
abroad abrood G 60, abroo-ad ? G 133, *abrood* C 6
absence absens G 66
absent absent G 84
absolve abzolv G 85
abstain abstain G 89
abundance abundauns P, abundans G 127
abundant abundant G 84
abuse abyys Bull
ace as Bull
acceptable akseptabl G 84
acceptance akseptans G pr
according akord-iq G 21
account akount G 89
accuse akyyz S, akyyz G 45
accustomed akus-tomed G 84
ache antsh Bull, Hart, see *headache*, *aches* = *axess* *axcs* C 8
acknowledge akknou-ledzh G 32
acquaint akwaint S, *acquainted* akwainted G 129
acquaintance akwaintans S
acquit akwit aut akwoit G 15, akwit G 85
acre aa-ker G 70
add ad G 85
addressed adres-ed G 133
adjudge addzhudzh G 32
admonish admon-ish G 85
adore adoor G 122
adorn adorn G 141
adultery adult-eroi G 85
advance advaans G 143
adventure advent-tyr G 30
adverb ad-verb Bull
advise advoisr G 87, 131
adz addice ADDES adhes prov. Sa
affairs afairz G 37, afairs G 122
affections afeksions G 123
affect afekt G 103, *affects* afekts G 141
affirm afirm G 112
affliction afleksion G 125
afford afuurd B
affray afrai G 98

afore afoor. G 80
afraid efraid per *prothesin* pro fraid G 135
after after G 79
again again G 24
against agenst *frequentius*, against *docti interdum* G pr, against G 20, 79
age aadh S, G 70
agree agrii Bull, G 118
ague aaggy G 92
aid aid G 14, 113
air ai-er G 106, aaier G ? *air* *air* C 6
airy aerai *aercus* G 14. aeri fere *trissyllabum* G 16
ale aal Sa, G 37
algate al-gat ? G 109
all aul S, a'l Bull, aal G 23, al G 39, Aal G 25
allay alai G 99
all hail Aal-Haail omnis *salus* G 64
allure alyyr G 123
alone aloon G 45, 145
aloud aloud Bull, aloud G 109
also a'l-so Bull, Aas *Dor pro* Aal-so G 17
altar = *aulter* C 5
although Aalldhokh G 65
altogether Aal-togedhrer G 21
alum al-um S
am am G 52
amain amain G 119, amain G 110
amate amaat terreo G 32
amaze amaaz G 88
ambitious ambis-ius G 99
amiss amis G 113
among amooq G 21 amooq ? G 79, amuq B
an an G 10
andiron a'ndi r'n Bull
angels aq-gelz ? see next word, G 24
angelical andzheel-ikal G 119
anger aq-ger G 91
angry aq-gri G 84
anguish aq-gwish Bull
another anodh-erz G 95
answer an-swer non aun-suer G pr, answered an-swered G 119, *answeerd* C 4
answerable an-swerable G 84
any an-i Bull, G 45, *prima natura sud brevis* G 133
ape aap, Sa S
apparel apar-el G 38
appear apiir Bull B, *appeer* C 6, *appeared* apiird G 94, *appered* *appeared* C 1, 2, *appareth* apii-reth Bull B, *apiereth* G 87, *appearing* apiir-iq G 133

appease apceez' G 123
appertain apertain' G 87
apply aplōi' G 86
appointed apuaint'ed G 24
apprentice apren'tis G 98
are aar Bull, G 56, ar G 21
AREADS areeds' G 98
aright arōikht' G 135
ariseth arōiz'eth G 25
armed arm'ed G 82
arms armz G 37
army arm'ai G 106
array arai' S, arai' G 128
arse-smart ars-smart *hydropiper* G 38
Arthur Artur G 107
as az Bull G 13, 95
ash aish Sa, ash S, *ashes* ash'ez G 37, 128
ask aks et ask S, ask G 88, *asked* askt G 111
aspen asp'in G 106
aspiration aspiras'ion Bull
aspire aspeir' G 111.
ass as Bull, *asses* as'es G 24
assay asai', *assay thereof* zadraakh' Occ, G 18
assist asist' G 141
assail asoil' G 85, 89
assurance asyy'rans G 83, 117
assure asyyr' G 128, *assyrr* G 32
astonied aston'ied G 99, *astoonied* C 19
at at G 79
attempered atem'pred G 119
attend atend' G 133, *attends* atenzd' G 119
attire dhe dierz ati'er? *cervi cornua* G 43
attribute v. attrib'yt G 85
auditor AA'ditor G 129
auger AA'ger G 14
augment AAgment' G 119, 142
aunt AAnt? G 10
authors AA'torz G 143
avail avail' G 87, *avaieth* avail'eth G 117
avengement avendzh'ment G 149
avens av'enz *coryophyllatum* G 37
aver aver' G 32
avoid avoid' G 131
awe au aa Sa, au S, AAU G 14
awful AA'ful G 150
awry awrii' = arōii? P
axe agz Sa, aks S, G 13
aye ei S, eei G pr, 15, eei G 15, ai G 113, aai G 116, ai C 6

B.

Baal Baal Bull
babble s. baab'l rugæ G 26, v. bab'l in-fantum more balbutis G 26
babblers bab'ler *infanticrepus* G 26
babbling bab'liq *garrulitas* G 26

babe baab Sa, G 26, *babes* = baabs C 11
baby baab'bei G 26
back bak S
backward bak'ward G 28
bacon baak'n Bull, baak'n G 38
bud bad malus S
badge badzh G 12
bag bag S, G 89
bail bail Bull
bailey bee'li cor B
bait bait G 14
bake baak Sa, S
balance bal'ans Bull, bal'ans G 21
baile baul' m = ba'l'm Bull, baal'm *potius* quam baam G pr, baalm G 38
bands bands? G 116
bar bar S, Bull
barbarous bar'barus Bull
Barbary Bar'bari G 147
barbs barbs? G 37
bare baar S, Bull
bargain bar'gain G 93
barley bar'lei G 37
barn baar'n Bull
baron bar'on Bull
barren bar'en Bull
base baas G 98
basket bas'ket Bull
bass baaz? G 119
bat bat S
bate baat S
bath bath, S
bathe baadh badh S
battery bat'ri G 123
battles bat'ails G 104 (in Spenser)
bawl baal, *ecodem sono proferimus*, baal BALL *pila*, et tu baal BAWLE *vociferari* G 14
bay bai badius Bull
bay-tree bai-trii Bull, *bays* baiz lauri G 141
be bi G 23
beak beek B
beams beemz G 23
bean BEANE been P, Bull
bean been G 37
bear beer P, beer Sa, baar *ursus* Bull, *bear* bare bore born, beer baar boor born (*without distinguishing 'borne'*) G 50, *borne* boor'n Bull
beast beest P, Bull, G 12
beat beet *verberat*, *bet verberavit* S, beet, *bet verberabam dialectus est*, G 48
beauty beurti G 22, 98, *beau'ti* B
because bikaaz' G 91
beck bek B
become bikum' G 21, 67, *became* bikaam' G 86

- bed* *bed* S, G 47
bedridden = *bedreed* C 9
bee *bii* P, Sa
beef *biif* G 39
been *biin* G 56 100
beer *bier* G 37
beet *biit* S
beets *biits* *blitun* G 37
beeres *biirz* G 39
befalleth *biifaa'eth* G 87
before *bifoor* S *biifoor* Bull, *bifoor* G 21, 23, 80
begging *beg'iq* Sa
begin *beg'in* G 133, *beginning* *beg'in'iq* G. 123
begone *biigoon*? G 81
behare *biiaav* G 51
behind *benoind* G 79
behold *biioo'ld* Bull, *beheld* *biireld* G 100
behoveth *biinuuv'eth* G 95
being *bi'i'iq* G 25
believe, *beliiv*, Sa, G 87, *billiv* G 100, 128, *beleev* C 24, *believing* *biliiv'iq* G 133,
bell *bel* *vola* S
bellows *bel'ouuz* G 37
belongeth *biiloq'eth* G 21, 86
beloved *biluv'ed* G 129
Belpheobe *Belfeebe* G 101
bend *bend* G 48
beneath *biineedh* Bull, *bineth* G 79
benefit *ben'efit* G 133
benign *benig'n* *beniq'n* G 30
bent *bent* S
bereave *bireev* G 125, *berceev* G 48
beseem *bisim* G 67
beside *bissid* G 79
besought *bisookht* G 127
best *best* G 12, 34
bestow *bistoor* G 86
bet *bet pro bet er* G 135
betake *bitaak* G 32
bethink *bithiqk* G 32
betid past tense *bitaid* G 108
betimes *bitaimz* G 123
betrayed *bitraid* G 145
better *bet'er* G 34
between *biitwiin* Bull, *bitwiin* G 79
beyond *biuond* G 79
bid *bid* S, *bid* G 88, *bidden* *bid'n* G 20
bide *beid* S
bier *biir* P, *biir* Sa, *beer spelled* *BEARE* rhyming with *NEARE* in the passage of *Spenser* (6, 2, 48) cited in G 103
bill *bil* S
billows *bi'ouuz* G 99
bind *beind* G 116, *bijnd* C 18
bird *bird* S, G 24, *burd* G 88, *birds* *burdz* G 118
bit *bit* S, *bits* *bits* G 37
biteh *bitsh*, *Se et Transtr.* *bik* S
bitebeit S, *bait mordeo*, *bit* *bit mordebam*, *have bitten* *haav bit'n* *momordi* G 48
bitter *bit'er* G 40
bladder *blad'er* Sa.
blame *blaam* G 86, *blamed* *blamd?* G 90
blazed *blaa'ed* G 125
bles *bles* G 21
blind *blaind* G 119
blithe *blaidh* G 107
block *blok* G 99
blood *bluud* S, *blud* Bull, G 4, 38, *bloud* C 27
bloody *blud'i* G 100
blossoms *blos'umz* 144
blow *bloou* Bull, *bloun* *blooun* G 2
blush *blush* S, *blushed* *blusht* G 117
blue *blyy* S
board *buurd* Sa, B, *boord* G 47, *boards* *boordz* G 118
boast *boost* G 23, 89
boat *boot* S, Bull, *boot* C 4
body *bod'i* G 72, 133
boil *beil* *ulcus* S, *buul* *coquo* G 15
bold *boud* *prov* Sa, *bould* S, *boould* G 105
bombast *bum'bast* G 38
bondmen *bondmen* G 41
bone *boon*, *Se baan* *bean* S
book *buuk* Sa, *Sn*, *Se byyk* S, *buuk-s* G 3, 41, *byyks* *Bor* G 122
boot *baut* S, Bull
booth *baudh* Bull
boor *boor* P, G 50
born *boor'n* *natus*, *bor'n* *allatus* *the present use reversed* Bull, *born* G 50, 98 *boorn* = *natus* C 2
borrow *bor'ouu* G 88, *borrowed* *bor'ouued* G. 98
bot *bot* *lumbrieus equorum* S, Bull
botch *botsh* S
both *both* G 39, 98, *beadh* *Bor* G 16, *booth* C 6
bough *bowh* *buun* Bull, *bou* G 15
bought *bount* S, *boount* Bull, *bokht* G 12, *booukht* G 109
bound *bound* G 15, 24
bounty *boun'ti* G 29, 82
bourne *bur'n* Bull, *buurn* B
bow *boo areus* Sa 34, 58, *boou areus* *bou flectere* S, *boou areus*, *buu flectero* Bull, *boou areus* G 15, *bowing* *bou'iq* G 20, *bowed* = *boud* C 18
bowels *buurelz* Bull, *bou'elz* G 37, 94
bowers *bours* G 114
bowl *booul sinum* Sa, S, Bull, G 15, B, *boul sphaera* S, G 15, B, *buul globus* Bull
box *boks* S, G 107
boy *bui* P, *boi*, *fortasse* *bui*, *alii* *boe* S, *bwec* H, *boi* Bull, *buoi*, *non* *bue* G

pr, buoi *puer* G 92, 136, *boi Dor*
 G 15, *bwoe B*
brad *brod clavus sine capite S*
brag brag G 89
brake *brak ruptura*, *braak balista, filix*
&c., *Bull, braak = ruperit C 15*
bramble *bram bl* G 41
bran *bran* G 38
brandiron *brond-iir'n Bull*
branches *bransh'ez* G 24, *brantsh'ez G*
 123
brass *bras* G 37
bravada *bravaa-da* G 28
bravely *bravali G 123*
breach *breth?* *Se et Transtr. brek S*
bread *bred?* *Sa, breed S, G 24, 37,*
breed C 4
break *brek Sa, brek, imp braak brook*
olim brast, occidentaliter briik G 51
breath *breth Bull*
breathe *breedh Bull, breeth?* G 121
bred *bred S*
brech *british Sc Transtr. et Bor briik*
S, breeches britsh'es, briiks Bor G 17
breed *bruid S, G 124*
brenned *bren'd Bull G 122*
brethren *breth'ren ant bredh'ren G 41,*
 124
brew *bryy S, brewed bruu'id?* *S*
bride *broid G 112*
bridegroom = *brijdgroom C 25*
bridge *bredzh, Bor brig S, bridzh G 12*
bridle *brid'l?* *S brai-dl G 20, 123*
brightness *braikht'nes G*
Britain *Brit'ain (in Spenser) G 104*
broad *brood S, G 70*
broil *broil fortasse bruil S, broil bruuil,*
indifferenter G 15
broken *brook'n G 51*
brood *bruud S, G 101*
brooks *bruuks G 114*
broom *bruum Bull*
brother *brudhrer G 27, 41, 112, B,*
broyer C 4
brotherhood *brudh'erhuud G 27*
brought *broukht G 10*
brown *bruun Bull*
bruised = *broosed C 21*
bubble *bub'l B*
buck *buk dona mas Sa, S, G 3, fago-*
triticeum G 37
buckler *buk'ler Bull*
bud *bud G 133*
budge *budzh peregrinae ovis pellis S*
buildeth *byld'eth beild'eth build'eth*
bild'eth, pro suapte ejusque ingenio
G 4, built = bijlt C 7
builder *biild'er G 105*
building *biild-iq G 111, buildings =*
bijldings C 21
bull *bul, S, Bull, buu prov Sa*

bulwark *bul'wark G pr*
bung *buq B*
buoy *bwei H, buui Bull, G 15*
burden *burd'n Bull*
burn *bur'n Bull, burn G 109, burneth*
burn'eth G 23
burr *bur lappa S*
bury *bir'i Sa, buri C 8*
bush *bush G 73*
busied *biz'ied G 91*
business *biz'nes G 81*
busy *biz'i Sa*
but *but S, Bull, G 20, 133*
butcher *butsh'er, Mops bitsh'er G 18*
butt *but Bull*
butter *but'er G 38*
button *but'n Bull*
buy *bei S, G 89*
buyer *bei'er H*
by *bi S, bei H, G 20, 79, 136, by our*
lady bei-r laa'di Sa, by and bye, BY
AND BY, bii and bii P

C.

cage *kaadh S*
cattiff *kai'tif miser S, kai'tiv G 111,*
 146
calends *kal'endz G 37*
calf *ka'lf Bull, calves ka'lvz Bull*
call *kaul Sa, S, ka'l Bull, kau prov Sa*
callet *kal'et meretricula Bull*
calm *kaulm Sa 4, ka'l'm Bull*
cambrie *kaam'brik, Mops keem'brik*
 G 17
Cambridge *Kaam'bridzh G 77*
cannot *kanot G pr, kan'not G 45*
canoe *kanoa?* *G 28*
candle *kan'dl G 98*
canvas *kan'vas G 38*
cap *kap Sa, S, G 12*
cape *kaap hispanica chlamys S*
capers *kap'erz G 37*
capon *kaap'n Bull, kaap'n, Mops keep'n*
et ferè kiip'n G 18
captive *kap'tiv G 116*
can *kan S*
care *kaar Bull*
careful *kaar'ful G 84*
careless *kaar'les G 123*
carpenter *kar'penter G 129*
Carthage *Kar'thadzh G 66*
case *kaas G 35, 100*
cassment *kaaz'ment, G 27*
casket *kasket G 35*
cast *kast G pr, 48, kest kus'n Bor G 16*
cat *kat S, G 35*
cates *kaats G 37*
catch *katsh S, G 149, see 'ketch', caught*
kount, S
cattle *katel Bull, G 24*
caul *kaul = ka'l Bull*

cauldron kan'dor'n, Bull
cause kauz Bull, kAAZ G 21, 103, 143
causeway kau'si Bull
cave kaav G 77
cavil kay'il Bull
ceased seest G 112, *ceasest* sees'est G 102
cedars see'darz G 24, 105
sensor sen'sor G 66
centre sent'er G 125
certain ser'tain G 67
chaff tshaf G 37
chalk tshaak G 38
challenge tshaa'lendzh G 109
chambers tsham'berz G 23
chance tshans S, tshauns B, *chanceth*
 tshaans'eth G 66, tshans'eth G 86,
 chanced tshaanst G 111, 119
chancellor tshan'sler G pr
change tshandzh S, G 12, 20, tshandzh
 Bull, tsbaindzh B
changeable tsha'ndzh'ab'l Bull
chanter tshan'ter cantor S
chap tshap *findi per se aut vento* S
chape tshaap *ferrum quod ambit unam*
 vaginam S
chapel tshapel S
char tshaar P
charge tshardzh Bull
charity tshar'ite S
charm tshar'm Bull
charriot tshar'et G 23
chaste tshaast G 77, 100
chasten tshas't'n Bull
chastity tshast'itii G 101
chaw tshaa G 14
cheap tshiip ? *licitari* S, *Cheapside*
 Tsheep'seid Sa
cheek tshiik P
cheer tshir ? *vultus* S
cheerful tsheer'ful G 118
cheese tshiiz Sa, S
cherish tsher'ish Bull, tsheer'ish et
 tsher'ish G 127
cherry tsher'i S, *cherries* tsher'iz G 99
Chesterton Tshes'tertun G 134
chidden tshid'n ? Bull
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BEN JONSON.

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G 52, mikh't G 38, 56

mile mil G 76

milk mil'k S, G 38

mill mil' G 86

million mil'ion G 71

mind mind Bull, maind G 33, 52, 90

mine main G pr, 10

minion min'ion G 129

ministers min'isterz G 24

mint mint G 41

minute min'yyt G 70

mirrors mir'ors G 101

mirth merth G 38, mirth G 145

mischance mistshans' G 116

mischiefe mis'tshif G 20, 106, 149

misconceived miskonseev'ed G 112

miscreant mis'kreant G 105

mise meis *sumptus vel offe cervisia madi-*
facte, S

miser mei'zer G 134

miserable miz'erabl G 129, 184

misery miz'eri G 129, 134, mizerei'

poet G 130, *miseries* miz'erei'z G 125

misgive misgiv' G 33

misplace misplaas' G 33

miss mis careo S

mistake mistaak' G 32

mixture miks'tyyr Bull

moan moon G 145

moderator moderaa'tor G 30

moist moist G 99, 119

moisten moist'n G 133

molest molest' G 117

Moll Mal Mariola G 12

Monday Mun'dai B

monster mon'ster G 124

monstrous mon'strus *prodigiosum*, moon'-
strus *valde prodigiosum*, moonoon'strus
prodigiosum adeo ut hominem stupidet
G 35

money-s mun'i-z G 41

month month G 144, B

monument mon'yyment G

mood muud S, Bull

moon muun G 12, 24

more moor S, G 25, moor C 5

morning morn'iq G 106

morrow mor'oou G 125

mortal mor'taal ? G 97, 116

mortar mor'ter cementum G 38

Moses = *Mooses* C 19

moss mos S

most moost G 34

mother mud'her Bull, G 112, B, *moother*
moyer C 2, *mooyer* C 12

mould moould G 124

mound mound B

mountains moun'tainz G 24

mourn muur'n Bull

mouse mous mus, mouz *devorare* S, mous
mus G 41

mouth mouth G 21, B

move muuv G 118 B, *moved* muuv'ed
G 20

mow muu P, mou *meta fani*, moou

metere aut irridere os distorquendo, S

much mutsh S, *much good do it you*,
mitsh'good'it'yo, Sa, mutsh G 34, 89

muck muk S, G 38

mud mud S, G 38

mule myyl mula S

mulet myy'let mulus, S

multipliable multiplaibl G 129

multiply multipl' G 31

multitude multi'tyyd G 22, 30, 129

mum mum tace, S

mumble mom'bl *senum edentulorum*
more mandere, aut inter dentes musi-
tare S, *mumbled* mum'bled G 101

murder murder, mur'dher *dialectus*
variat G pr, mur'dher G 106

murmur mur'mur G 119

murr mur rancedo S

murrain murain B

music myyz Sa, S

music myy'zik G 38, muu'zik ? G 150

must must G 64

mustard musterd G 38

mutton mut'n G 39

my mai G pr N

N

nag nag Sa, S

nail nail, nails nailz Sa

nailed naild G 111

name naam Bull, G 22, naam C 1

narr nar ringere *more canum* S

narrow nar'u Sa, *narrower* nar'oouer,
Oce narg'er G 18

nations nas'ionz Bull, naa'sions G 21

nativity nativ'iti G pr

nature naa'tyyr Bull, na'tyyr ? G 98

naught naakht ritiosum *aut malum* G
32

naughty = *noughti* C 21

nay nai S, nee cor B

near niir S, neer H, neer G 34, 104, nier
G 34, niir B, *nearer* ner'er ? G 34

neat neet G 7

neb neb rostrum S

necessary nes'esari Bull

necessity nes'es'iti Bull, G 139

neck nek S

nectar nek'tar G 98

need niid G 20, 87, 98

needle = *nedel* C 19

ne'er neer G 112
neese niiz *sternutamentum* S
neither neidh'er G 75, *neeidh'er* G 45,
nother C 6
Neptune Nep'tyyn G 121
nesh nesh *tener* S
nest nest S, *nests* nests G 24
net net Sa, G 7, 77
new ny ny S, Bull, *nyy* G 22, *news*
nyyz G 27
next nekst G 34
nibble n'bl Sn
niffles nif'ls *nihil* S
nigh n'kh Sa, *naikh* G 79
night nikht S, *naikht* G 92
will nil *nolo* G 32, 65
nim nim nem *cape*, *Oec* G 18
nimble nim-bl G 149
nine nein G 71
nineteen nain-tiin G 71
ninety nain-ti G 71
ninth nainth G 71
no no S, G 20
noble noo-bl Bull, G 148, *no-bl* ? G 83
none noon G 9, 75
nones noonz G 37
noon nuun G 12
north north Bull
nose nooz, S
not not S, G 20
note noot S, G 123, 134, *noted* noo-ted
G 113
nothing noth'iq Bull, G 32, 38
nought nouht nauht S, *noukht* G 32
n'ould nould ? *notebam* G 65
nourish nur'ish B, *nourisheth* nur'isheth
G 73
novice nov'is G 113
noyous noi'us G 104
now nou Sa, G 100
number num'ber Bull, *numbers* num'berz
G 141
numerous num'erus ? G 141
nymphs nimfs G 114

O

oak ook Bull
oaken oo-k'n Bull
oath ooth Bull, *ooth* C 26
oaten otr'n ? G 146
obey obeei P, obei Bull, *obai* G 87
ocasion oka'zion Bull, *okaa'zion* *tris-*
syllabus, *usitatissimus* G 131, 136
occupy ok'yypii ? Bull, *occupier* ok'yypaier
G 129
o'clock a klok G 93
odds odz G 41
of of S, Bull, *ov* *frequentius*, *of docti*
interdum G pr, 20
off of Bull, G 79, 103
offal of'al G 39

offence ofens G 82
offer of'er Bull, G 88
offering of'riq G 22
offspring of'spring G 76
oft oft G 20
oftentimes of'tentsimz G 142
oil oil G 24
ointment ointment Bull
old o'ld Bull, *ould* G 70, *et errata*
omnipotent *omnipotent* G 135
on on G 79
once oons G 21, 93, 116
one oon Bull, G 70, *oon* C 5
only oon'li G 20, *oon'lei* G 21, *oonli*
C 19
ooze uuz G 7, *ooz* ? G 37
open oop'n G 20, *openest* oop'nest G 25,
opened oop'ned G 47
opinion opin'ion G 30, 129
opposed opooz'ed G 133
oppressed, *opres*'ed G 43
oppression opres'ion G 21
oranges or'eindzhiz Sa
order or'der G 30
ornament or'namet G 107
orthography ortog'rafi Bull
other odh'er aut *udh'er alii* S, *udh'er*
Bull, *udh'er frequentius*, *odh'er docti*
interdum G pr, 45, *udh'er* B
ought owht Bull, *oukht* G 68, 80,
oukht *Bor* B
our uur Bull, *our* G pr, 22, *ou'er* B
Ouse Ouz *Isis* G 40
out unt Bull, *out* G 23, 66
outlet out'let G 33
outpeaking out'peek'iq G 136
outrage out'raadzh G 128
outrun out'run G 128
over over Bull, G 24
overcome overkum' G 117, *overcame*
overkaam G 107
overseer oversi'er G 36
overtake overtaak' G 33
overthrow ov'erthroou Bull
overthwart overthwart Bull
overture ov'ertyr G 30
owest = *ouest* C 18
own ooun G 22
ox oks Sa 60, *oxen* oks'n G, *oks'n non*
oks'en G 20, 42, 146
Oxford Oks'ford G 70
oyez, *jii etiam a praeconiibus pluralius*
effertur, *oo jiiiz*, *o vos omnes et singuli*
G 46

P

pace paas *passus* S, *paas* G 70
packing pak'iq G 100
page padzh *vernula* S
pain pain P, S, G 20, 119, *pained*
paind G 97

paint paint peint S, paint G 52
pair pai'er Bull
pale paal Sa, G 91
pap pap Sa, S
paper paa'pär Sa
paradise par'adeis G 38
pardon par'don G 88
parentage par'entadz G 110
parents paa'rents G 68, 102
partaker partaa'ker G 100
pass pas S, G 24, 110
passion pas'ion G 110, in the following
 quotation from Sydney's *Arcadia*,
 3, 1, being the conclusion of an ac-
 centual hexameter, and the whole of
 an accentual pentameter, in each of
 which it forms a dactyl,—recz'n tu
 mi pas'ion iild'ed—Pas'ion un'tu mi
 raadzh, raadzh tu a hast'i revendzh'.
pat pat ictus S
patient pas'ient Bull
patience paa'siens G 109
patronise pat'roneiz G 141
Paul's Pooulz in the French manner B
paucen paa'n G 14, 93
pay pai, rustici paai, *Mops* pee, *Sc et*
Transtr paa S, pai G 88, *Lin* paa
abjecto i; *Aust* post diphthongum
dialysin a odiose producunt, paai G
 17, paai G 86, pee cor B, *pays* paaiz
 G 117
paynim pai'nim G 111
peace pees G 73, *peas* C 20
pear peer P Sa
pease peez pisa S, peez G 41, *Occ* peez'n
 G 19
peck pek S
peel piil S, pfl of an ap'l, Bull
peer piir P, Sa
peerless pii'erles G 110
pen pen Sa, S
pence pens G 42
penny pen'i G 42
pennyroyal pen'irai' G 38
pent pent S
Pentecost Pen'tekost G 134
people piip'l Bull, G 4, 41, B, *peopil* C 9
pepper pep'er G 38
perceive persev' ? G 29
perch peertsh G 70
perfect per'fet Bull, per'fekt G 123,
pfight C 5
perform perfoor'm Bull
personal personal G pr
personality personal'iti G pr
persons pers'onz non pers'nz G pr, 72
perspicuity perspikyy'iti G 29
perspicuous perspik'vyus G 30
pertain pertain' Bull
perversely pervers'li G 141
pettitoes pet'itooz G 37

powter peu'ter G 69, B
Pharisees = *Pharisais* C 23
pheasant fez'aunt? Sa
Philip Fil'ip Bull
philosophers filos'oforz G 74
phlegm fleem G 38
phoenix fee'niks B
physician = *phisition* C 9
pick pik S
pickrel pik'rel *lupulus* G 35
picture pik'tyrr Bull
piece piis Bull
pies peiz S
pig pig S
pike peik *lucius* S, paik G 35
Pilate = *Piloat* C 27
pile peil Bull, poil G 28
pill pil Bull
pillory pil'ori Bull
pin pin Bull
pine pain *emaciare* S, Bull, pain G 105
piss pis S Bull,
pit pit S
pitch pitsh G 38
pith pith S
pity piti G pr, 83, 87, 129
place plaas Bull, G 24, 98, 100, 125
plague plaag Sa
plaise plais *passer piscis* Bull
plain plain G 85
plaint plaint G 130
planted plant'ed G 24
plate plaat *vasa argentea* G 38
Plato Plat'o G 74
play plai S, G 18, *Mops* plee G 18,
 plee cor B, *plays* plaiz Bull
pleasant pleez'ant G 142
please pleez S, *pleaseth* pleez'eth G,
pleasing plees'iq ? G 113
pleasure pleez'zyr G 144
pledge pledzh G 88, 101
plentiful plen'tiful G 84
pock pok *scabies grandis* S
pocsy po'si G 141
point point, *fortasse* puint, *muero*, *indice*
monstrare, et *ligula* S, puuint G 88
poke pook S
pole pool *pertica* G 7
poll pol *capitulum lepidissimum* G 7
pool puul S
poor puur Sa, S, G 141
pop pop, *bulia*, aut *popismus*, et *irri-*
dendi nota, S
pope poop *papa*, S
poplar pop'lar G 105
poreh poortsh G 123
pore poor *proprius intueri ut lusciosi*
faciunt S
Portugal Poortigal cor Sa
pot pot S
potager pot'andzher Sa

potent poo'tent G 134
pottage pot'adz G 37
poundage pound'adz G 27
pour puur pour *funde* ; pour out *effunde*
 S, pour H, pour G 21, pour'er B
power pou'er S, H, pour G 21, 79, 125,
 B
praise prai'z G 21
praiseworthy prai'z-wurdh-ei G 32
pray prai non pre G *pr*, prai, *Mops* pree
 G 18
prayers prai'erz G 110
preach preetsh G 13
precious pres'ius Bull
prepare = *prepaar* C 2
presence prez'ens G 23
present preez'ent G 69, 84
preserve prezerv'eth G 23
president prez'ident G 110
press = *prease* presse C 21
presumed prezyymd' G 99
prevent preevent' ? G 87, *prevented* pre-
 vent'ed G 133
prey prai G 24
price v. priis Bull, prais G 89
prick prik S, Bull
pricket prik'et G 100
pride preid G 43, 99
priest priist Bull
prime preim G 112
prince prins G 107, *princes* prins'es G
 103
prism priz'm S
prisoner priz'ner G 105
private priv'at ? Bull
privily priv'ili G 79
privities priv'itis G 39
proceeded prosiid'ed Bull
prodigal proo'digal ? G 148
profane profaan' G 134
profanely profaan-lai G 134
profit prof'it G *pr* 31, *profited* prof'ited
 G 43
profitable prof'itabl G 31, 84
prohibition, prooibis'ion Sa
prolong proloq' G 133
promise prom'is G 83
proper prop'er G 84
prophets = *p'pheets* C 11
propone propoon' G 31
propose propooz' G 86
prosperous pros'perus B
prostrate pros'traat G 149
proud proud B, G 74, 105
prove pruuv B
provide proviid' Bull, provaid' G 86
proweess prow'es G 116
prudent prud'ent ? G 30
puissance pyyis'ans G 111
pull pul S
pulley pul'i Bull

punish punish G 89 *punished* = *po-*
 nished C 10
pure pyr S, pyr'er H
pureness pyr'nes Sa
purge purdzh B
purity pyr'itai G 39
purple pur'pl G 106
purpose pur'pooz G 104
purstain pur'slain *portulaca* G 38
pursue pursy' G 90
push push G 88
put put *pono* G 48

Q

quail kwail G *pr*
quake kwaak G *pr*, 103
qualities kwal'itiz G 136
quarrel kwarel S
quassy (?) kwasi *insalubris* S
quarter kwarter Sa, S, H
quash kwash G *pr*
quean kween, *scortum* S, Bull
queen kwiin Sa, S, G *pr*, 110, kwin ?
 G 72
quench kwentsh Bull, G 24, 124
quern, kwaar'n *mola trusatilis* Bull
quest, *kwest consilium* S
question kwest'ion G 88
quick kwik S
quickly kwik'li G 34
quicken kwik'n Bull
quiet kweit *quietus* S, kwi'et ? G 38
quill kwil S, *quills* kwilz G *pr*
quilt kwilt *tapetis suffulti lana genus*
 S
quince kwins S, G 12
quit, kwit, *quietum aut liberatum*, S,
 kwit G *pr*
quite v. kweit *liberare aut acceptum*
 ferre S, kwit G 121, *adv. kwit* G
 116
quoit koit, *fortasse kuit, jacere discum*, S
quoth koth *vel kwoth* G 64

R

race raas *soboles* G 39
rag rag S
rageth raa'dzeth G 99
rail rail Sa, *rails*, railz Sa
rain rain P, G 66, *rain* C 5
raising raa'ziq ? G 99
Ralph Raaf Bull
ram ram S, *rams* ramz G 99
rancorous raq'kerus G 106
range raindzh B
rank a. raqk, *Aust* roqk G 17
rare raar Bull, G 101
rat rat S
rate v. raat G 89
rattlines rat'liqz G 37
rather raadh'er G 103

- raving* raav'iq G 148
raw rau S
reach reetsh Bull
read reed *lego* Bull, G 48, red *lectum* S, G 48, 134, *reading* reed'iq non riid'iq, G pr, 95
ready red'i G 84
realm reel'm G 122
reap reep S
rear reer S, G 105, *reared* rec'red G 114
reason reez'n Bull, *reasons* reez'nz G 110
rebuke rebyyk' G 24, *rebuuk* C 11
receive reseiv Bull, *reseev* G 89
reck riik ? *curare* S
reckoning rek'niq G 100
recount rekount' G 86
red red S
Redeliff Rat'lf G pr
redeem rediim' G 102
redoubt redyyit ? *munimentum pro tempore aut occasione factum* G 29
redound redound' G 86
redress redres' G 149
reduce redyys' G 31
reeds riidz G 146
reck riik B
reft reft G 100
refuge ref'yydzh G 21
refuse v. refyyz' G 101, 132
register redzh'ister G 129
regreter regraa'ter G 129
reign rein Bull, *reigneth* reein'eth G 22, *reigns* rainz G 99
rejoice redzhois' G 22
release relees' G 89
relief reliif' G 38, 99
religious relidzh'ins G 81
remaineth remain'eth G 87
remember remem'ber G 40
remembrance remem'brans G 23
removed remnuv'ed G 24
rend rend G 48
render rend'er G 21
renewest renyy'est G 25
renowned renoun'ed G 100
rent rent Sa
repine repiin' ? *invideo* G 88
reported report'ed G 67
reproach reprootsh' G 118
requite rekwait' G 87
resist resist' G 87
resort rezort' G 142
resound rezound' G 142
respondence respon'dens G 119
restore restoor' G 122
restrain restrain' G 89
retain retain' G 103
retire retair' G 99
retrieve retriiiv' *reindagari* S
return return' G 33
revenge revendzh' G 110
revive revaiv' G 141
rew reu B
reward reward' G 89, 122
rhyme raim G 141
rib rib S
rich ritsh, *Bor* reitsh G 17
riches ritsh ez G 21
rick rik B
rid rid G 89
ride reid H, Bull, *ridden* rid'n S
ridge redzh S
rife roif G 99
right rikht Sa
righteous raikh'teus G 27
righteously raikh'teusl'ai G 21
righteousness raikh'teusnes G 27, *rightuousnes* C 5
ring riq G 93, *ringing* riq'iq Sa
rip rip *dissuere* S
ripe reip S
rice rais G 37
rise v. = *rijs* C 12
river riv'er Bull
roach rootsh S
roam rooom Bull
roar roor G 22
rob rob S, G 85
robe roob S, G 106
robbery rober'ai G 21
rock rok *colus vel rupes*, rok *rupes* G 20, 99
rod rod S
roe roo Sa
rolling rooul'iq G 121
Rome Ruu'm Bull
rook ruuk S
room ruum Bull
root ruut B
rope roop S
ropp rop *intestinum* S
rose rooz ? Sa, *roose* C 2, *roses* roo'zez G 99
rosecheeked rooz'tshiikt G 150
rosy-fingered roo'zifiq'ged G 106
rote root Bull
roused rouzd G 107
rove roov S
row roou *remigare* Bull
royal roi'al G 104
rub rub S
rubies ryy'biz G 99
ruck ruk *acervus*, *ruks* ruks S
rue ryy P, ryy ruta S, ryy se *pœnitere* G 145
rueful ryy'ful G 100
ruff ruf *piscis perez similis* S
ruin ryy'in' ? in an *accentual pentameter* from *Sydney's Arcadia* 3, 1, O Ju, alas ! so ei found, kAAZ of hit on'li ryy'in' G 146

rule ryyl Bull, G 68
rump rump, *Lin* strunt runt *cauda* G 17
rumbling rum·bliq G 114
run run, *ran* ran G 13, 49
runners run·erz G 114
rural ryy·ral G 146
rush rush *juncus* S
rust rust G 118
rusty rust·i G 106
ruth ryyth G 39
rye røi G 37

S

sable saab·l Sa
sackcloth sak·kloth G 123
sacred saa·kred G 98
saddle Sa, sad·l Bull, sad·l G 133
safeguard saaf·gard G 73
safely = *saafli* C 27
saffron saf·ern G 106
said zed *rusticè*, *said non* sed G *pr*, 67,
 sed Bor pro said G 17
sailed saild G 146, *sailing* sail·iq G 105
saints saints G 23
sake = *saak* C 5
salable saa·labl G 32
sale saal Sa
Sallust Sal·ust G 84
salmon sam·on G 77
salt salt S, saalt G 27, 81
saltish saal·tish G
salutation saluta·sion ? G 30
salvation salva·sion G 20
same saam Bull, G 45, *saam* C 5
sanctuary saqk·tuarøi G 22
sanders san·derz *santalum* G 37
sanicle san·ikl G 30
sap sap G 24
sat sat S
satisfaction satisfak·sion à *Latino in io*,
 proprium tamen accentum retinet in
 antepenultima G 129, *showing that*
 -sion was regarded as two syllables.
satisfy sat·isfai G 87, *satisfied* sat·isfoied
 G 24
Saturn Saa·turn G 100
Saul Saul S
save saav S, *saving* saav·iq G 21
saw sau S, saa G 14
sax saks *ararum Occ*, G
say sai non se G *pr*, saai G 22, *saa Bor*
 abjecto i G 17, *zai Or* G 17, *see cor*
 B, sai C 5
scale skaal G 99
scaped skaapt G 105
scathe skath G 106
ceptre sep·t'r Bull
science si·ens Bull
scissars siz·erz G 37
scholar skolar *potius quam skoler* G *pr*,
 scholars skol·ars *Mops* skal·ers G 13

school skuul Sa
schoolmaster skuul·mas·ter G 86
scolding skoould·iq G 95
score skoor G 71
scorn skorn G 98, 141, *scorned* = *scorned*
 C 27
scour skour B
scourge skurdzh B
scowl skoul B
screech owl skreik·uul Bull
scribble skrib·l *scribillare*
scripture scrip·tur ? *see literature* G 30
scull skul S
scurrility skur·l·iti G 112
sea see Sa, G 22, *see* C 4, *seas* seez G 13
seal seel S
seam seem *adepts* G 38
search sertsh G 90
season seez·in Sa, *seasons* seez·nz G 24
seats = *seels* C 23
second sek·ond G 35, 71
secure sekyyr· G 147
sedge sedzh, S
see, sii Sa, S, G 23, *seen* siin G 7
seeds siids Bull
seek S, siik G 20
seldom siil·dum Bull
self self Bull, *self sel·n Bor* G 17, *selves*
 selvz Bull
sell sel S, G 89
semblance sem·blans G 107
Sempringham Sem·priq·am *media syllaba*
 producitur [*see Trumpington*] G 134
send send G 48, *sendeth* send·eth G 24,
 sent sent G 43
senseless sens·les G 99
set set G 48
sergeant ser·dzhant G 82
servant serv·ant G 46
serve serv G 23
service serv·is G 24
set set *plantavit* S
seven sev·n G 71, *seven* C 16
seventeen sev·ntiin G 71
seventh sev·nth G 71
seventy sev·nti G 71
Severn Sev·ern G 40
sew seu B
sowed sooud G
sewer seu·er Bull, *seuer* *dapifer* G 15
shade shaad G 118
shadows shad·ouuz G 114, 144
shale shaal S
shake shaak S
shall shal shaul S, sha·l Bull, shal G
 20, 22, *shalt* sha·lt Bull, *Lin -st ut*
 oi-st aut ai-st dhou·st hii·st jou·st
 dhei-st aut dhei sal, G 17
shambles sham·blz G 37
shame shaam G 13, 38
shape shap Sa

- share* shaar ? P
sharp sharp Bull
shave shaav G
Shaw ShaA G 14
she shii P, S, G 44
shears sherz G 37
shed shed S, G 106
sheep shiip Sa, S, Bull, G 41
shell shel S
shepherd=*scheepherd* C 9, *shepherd's*
purse shep'herdz-purs G 38
shew sheu S, G 22, 98, B, *schew* C 12,
shows shoouz G 130, *showed* sheured
 Bull, sheud G 107
shield shiild G 103, 124
shillings shil'iqz G 89
shin shin P, S
shine shein S, shain G 21, 24, 116,
schijn C 5
ship ship Bull, *ships* ships G 25
shiphook ship'huuk G 128
shire, see *Worcestershire*
shirt shirt P, *shirt camiscia*, *Lin sark*
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view vyy G 114, viewed vyy'ed S
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Reynard are names of the cock and
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whoop whuup Bull
where huur, *Se* huur S
whoredom=*whooredoome* C 19
whosoever whuu-soever G 33
why hui (huei ?), uhi (=whei ?) S
 whai G 99 *whi* C 26
wick=*week* C 12
wicked wick-ed G 23
wide weid Sa, weid G 70
wield wiild G 110
widow widoou ? G pr
wife wiif, *wives* wiivz, Bull
wight waikht G 105
wild wiild G 24
wile weil G
wilfulness wil-ful-ness, *see* *Trumpington*
 G 134
will wil S, H, wil G pr, *Lin* -l ut
 ei-l, dhou-l, hui-l, wii-l, jou-l' dhei-l,
 G 17, *wilt* wilt G 54
William Wil-iam G 77
Wimbledon Wim-bldun G 134
win win Sa, S, Bull, G 7
winch wintsh Bull
wind wiind *ventus* Bull, *weind* *ventus*
 G 10, 23, *winds*=*wiinds* C 7
winder wiinder Bull
windlas wind-las Bull
window wind-oor Bull, *wind-oou* G 81
windy wiind-i Bull
wine wein Sa, S, Bull, *wain* G pr, 7, 38
winge weindzh, *see* *supra* p. 763, n. 2, Sa
wings wiqz G 23
winking wiqk-iq Sa
wipe wiip Bull, *woip* G 124
wise weis S, weiz H, *wiiz* Bull, *weiz*
 G 105, *wiiz* C 6
wisdom wiiz-dum Bull, *wiz-dum* G 25
wisdom C 11

wish wish Sa 10, S, *wish* Sa, G 48
wished wiisht ? G 48
wist wist sciebam G 64
wit wit S, Bull, *wit* G pr, 91 110, v.
 wit scio G 64
witch wiſh Bull, G 14
wite v. *woit* *vitupero*, *ferè* *evanuit* G 64
 [the pronunciation assigned was there-
 fore probably conjectural]
with with Sa, Bull, *widh* *frequentius*,
 with *docti interdum*, G pr, with G
 20 et *passim*
withdraw withdraa' G 128, *withdrew*
 withdryy' G 91
Witham With-am G 70
withhold withhoould' G 33, 104
within with-in' G 79, B
without without' G 33, 79
withstand withstand' G 128
withy with-i *salix* Bull
witness witnes G 42
wizard=*wisard* *wiseards* C 2, 3.
woad wod ? *glastum* S
woe woo S, G 81, 142
woeful woo-ful G 102
wolf wulf S, B
womb womb S, wuum B
woman wum-an G 41, wuu-man B,
 women wim-en G 41, wiim-en G 77
won wun S
wonder un-der (=wun-der) Sa, wun-der
 G 88, B, *wonders*, wun-derz G 22
wondrous wun-drus G 122
wont wunt G 111, 142, B
woo uu (=wuu ?) Sa, *wood* uoed (=wuo-ed ?) a *prociis ambita* S
wood wud S, G 10, 22, *woods* wudz G
 142
woof wuuf B
wool u-ul (=wul ?) lana S, wul G
 39
Worcestershire Wus-terſhiir G 70, 8
word wurd Bull, G 10, *word* G 114,
 wuurd wurd B
wore v. *woor* G 50
work wurk Bull, G 21, *works* wurks
 G 24
workman wurk-man G 28, *workmen*=
 woorkmen C 20
world worl'd Bull, *world* G 10, 23, 110
 B
worm wuur'm Bull, *wurm* G pr, B
worse wurs G 34
worship wurſhip Sa, G 22
worst wurst G 34
worth wurth Bull, G 110
worthy wurdh-i G 83
wost wust scis B
wot v. *wot* Sa, G 64
would wuuld S, Bull, B
would'st wuuldst G 54

wound wound vulnus S, wuund, *Bor*
 waand [*perhaps here to be read*
 (waund)] G 16, wounds wuund-es in
Spenser G 137
 woꝝ woks G 123
 wozen woks'en crevisse S
 wrangler wraꝥ'lor (wraꝥ'lor) Bull
 wrath wrath (wraath) G 99
 wrathful wrath'ful (wraath'ful) G 103
 wreek wreck (wreek) Sa
 wrest wrest (wrest) Sa
 wrestle wrest'l (wrest'l) Bull
 wretch wretsh (wretsh) Bull, G 146,
 wretched wretsh-ed (wretsh-ed) G 117
 wrinkle wriꝥk'l (wriꝥk'l) Sa
 write wrait (wrait), writ (writ) scrib-
 bam, wroot (wroot) imperfectum com-
 mune, wraat (wraat) *Bor*, oi haav
 writ'n (writ'n) scripsi G 49, written
 writ'n (writ'n) Bull *supra* p. 114,
 writin C 2
 wrong wroꝥ (wroꝥ) G 95, wronged wraꝥd
 (wraꝥd) *Bor* G 122
 wroth wroth (wroth) Bull, wrooth
 (wrooth) G 123
 wrought wroouht, (wroouht?) wrowht
 (wrowht) Bull, wroount wrowht
 (wroount wrowht) Bull, wrooukht
 (wrooukht) G 48
 Wyndham Wimund'am media syl-
 laba producitur [*see Trumpington*]
 G 134

Y.

yard yard Sa, yard virga aut area, S,
 yeerd G 70
 yark behind yark behind posterioribus
 pedibus incurrere, et propriè equorum S
 yarn jaar'n Bull, yarn G 10
 yarrow jar'ou millifolium S
 yate saat quod nunc 'gate' gaat dicimus
 et scribinus S

yaꝝn jaun? Sa
 Yaxley Jaks'lei nomen proprium S
 ye jii Bull, G 20, 44, ji G 141
 yea see Sa 35
 year jii Sa, Bull, B, jeer G 70
 yeast jii (meant for jeest?) cervisia
 spuma quod alii barm vocant S
 yeld jeld? Sa
 yell jel Sa
 yellow jel'on Sa, S
 yeoman jem'an? S, ju'man Bull
 yes jis alii sonant jes S, jis G 10
 yesterday jes'terdai S, jisterdai G 77
 yet jit, alii sonant set S G 102
 yew yy taxus arbor S
 yield jild? Sa, jild S, Bull, G 22, 86,
 jeld concessit S, yielded jild-ed G 110,
 jild-ed G 117, ielded C 13
 yode jod G 106, see Went
 yoke jook G 10, 43, iook C 11
 yolk jook jugum S, jolk vitellum G 10
 yonder jon'der zender S, jon'der H
 York Jork Sa
 you jou eos S, juu H, Bull, jou juu
 observa jou sic scribi solere, et ab
 aliquibus pronunciari at à plerisque
 juu, tamen quia hoc nondum ubique
 obtinuit paulisper in medio relinquetur
 G 46, juu non iu G, pr, juu G 45,
 jou G 44, jou Mops ja G 18, yow C
 6, iou you C 10
 young juꝥ, Sa, S, Bull, B, G 24, 112
 your juur, Bull, juur G 21, 95, yours
 juurz G 45, yours C 6
 yunker juꝥ'er adolescens generosior S
 youth juuth? Sa, juuth Bull, jyyth G
 13, 46, juuth B, youths jyyths G 40
 zeal zeel G 13, 105
 zed zed litera z, S
 zodiac zo'diak? G 29
 Zouch Zoutsh G 42

EXTRACTS FROM RICHARD MULCASTER'S ELEMENTARIE, 1582.

Gill says in the preface to his *Logonomia*, "Occurrere quidem huic vitio [cacographiæ] viri boni et literati, sed irritò conatu; ex equestri ordine *Thomas Smithius*; cui volumen bene magnum opposuit *Rich. Mulcasterus*: qui post magnam temporis et bonæ chartæ perditionem, omnia Consuetudini tanquam tyranno permittenda censet." Mulcaster's object in short was to teach, not the spelling of sounds, but what he considered the neatest style of spelling as derived from custom, in order to avoid the great confusion which then prevailed. He succeeded to the extent of largely influencing subsequent authorities. In Ben Jonson's *Grammar*, the Chapters on orthography are little more than abridgements of Mulcaster's. Sometimes the same examples are used, and the very faults of description are followed. It would have been difficult to make

anything out of Mulcaster without the help of contemporary orthoepists, and it appeared useless to quote him as an authority in Chap. III. But an account of the xvith century pronunciation would be incomplete without some notice of his book, and the value of his remarks has been insisted on by Messrs. Noyes and Peiree (*infra* p. 917, note). A few extracts are therefore given, with bracketted remarks. Chronologically, Mulcaster's book should have been noticed before Gill's, p. 845. But as he was a pure orthographer who only incidentally and obscurely noticed orthoepy, these extracts rightly form a postscript to the preceding vocabulary. The title of the book, which will be found in the Grenville collection at the British Museum, is:—

The first part of the elementarie which entreateth
chefelie of the right writing of our English tung, set
furth by RICHARD MULCASTER. Imprinted at London
by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling in the blak-friers
by Lud-gate, 1582.

In Herbert's Ames, 2, 1073, it is said that no other part was ever published. In the following account, all is Mulcaster's except the passages inclosed in brackets, and the headings. The numbers at the end of each quotation refer to the page of Mulcaster's book.

The Vowels Generally.

The vowealls generallie sound either long as, *compāring*, *reūnged*, *enditing*, *enclosure*, *presūming*: or short as, *ran-sāking*, *reūelling*, *penitent*, *omnipotent*, *fortunat*: [here the example *revenge*d, which had certainly a short vowel, shews that by length and brevity, Mulcaster meant *presence* and *absence* of *stress*, which applies to every case:] either sharp, as *māte*, *mēte*, *ripe*, *hōpe*, *dāke*. or flat as: *māt*, *mēt*, *rip*, *hōp*, *dūk*. [Here he only means long or short, and does not necessarily, or indeed always, imply a difference of quality, as will appear under E. Occasionally, however, he certainly does denote a difference of quality by these accents, as will be seen under O. In his "general table" of spelling, these accents seem frequently used to differentiate words, which only differed in their consonants, and it is impossible from his use of them to determine the sounds he perhaps meant to express. Thus in his chapter on *Distinction*, he says: "That the sharp and flat accents ar onlie to be set vpon the last syllab, where the sharp hath manie causes to present it self: the flat onlie vpon some rare difference, as *refūse*, *refuse*, *presēt*, *présent*, *recōrd*, *recórd*, *diffēr*, *différ*,

seuēr, *seuēre*." 151.—Where the grave accent seems to mark absence of stress, the quality of the vowel changing or not.] Which diuersitie in sound, where occasion doth require it, is noted with the distinctions of time [meaning *stress* in reality, which he indicates by "˘", because in English versification imitating the classical, quantity was replaced by stress], and tune [meaning length, which he indicates by *accent* marks, and hence confuses with tune], tho generallie it nede not, considering our daieleie custom, which is both our best, and our commonest gide in such cases, is our ordinarie leader [and hence unfortunately he says as little as possible about it].—110.

Proportion.

I call that *proportion*, when a number of words of like sound ar written with like letters. or if the like sound haue not the like letters, the cause why is shewed, as in *hear*, *fear*, *dear*, *gear*, *weare* [where the last word, which was certainly (*wee*r), should determine the value of *ea* in the others to haue been (*ee*) in Mulcaster's pronunciation, though, as others said (*uēr*, *fūr*, *diir*) even in his day, this may be too hasty a conclusion].—124.

A.

A Besides this generall note for the time and tune, hath no particular thing worth the obseruation in this place, as a letter, but it hath afterward in proportion, as a syllab. All the other vowels haue manie pretie notes. [This might mean that *a* always preserved its sound, and the other vowels did not. It is possible that the "pretie notes" only refer to his observations on them, and not to diversity of sound.]—111.

Ache, brache, with the qualifying *e*, for without the *e*, *t*, goeth before *ch*. as *patch, snatch, catch, smatch, watch*. The strong *ch*. is mere foren, and therefor endeth no word with *vs*, but is turned into *k*, as *stomak, monark*. [This context makes a long and *ch* = (tsh) in *ache* = (atsh). Yet in his general table p. 170, he spells both *ache* and *ake*. See the illustrations of *ache* in Shakspeare, infra § 8.]—127.

AI, EI.

AI, is the *mans* diphthong, and soundeth full: *ei*, the womans, and soundeth finish [=rather fine] in the same both sense, and vse; *a woman is deintie, and feinteth soon, the man feinteth not bycause he is nothing daintie*. [Whether any really phonetic difference was meant, and if so of what kind, is problematical. Smith had said the same thing. supra p. 120, but with Smith the word diphthong had a phonetic meaning, with Mulcaster it was simply a digraph, and he may have at most alluded to such differences as (ææ, ee) or (ee, ee). Compare the following paragraph.]—119.

No English word endeth in *a*, but in *aie*, as *decaie, assaie*, which writing and sound our vse hath won. [Does this confuse or distinguish the sounds of *a*, *ai*? It might do both. It ought to distinguish, because the writing of *ai* being different from the writing of *a*, the mention of its sound should imply that that sound was also different. But we cannot tell. See what follows.]—125.

Gaie, graie, traie. And *maid, said, quaiſ*, English for *coif, quail, sail, rail, mail*, onelſe it were better to write these with the qualifying, *e*, *quale, fale, rale, male*. [If any phonetic consistency were predicable of an orthographical reformer,—which, however, we are not justified in assuming,—this ought to in-

dicate a similarity of pronounciation between *ai* and *a*. To the same conclusion tend:] Howbeit both the terminations be in vse to diuerse ends. *Gain, pain*, if not, *Pane, gane, remane*, and such as these terminations, be also vsed to diuerse ends, [these "diuerse ends" being of course not to indicate diversity of sound, but diversity of sense; it would be quite enough for Mulcaster to feel that the vowel was long, and that a final *e*, and not an inserted *i*, was the "proper" way of marking length.]... *Fair, pair, air*, if not *Fare, pare, are*, both terminations also be vsed to diuerse ends. *Wait, strait*, if not *Wate, strate*. *Straight or streight*, bycause *ai* and *ei*, do interchange vses. *Aim*, or *ame, main*. *Paint, restraint, faint*, or *feint, quaint*, or *quint*... *Ete, eight, sleight, height, weight, feild, yeild, sheild*, the kinned between *ei*, and *ai*, maketh *ei*, not *anie* where so ordinarie, as in these terminations. [If we were inconsiderate enough to suppose that Mulcaster had any thought of representing the different sounds, as distinguished from the length, of vowels, all these cases, would be explicable by assuming *ai* = *ei* = (æ), and *a* long = (ææ). But this would be somewhat opposed to other parts of Mulcaster, and to the writings of contemporaries, and is founded upon the groundless assumption just mentioned. As to the similarity of *ai*, *a*, see supra p. 867, col. 2, and Mr. White's account of Elizabethan pronounciation, infra.]—136-7.

E.

Whensocuer *E*, is the last letter, and soundeth, it soundeth sharp, as *mé, sé, vé, agré*. sauing in *the*. the article, *ye* the pronoun, and in Latin words, or of a Latin form, when theie be vsed English like, as *certiorare, quondare*. where *e*, soundeth full and brode after the originall Latin. [Here, as we know that the sounds were (mii, sii, wii, agrii, dhe), though (je) is not so certain from other sources, we might suppose é = (ii), è = (e). Ben Jonson, however, in abstracting and adapting this passage, distinctly makes the sound (ii), saying (Gram. chap. iii.), "When it is the last letter, and soundeth, the sound is sharp, as in the French *i*. Example in *mé. sé. agré. ye. shé*. in all. sauing the article *thé*." Observe that *ye* is now (yii) and not (je). Observe

also that *quandary* is referred to a Latin origin, *quam dare*, as if they were the first words of a writ.] Whensooner e, is the last, and soundeth not, it either qualifieth som letter going before, or it is mere silent, and yet in neither kinde encreaseth it the number of syllabs. I call that E, qualifying, whose absence or presence, sometime altereth the vowell, sometime the consonant going next before it. It altereth the sound [length] of all the vowells, euen quite thorough one or mo consonants, as *mâde*, *stème*, *êche*, kinde, *stripe*, *ôre*, *cûre*, *tôte* sound sharp with the qualifying E in their end: whereas, *mâd*, *stêm*, *êch*, *frind*, *strip*, or *cur*, *tost*, contract of tossed, sound flat without the same E. [Now as we know that *steam*, *each*, were (*steem*, *eech*), it follows that *e* represented either (ii) or (ee), that is, that the acute accent only represented length, independently of alteration in quality of tone; there was such an alteration in *cûre*, *cûr*, certainly, and in *stripe*, *strip*, according to the current pronunciation; but there was or was not in *sê*, *stème*, compared with *stêm*, and hence we have no reason to infer that there was any in *mâde*, *mâd*, *ôre*, *ôr*. Ben Jonson alters the passage thus: "Where it [E] endeth, and soundeth obscure, and faintly, it serves as an accent, to produce the Vowell preceding: as in *mâde*. *stème*. *stripe*. *ôre*. *cûre*. which else would sound, *mâd*. *stêm*. *strip*. *ôr*. *cûr*." It is tolerably clear that by using "produce" in place of Mulcaster's "alter the sound," he intended to avoid the difficulty of considering *stème* = steam as (*stim*), unless, indeed, he meant it to be a contraction for *esteem*. He omits the example *each* for a similar reason.]—111.

Pert, *desert*, the most of these sorts be bissyllabs or above: besides that, a, dealeth verie much before the r, [meaning probably that *er* was often sounded (ar)]. By *deserue*, *preserue*, *conserue*, it should appear that either we strain the Latin s to our sound, or that theie had som sound of the z, expressed by s, as well as we, [did he say (konzerv) ?]—132.

I.

I, in the same proportion [suprà p. 911] soundeth now sharp, as *giue*, *thrive*, *alive*, *viue*, *title*, *bible*, now quik, as *giue*, *liue*, *siue*, *title*, *bible*,

which sounds ar to be distinguished by accent, if acquaintance will not seme in much reading. [As Ben Jonson uses the same words and notation, and we know that he must have distinguished his *i*, *i*, as (ai), *i* there is no reason for supposing that Mulcaster's *i* was anything but (ei) or (oi). But at the same time there is nothing to militate against the contemporary Bullokar's (ii). And Mulcaster's pronunciation of *ou* as (un), infrà p. 914, which is about the only certain result that can be elicited from his book, renders the (ii) probable.]—115.

I, besides the time and tune thereof noted before, hath a form sometime vovellish, sometime consonantish. In the vovellish sound either it endeth a former syllab or the verie last. When it endeth the last, and is it self the last letter, if it sound gentle, it is qualified by the e, as *manie*, *merie*, *tarie*, *carie*, where the verie pen, will rather end in e, than in the naked i. If it sound sharp and loud, it is to be written y, having no, e, after it, as neding no qualification, *deny*, *cry*, *defy*. [This at any rate goes against Gill's use of final (oi), suprà p. 281, which, however, he only attributes to "numerus poeticus," Log. p. 130, in his Chap. 25, quoted at length, infrà § 8.]—113.

If it [I] end the last syllab, with one or mo consonants after it, it is shrill [long] when the qualifying e, followeth, and if it be shrill [long] the qualifying e, must follow, as, *repine*, *vnice*, *ninde*, *kinde*, *fiste* [foist ?]. If it be flat and quik, the qualifying e, must not follow, as, *examin*, *behind*, *mist*, *fist*. [Observe (behind) with a short vowel, and hence certainly not (beheind).]—114.

The quik i, and the gentle passant e, ar so near of kin, as theie interchange places with pardon, as in *deseryed*, or *deseryid*, *findeth*, or *findith*, *hir*, or *her*, the error is no herese.—115.

If it [I] light somewhat quiklie vpon the s, then the s is single, as *promis tretis*, *amis*, *aduertis*, *enfranchis*, etc. [This seems to establish (adver'tis, enfranch'is) as the common pronunciation.]—133.

O.

O is a letter of as great vn certainty in our tung, as e, is of direction both alone in vowell, and combined in diphthong. The cause is, for that in vowell

it soundeth as much vpon the u, which is his cosin, as vpon the ó, which is his naturall, as in *cösen, dösen, möther*, which o, is still naturallie short, and, *hösen, fräsen, möther*, which o, is naturallie long. In the diphthong it soundeth more vpon the u, then vpon the, o, as in *found, wound, coic, soic, boic, hoic, now, and böic, söic, wröught, öught, möic, tröugh*. Notwithstanding this varietie, yet our custom is so acquainted with the vse thereof, as it will be more difficultie to alter a known confusion, then profitable to bring in an vnknown reformation, in such an argument, where acquaintance makes iustice, and vse doth no man wrong. And yet where difference by note shall seem to be necessarie the titles of *proportion* and *distinction* will not omit the help. In the mean time thus much is to be noted of o: besides his time long and short, besides his tune with or without the qualifying e, sharp or flat, that when it is the last letter in the word, it soundeth sharp and loud, as *agó, tó, só, nó*. saue in *tó* the preposition, *twó* the numerall, *dó* the verb: his compounds as *endó*, his deriuatiues as *döing*. In the middle syllabs, for tune, it is sharp, as here, or flat if a consonant end the syllab after o. For time the polysyllab will bewraie it self in our daile pronouncing: considering the children and learners be ignorant, yet he is a verie simple teacher, that knoweth not the tuning of our ordinarie words, yea tho theie be enfranchised, as *ignorant, impudent, impotent*. O varieth the sound in the same proportion, naie oftimes in the same letters, as *löue, glöue, döue, shöue, remöue, and löue, gröue, shröue, nöue*. This duble sound of o, in the vowell is Latinish, where o, and u, be great cosens, as in *voltus, vultis, colo*. And *vultus, vultis, oculo*: in the diphthong it is Grekish, for theie sound their *ou*, still vpon the u, tho it be contract of oo, or o e [there is some misprint in these oo, o e which is imitated here], wherein as their president [precedent] is our warrant against obiection in these, so must acquaintance be the mean to discern the duble force of this letter, where we finde it, and he that will learn our tung, must learn the writing of it to, being no more strange then other tungs be euen in the writing. [It would seem by the general tenor of these remarks, that the two sounds of o were (oo, u), and even that

the diphthong *ou*, in those words where it is said to "sound more vpon, the, u then vpon the, o," had, as with Bullokar and Palsgrave, the sound of (uu). It is in fact difficult to conceive that Mulcaster pronounced otherwise. And this sounding of *ou* as (uu), leads, as before mentioned, p. 913, to the suspicion of sounding i long as (ii).]—115.

O, in the end is said to sound lowd, as *go, shro* [shrew?], *fro*, sauing *tó, dó, twó*, etc. . . . O before, l, sounding like a diphthong causeth the ll, be dubbled, as *troll*. And if a consonant follow, l, o, commonlie hath the same force, tho the l, be but single, *told, cold, bold, colt, dolt, colf, rolf, holt, holm, scold, dissolue*. [The last example is peculiar.] O, before m, in the beginning, or middle of a word, leading the syllabs soundeth flat vpon the o, as *omnipotent, commend*, but in the end it soundeth still vpon, the u, as *som, com, dom*, [hence the first is (o), the second (u)] and therfor in their deriuatiues, and compounds as *welcom, troublesom, newcom, cumbersom, kingdom*. With e, after the m, as *home, none, rome* [roam?], and yet *whom, from*, haue no, e, by *prerogative* of vse, tho theie haue it in sound and seming [that is are called (xoom froom), which is strange, especially as regards from.] . . . Or is a termination of som truble, when a consonant followeth, bycause it soundeth so much vpon the u, as *scorn, form*, [(furm)?] *sword, word*, and yet the qualifying e, after wil bewraie an o, as the absence thereof will bewraie an u, *storne, o, worm, u, lorde o, hard, u*.—134.

Good, stood, yood. Hoof, roof. Look, took, book, hook. School, tool. Groom, bloom. Hoop, coop. If custom had not won this, why not *ou*? Bycause of the sound which these diphthongs haue sometimes vpon the o, sometimes vpon the, u. I will note the o, sounding vpon himself, with the streight accent, bycause that o, leadeth the lesse number. *Böw, knöw, söw, and Böw, söw, cöw, möw*. [That is (bun, suu, kuu, muu), but there seem to be some misprints in what follows, compare the *wrought, ought, möw, tröugh*, given above.] *Outch, crouch, slouch. Lowde, lowdle. Houf, aloif. Gouge, bouge. Cough, ought, ought*, of *öw*, with, w, from the primitiue. *Föught, nought, cöught, wröught, söught*. again, *Bought, mought, dough*. *Plough, rough, slough*,

enough. *Houl, coul, skoul*. Why not as well as with oo? *Roum, broum, loun*. *Noun, eroun, cloun, down*. *Ooun, groien*, vpon the deriuatiue. *Stoupi, loup, droup, coup*. *Sound, ground, found*. Our commonlie abreuatiounlike as *our*, the termination for enfranchisements, as *autour, procuratour*, as, *er* is for our *our*, as *uter, writer*: *Bour, lour, flour, four*, alone vpon the, *o*. *Moun, adiourn*. *House, louise, mouise*, the verbes and deriuatiues vpon the, *z*, as *House, louise, mouise*, the nouns vpon the, *s*, *Our*, our English cadence for Latin words in *osus*, as *notorious, famous, populous, riotous, gorgeous*, being as it were the vniting of the chefe letters in the two syllabs, *o*, and *u*, *osus*. *Clout, lout, dout*. [These instances are strongly confirmatiue of the close *ou* having been (*uu*) to Muleaster, and his only knowing the open *ou* or (*ouu*).]—136.

OI.

Thirdlie, *oi*, the diphthong sounding vpon the *o*, for difference sake, from the other, which soundeth vpon the *u*, wold be written with a *y*, as *ioy, anoy, toy, boy*, whereas *anoint, appoint, foil*, and such seme to haue an *u*. And yet when, *i*, goeth before the diphthong, tho it sound vpon the *u*, it were better oy then *oi*, as *ioynt, ioynt*, which theie shall soon perceiue, when theie mark the speede of their pen: likewise if *oi* with *i*, sound vpon the *o*, it maie be noted for difference from the other sound, with the streight accent, as *boie, enioie*.—117-8.

U.

V besides the notes of his form, besides his time and tune, is to be noted also not to end anie English word, which if it did it should sound sharp, as *uá, trá, vertú*. But to auoid the

nakednesse of the small *u*, in the end we vse to write those terminations with *ew* the diphthong, as *new, trewe, vertew*. [Whether this implies that *u* was called (*iu*), or that *ew* was called (*yy*) occasionally, as in Smith and Palsgrave, it is hard to say.]—116.

-URE.

I call that a bisyllab, wherein there be two seuerall sounding vowels, as *Asur, rasur, nasur*, and why not *lusur*? [Are these words *azure, rasure, measure, leisure*? If so the orthography, or the confusion of *a, ea, ei*, into one sound, is very remarkable. Further on he writes:] *Natur, statur, Measur, treasur*. [Probably this settles the question of *measur*; but the spelling would indicate that the final *-twe, -sure, were* (*-tur, -sur*) which would have immediately generated the xviith century (*-tar, -sar*), and not Gill's (*-tyyr, -syrr*). Probably both were in use at that time.]—137. This shortnesse or length of time in the deriuatiues is a great leader, where to write or not to write the qualifying, *e*, in the end of simple words. For who will write, *natur, perfit, measur, treasur*, with an *e*, in the end knowing their deriuatiues to be short, *naturall, perfitlie, measured, treasurer*? . . . And again, fortun profit, comfort, must haue no, *e*, bycause *fortunate, profiting, comforter*, haue the last saue one short. [It will be seen in Chapter IX. § 2, in Hodges's list of like and unlike words, after the vocabulary, that the pronunciation (*-ter*) or (*-tar*) prevailed at least as early as 1643. See also the remarks in Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation, *infra*. The examples *fortün, fortünate*, point to the early origin of the modern vulgarism (*faat'n, faat'nit*).]—150.

REMARKS FROM AN ANONYMOUS BLACK-LETTER BOOK, PROBABLY OF THE XVIITH CENTURY.

As these pages were passing through the press, I met with an 8vo. black-letter book, without date or place, the date of which is supposed to be 1602 in the British Museum Catalogue, press-mark 828, f. 7, entitled:

“Certaine grammar questions for the exercise of young Schollers in the learning of the Accidence.”

In the enumeration of the diphthongs, occur the following remarks which clearly point out *ea* as (*ee*), and distinguish *i* short and *i* long as having characteristically different sounds, probably (*i* ci) or (*oi*):—

"ea for e full great
 ee or ie for i smal grecefe
 ui for i broade guyde."

The following curious passage shews that *ei-* was by error occasionally pronounced (sh) in reading Latin words, and hence had most probably the same unrecognized English sound at the close of the xvi th century. It is unfortunate that the book is of unknown date, and that there is nothing which suggests the date with certainty. The type and spelling have the appearance of the xvi th century, and there is a written note "happening byforhond," appended to *Accidents* on the last page of sig. B, which is apparently of that date, but there are other words on the next page in a much later hand. The information then must be taken for what it is worth, but it seems to be of Shakspeare's time, and is important as the oldest notice of such a usage.

"Q. Nowe what thinges doe yee obserue in reading :

R. These two thinges. 1. { *Cleane sounding.*
 2. { *Dewe pawsing.*

Q. Wherein standeth *cleane sounding* :

R. In giuing to euery letter his iust and full sounde. In breaking or diuiding euery worde duely into his seuerall syllables, so that euery syllable may bee hearde by himselfe and none drownd, nor slubbered by ill fauouredly. In the right pronouncing of *ti*, whiche of vs is commonly sounded *ei* when any vowel doeth follow next after him or els not. And finally in avoyding all such vices as are of many foolishly vsed by euill custome.

Q. What vices be those :

- R. 1. *Iotacismus*. sounding *i* too broade.
2. *Lambdacismus*. sounding *l* too full.
3. *Ischnotes*. mincing of a letter as feather for father.
4. *Traulismus*. stammering or stutting.
5. *Plateasmus*. too much mouthing of letters.
6. *Cheilostomia*. maffling or fumbling wordes in the mouth.
7. *Abusing of letters*. as *v* for *f*. *vat* for *fat*. *z* for *s* as *muza* for *musa*. *sh* for *ci*. as *fasho* for *facio* *dosham* for *doceam* *fælishum* for *felicium* and such like.

Q. Wherein standeth due pawsing ?

R. In right obseruation of the markes and prickes before mentioned."

Here the *Iotacismus* may be considered to reprobate the pronunciation of Latin *i* as (ei). The *Lambdacismus* alludes to the introduction of (u) before (l). For both errors, see *suprà* p. 744, note 1. The *ischnotes* (*suprà* p. 90, n. 1) of *feather* for *father*, either means the actual use of the sound (feedh'er) for (faadh'er), in which case this would be the earliest notice of the pronunciation of *a* long as (ee), but still as a reprobated vulgarism, antedating its recognition by nearly a century,—or else it means merely thinning *a* from (aa) to (ææ), which was no doubt sporadically existent at this early period. The enigmatical *fedder* of Salesbury may, as we have seen, also refer to *father* (*suprà* p. 750, n. 8), and both may indicate an

anomalous pronunciation confined to that single word. The *abusing* of letters reminds one of Hart, *suprà* p. 794, note 1. It is observable that the use of (z) for (s), in *musa*, is reprobated, although probably universal, as at present, and is placed in the same category with (v) for (f), a mere provincialism, and (sh) for *ci*-, which we here meet with for the first time, and notably in terms of reprobation, and after the distinct mention of the "right pronouncing of *ti*" as "of vs commonly sounded *ci*," meaning (*si*) "when any vowel doth follow next after him or els not." As late as 1673, E. Coote writes in his *English Schoolmaster*, p. 31: "*Rob*. How many ways can you express this sound *si*? *Joh*. Only three; *si*, *ci*, and *sci* or *xi*, which is *csi*. *Rob*. Now have you erred as well as I; for *ti* before a vowel doth commonly sound *si*." So that (sh) was not even then acknowledged. It is curious that there is no reference to the use of (th) for *t* and *d* final, see *suprà*, p. 844, under D and T.

§ 8. On the Pronunciation of Shakspeare.

Our sources of information respecting the pronunciation of Shakspeare are twofold, external and internal. The external comprises those writers which have been examined in Chap. III., and illustrated in the preceding sections of the present chapter.¹ Of these,

¹ The first published attempt to gather the pronunciation of Shakspeare from the writings of preceding orthoepists is, so far as I know, an article in the "North American Review" for April, 1864, pp. 342-369, jointly written by Messrs. John B. Noyes and Charles S. Peirce. Unfortunately these gentlemen were not acquainted with Salesbury, whose works are the key to all the others. Had they known this orthoepist, the researches in my third and eighth chapters might have been unnecessary. Salesbury's *Welsh Dictionary* first fell under my notice on 14 Feb. 1859; his account of Welsh pronunciation was apparently not then in the British Museum, and seems not to have been acquired till some years afterwards, during which time I vainly sought a copy, as it was necessary to establish the value of his Welsh transcriptions. I had finished my first examination of Salesbury, Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, Butler, Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Midge, Jones, Buchanan, and Franklin, and sent the results for publication in the Appendix to the 3rd edition of my *Plea* (*suprà* p. 631, note) in 1860, but the printing of that work having been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War in America, they have not yet appeared. My attention was directed

to Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's article in March, 1865, and I noted all the works they quoted, some of which I have unfortunately not been able to see; and others, especially R. Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, 1582 (*suprà* p. 910), and Edward Coote's *Schoole-Master*, 1624 (*suprà* p. 47, l. 19), which Mr. Noyes considers as only inferior to Gill and Wallis, I have scarcely found of any value. When I re-commenced my investigations at the close of 1866, since which time I have been engaged upon them with scarcely any intermission, I determined to conduct them independently of Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's labours, with the intention to compare our results. It will be found that we do not much differ, and the points of difference seem to be chiefly due to the larger field here covered (those gentlemen almost confined themselves to Elizabethan times), and perhaps to my long previous phonetic training. The following are the old writers cited by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce:—Palsgrave, *Giles du Guez*, Sir T. Smith, Bullokar, "*Æsops Fables in true Orthography*, with Grammar Notz, 8vo., 1585" (which I have not seen), P. Bales, 1590 (not seen), Gill, Butler, B. Jonson, Wallis, Baret, Gataker, Coote, Percival's *Spanish Grammar*,

however, Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Hart, wrote before Shakspeare's birth or when he was a baby (see table p. 50), and although Bullokar published his book when Shakspeare was sixteen, it represents a much more archaic form of language than Hart's, of which the first draft (*suprà* p. 794, note) was written six years before Shakspeare's birth. Gill, who was born the same year as Shakspeare, should naturally be the best authority for the pronunciation of the time. He was head master of St. Paul's School during the last eight years of Shakspeare's life, and he published the first edition of his book only three years after Shakspeare's death. But Gill was a favourer of old habits. We have on record his contempt of the modern thinness of utterance then affected by the ladies (pp. 90, 91) and his objections to Hart's propensities in that direction (p. 122). Gill was a Lincolnshire man, of East Midland habits. Shakspeare was a Staffordshire man, more inclined to West Midland. Hence, although Gill no doubt represented a recognized pronunciation, which would have been allowed on the stage, it is possible that Shakspeare's individual habits may have tended in the direction which Gill reprobated. The pronunciation of the stage itself in the time of the Kembles used to be archaic, and our tragedians (or such of them as remain) still seem to affect similar habits. But it is possible that in Shakspeare's time a different custom prevailed, and that dramatic authors and actors rather affected the newest habits of the court. Hence the necessity for proving the indications of Gill and other writers by an examination of Shakspeare's own usage, so far as it can be determined from the very unsatisfactory condition in which his text has come down to us.

The internal sources of information are three in number, puns, metre, and rhyme.¹ The first is peculiar and seems to offer many advantages in determining identity of sound, accompanied by diversity of spelling, but is not really of so much use as might have been expected. The metre, properly examined, determines the number of syllables in a word and the place of the accent, and, so far as it goes, is the most trustworthy source of information which we possess. The rhyme, after our experience of Spenser's habits, must be of very doubtful assistance. At most we can compare general habits of rhyming with the general rules laid down by contemporary orthoepists. A few inferences may be drawn from peculiarities of

1623 (not seen), Cotgrave, Nat Strong (not seen), Wilkins, Mulcaster, Festeau, 1673 (not seen), Berault, 1698 (not seen), De la Touche, 1710 (not seen), Tandon, 1745 (not seen), Sharp on English Pronunciation, 1767, and the following, which I have not examined, Nares, 1784, Hexham 1660, Pomey, 1690, Saxon 1737. Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's conclusions will be inserted as footnotes to the subsection headed "Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspeare," immediately before the speci-

men at the end of this chapter.

¹ An elaborate attempt to determine the pronunciation of some vowels and consonants by means of rhymes, puns, and misspellings, was made by Mr. Richard Grant White in his edition of Shakspeare, vol. 12, ed. 1861. This did not come under my notice till these pages were passing through the press. An abstract of his researches, with remarks, will be found below, immediately after the present examination of Shakspeare's rhymes.

spelling, but when we recollect that Shakspeare did not revise the text, and, if he had done so, might not have been very careful in correcting literals, or have had any peculiar notions of orthography to enforce, we cannot lay much store by this. Nevertheless I have thought it right to read through the whole of Shakspeare with a view to his puns and rhymes, and, during the latter part of this task, I also noted many metrical and accentual peculiarities. The results obtained will have more or less interest to Shakspearean students, independently of their phonetic bearing.

The following system of reference has been adopted in which I have had in view the owners of *any* modern edition, and have more especially consulted the convenience of those who possess Macmillan's *Globe* edition, of which the text is the same as that of the Cambridge Shakspeare, edited by Messrs. W. G. Clark and W. Aldis Wright.

Contracted Names of the Plays and Poems, with the pages on which they commence in the Globe edition.

AC, Antony and Cleopatra. p. 911.	MN, Midsummer Night's Dream. p. 161.
AW, All's Well that Ends Well. p. 254.	MV, Merchant of Venice. p. 181.
AY, As You Like it. p. 205.	MW, Merry Wives of Windsor. p. 42.
C, Coriolanus. p. 654.	Oth, Othello. p. 879.
CE, Comedy of Errors. p. 93.	P, Pericles. p. 977.
Cy, Cymbeline. p. 944.	PP, Passionate Pilgrim. p. 1053.
H, Hamlet. p. 811.	PT, Phoenix and Turtle. p. 1057.
H ¹ , Henry IV., part I. p. 382.	R ¹ , Richard II. p. 356.
2 H ¹ , Henry IV., part II. p. 409.	R ² , Richard III. p. 556.
H ² , Henry V. p. 439.	RJ, Romeo and Juliet. p. 721.
H ³ , Henry VI., part I. p. 469.	RL, Rape of Lucrece. p. 1014.
2 H ³ , Henry VI., part II. p. 496.	S, Sonnets. p. 1031.
3 H ³ , Henry VI., part III. p. 526.	T, Tempest. p. 1.
H ⁴ , Henry VIII. p. 592.	Tim, Timon of Athens. p. 741.
JC, Julius Caesar. p. 764.	TA, Titus Andronicus. p. 688.
KJ, King John. p. 332.	TC, Troilus and Cressida. p. 622.
KL, King Lear. p. 847.	TG, Two Gentlemen of Verona. p. 21.
LC, Lover's Complaint. p. 1050.	TN, Twelfth Night. p. 281.
LL, Love's Labour Lost. p. 135.	TS, Taming of the Shrew. p. 229.
M, Macbeth. p. 788.	VA, Venus and Adonis. p. 1003.
MA, Much Ado about Nothing. p. 111.	WT, Winter's Tale. p. 304.
MM, Measure for Measure. p. 67.	

In case of the *plays* the first figure following the title represents the *act*, the second the *scene*, and the third the number of the *speech*. The speeches are generally not numbered. The speeches in each scene were, I believe, first numbered by me in phonetic editions of T and M in 1849, and Mr. Craik, in his edition of JC, numbered the speeches from beginning to end of the play, thinking that he was the first person who had done so. There may be some doubt in some plays, as AC, regarding the number of the scenes, and in a few scenes as to the number of speeches, but those who have been in the habit of using Mrs. Cowden Clarke's Concordance to Shakspeare, where the reference is to act and scene only, will readily acknowledge the great convenience of having only to count the

speeches to find the passage with tolerable certainty, instead of having to read through a whole long scene. It would be a great boon if subsequent publishers of Shakspeare would adopt this plan of numbering the speeches, which would give a means of reference independent of the size of the page, and serving for the prose portions as well as for the verses. In the specimens at the close of this section the speeches are numbered in the way proposed, the current number being prefixed to the name of the speaker. Finding, however, that this reference is not always minute or convenient enough, I have inserted two other numbers in a parenthesis, the first referring to the page (number unaccented denoting the first, and number accented the second column) in the Globe edition, and the second pointing out the line of the previously indicated scene in *that edition*. When the scene consists wholly of verse, this number coincides with that of the line in the Cambridge edition, but when any prose has preceded, as the number of words in a line in the Globe edition is less than that in the Cambridge edition, the number of the line in the former is somewhat greater than that in the latter. Thus

gilt guilt 2 H⁴ 4, 5, 31 (432', 129)

shews that the pun, *gilt guilt*, is found in the second part of Henry IV, act 4, scene 5, speech 31; Globe edition, page 432, column 2, verse 129 of this fifth scene. The reference is always to the first line and first speech in which the several words which form the pun and rhyme occur. Consequently the reader will have to refer to some following lines, and even speeches, occasionally, to find the full pun or rhyme. The order of the words in the rhyme as cited is generally, but not always, that in which they occur in the original, and hence the reference must be considered as belonging to *either* word.

The *Sonnets* are referred to by the number of the sonnet and verse, with the page or column in the Globe edition, so that

prove love S 117, 13 (1045')

shews that the rhyme *prove love*, occurs in sonnet 117, verse 13; Globe edition, page 1045, column 2.

For the other poems, VA, RL, LC, and PT, the annexed numbers give the verses and column in the Globe edition. PP gives the number of the poem and verse of the poem as in the Cambridge edition, and the column and verse in the Globe edition.

SHAKSPERE'S PUNS.

The word *pun* is modern and is not used in Shakspeare. The following terms have been noted:

Quips TG 4, 2, 1 (35', 12), MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 45). AY 5, 4, 28 (227', 79). H ⁴ 1, 2, 11 (383', 51).	Crotchets, MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 58). Jests MA 2, 3, 68 (119', 206). LL 5, 2, 178 (155, 373), 2, 1, 85 (141, 206), H ⁴ 5, 3, 22 (406', 56).
Snatches MM 4, 2, 3 (83, 6).	Conceits LL 5, 2, 130 (154, 260). H ⁶ 4, 1, 27 (485', 102).
Double meaning MA 2, 3, 81 (120, 267).	Quillets Oth, 3, 1, 15 (892, 26).
Equivocation H 5, 1, 51 (841, 149).	

These jests are not merely puns.¹ They include catchings up, misunderstandings, intentional or ignorant, false pronunciations, humorous allusions, involuntary associations of sound, even in pathetic speeches, coarse *doubles entendres*, and jokes upon words of every imaginable kind. Many of these defy notation, and are also useless for our present purpose. By far the greater number of real puns involve no difference of spelling, and were therefore not worth citing. But so inveterate was Shakspeare's habit of playing upon words, that I have marked specimens in every play except *AC*, where most probably I have overlooked some covert instance.

The following, although they present a slight difference of spelling, convey little if any information.

tide tied TG 2, 3, 3 (26', 42).

foul fowl MW 5, 5, 1 (64', 12).

dam damn CE 4, 3, 16 (104, 54). MV 3, 1, 10 (191', 23). AY 3, 2, 9 (215', 9). In the last instance *damned*=*dammèd* or *wedged*. The more solemn instance in MV, discountenances the *dam-ned* usually preferred by actresses in M 5, 1, 15 (806', 39). Gill's (kondemn') is probably an oversight.

sink cinque MA 2, 1, 22 (115, 82).

This also is in favour of the pronunciation of French *in*, *suprà* p. 827.

holiday holyday KJ 3, 1, 10 (340', 82).

This reminds us of Salesbury's con-

fusion of *holy*, *holly*, *suprà* p. 99, n. 2.

gilt guilt 2 H⁴ 4, 5, 31 (432', 129). H⁵ 2, prol. (443, 26). This agrees with the preceding vocabulary p. 892, and shews the *u* was not pronounced in *guilt*.

Lacies laces 2 H⁶ 4, 2, 25 (516', 47).

This makes the pronunciation of final -es, as (-*is*) or (-*iz*), probable, but not certain. Dick, the butcher, speaks it.

presents presence 2 H⁶ 4, 7, 11 (519', 32). This cannot be relied on for indicating the habitual omission of *t* in the first word; the joke is one of Jack Cade's.

The following shew the indistinctness with which unaccented final -*al* -*el*, -*il*, or -*ar*, -*er*, -*our* were already pronounced.

sallet salad 2 H⁶ 4, 10, 1 (521', 11).

council counsel MW 1, 1, 51 (43, 120).

capital capitol H 3, 2, 23 (828, 108).

medlar meddler AY 3, 2, 31 (216, 125).

Tim 4, 3, 91 (758, 307).

dollar dolour T 2, 1, 9 (7, 18), MM 1,

2, 24 (68', 50) KL 2, 4, 19 (859, 54).

This favourite pun also indicates the shortness of the first *o* in *dolour*.

choler collar RJ 1, 1, 2 (712, 3), H⁴ 2, 4, 123 (393, 356). This makes *o* short in *choler*.

manner manor LL 1, 1, 56 (137, 208).

This makes *a* short in *manor*. Form (a seat), form (manner) *ibid.* shews that Walker's distinction, which makes the first (*foam*) and the second (*faam*), was a recent development.

consort concert RJ 3, 1, 15 (725', 48).

This discountenances the modern endeavour to make the -*ort* of *consort* distinct (*kons'ort*). But compare *consórt*, TG 4, 1, 34 (35, 64), KL 2, 1, 30 (856', 99).

¹ "Pun play upon words: the expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained: Serenius would explain it by the Icelandic *finnalegr* frivolous, Todd by fun, Nares by the obsolete pun, now pound, so that it would properly mean 'to beat and hammer upon the same word;' Mahn refers also to Anglo-saxon *punitian* to bruise, and to the English 'point, French *pointe*." Ed. Mueller, Etymolo-

gisches Woerterbuch der Englischen Sprache. Wedgwood adopts Nares's explanation. What is the age of the word? That it was not used in Shakspeare, where he had so much need of it, seems evidence against any ancient derivation, and to reduce it to the chance associations of comparatively modern slang. There is little use in looking for old roots unless the word itself is known to be old.

The very vague allusions in the following jokes shew how careful we must be not to lay too much stress on the identity of the sounds in each word.

English.

laced lost TG 1, 1, 39 (22, 101).
lover lubber TG 2, 5, 26 (29, 48).
Casar, Keisar, Pheezar MW 1, 3, 9 (46, 9).
band bond CE 4, 3, 8 (108', 30).
noting nothing MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 60).
See Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, *infra*, under TH.
beside, by the side MA 5, 1, 46 (120, 128).
tittle title LL 3, 1, 25 (144, 86). This is a mere alliteration, like the preceding *rags robes*.
insinuate insanie LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 28).
cloves cloven LL 5, 2, 318 (158, 654).
Stoicks stocks TS 1, 1, 2 (232, 31).
court her, cart her TS 1, 1, 5 (232, 54).
mates, maid, mated TS 1, 1, 8 (232, 59).
It is impossible to suppose that *mates*, *maid* (*suprà* p. 867, col. 2), had the same vowel, and yet the play upon the phonetic resemblance is evident.
rhetoric ropetrick TS 1, 2, 26 (235, 112).
night knight H¹ 1, 2, 7 (383', 27).
"Let not us that are squires of the *night's* body be called thieves of the day's beauty." The pun is complete in modern English. We have no reason to suppose that *k* in *knight* was disused till long afterwards (*suprà* p. 208). There is also a vague similarity of sound in *body*, *beauty* (*bed-i' beur-ti*), but no real pun as Mr. Grant White supposes, see his Elizabethan Pronunciation, *infra*, under EAU.
purse person 2 H² 2, 1, 34 (415', 127).
See next.
care, cure, corrosive H³ 3, 3, 1 (483, 3).
The manifest difference of the vowels here, shews that we have no reason to assume identity in the last case.

To this same category belong the following plays on Latin and French words, intended to imply ignorance.

Latin.

hanc hoc, hang hog MW 4, 1, 26 (59, 50).
carot carrot MW 4, 1, 30 (59, 55).
Shewing probably that *carot* was pronounced with a short, and not with the modern Etonian fashion with a long (*keerret*).
horum whore MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 63).
Countenancing the sound (*hoor*)

addle egg, idle head TC 1, 2, 74 (624', 146).

baes = *baas* bear C 2, 1, 8 (662, 12).

loggerhead loghead RJ 4, 4, 10 (734', 17).

feast-won, fast-lost Tim 2, 1, 83 (748', 180). Read (*feest*, *faast*) or (*fast*).

surecase success M 1, 7, 1 (792, 4).

Read (*sursees*, *sukses*) and the play on the sound will be evident, it is quite lost in the modern (*assiss*, *sokses*).

suitor shooter LL 4, 1, 37 (144', 109), on this uncertain allusion see *suprà* pp. 215-218 and footnotes. In addition to the citations there made, Mr. Edward Viles has kindly furnished me with the following:—"There was a Lady in *Spaine*, who after the decease of hir Father hadde three sutors, (and yet neuer a good Archer.)" Lyly's *Euphues* and his England, p. 293, Arber's reprint. This is from the book on which LL is, so to speak, founded, and hence establishes the existence of the joke in Shakspeare's time. We shall, however, have occasion to see that the resolution of (*si*) into (*sh*) was not the received, or polite custom of that period, although it was known and reprobated (*suprà* p. 915): In the same way a modern joke might be made from *pick'd her picture*, which Cooper, 1683, gives as absolutely identical in sound, although (*pik-ti*) is now a pure vulgarism.

goats Goths AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9). See Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, *infra*, under TH.

wittol wit-old LL 5, 1, 26 (150', 66).

green wit, green withe LL 1, 2, 51 (138', 91). See Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation under TH.

rather than (*nuur*) as in Smith, and commonly in our tragedians' Oth.

genitive case, Jenny's case MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 64). This does not settle (*Dzhen-i*) in preference to (*Dzhen-i*) as now, for *genitive* might have been heard or spoken with (*i*). See rhymes of (*e, i*) below.

ad dunghill, ad ungum LL 5, 1, 31 (150', 81). As we cannot suppose

unquem to have had any vowel but (u, u), this confirms the (u) sound in *dung*.

Jupiter gibbet maker TA 4, 3, 13 (705, 80), a clown's mistake.

French.

lucres louses MW 1, 1, 8 (42, 17). This would seem to indicate the old pronunciation (luus) for this uncommon word, to which the French was assimilated, but the confusion is credited to a Welshman, and hence is of no authority in English speech.

enfranchise, one Frances LL 3, 1, 54 (142', 12).

moi moy H^s 4, 4, 7 (459', 14).

bras brass H^s 4, 4, 9 (459', 18).

Probably indicating the continued pronunciation of final *s*.

pardonnez moi a ton of moys H^s 4, 4, 11 (459', 23). That is, Pistol echoes

The following instances are which they mainly illustrate.

A.

bate beat TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 209). There is no doubt of the pronunciation of *ea*=(*ee*), and this passage would be unintelligible unless the sound of long *a* were quite distinct, the play being simply on the consonants. The words are: "as we watch these kites That *bate* and *beat* and will not be obedient." We may therefore feel sure that long *a* was *not*=(*ee*). Such allusions are like the heraldic motto *dum spiro spero*.

gravity gravy 2 H^s 1, 2, 55 (413, 183).

"*Chief Justice*. There is not a white hair on your head, but should have his effect of gravity.—*Fulstaff*. His effect of gravity, gravity, gravity." The mocking joke is entirely lost in the modern (*grav'iti*, *gree'vi*). The old pronunciation must have had the same vowel in each case, (*grav'iti*, *graa'vi*). This instance and the last therefore determine that Shakspeare's long *a* could not have been (*ee*), and must have been the same as his short *a* lengthened=(*aa*) or (*aah*).

ace ass MN 5, 1, 87 (179, 312).

"*Pyramus*. Now die, die, die, die, die. *Dem*. No die, but an *ace*, for him; for he is but *one*." A double pun on *ace*=*ass*, and *ace*=*one*. "*Lys*. Less than an *ace*, man: for he is dead: he is nothing," since 0 is less than 1. "*The*. With the help of a surgeon he might yet recover and

pardonnez moi as (a tun o moi), compare Hart's (*pardunan*) for *pardonne*, *suprà* p. 802, l. 6 from bottom of text.

fer firr ferret H^s 4, 4, 15 (459', 29).

pucelle puzzle H^s 1, 4, 17 (474', 107).

This is not meant to be an identity, but merely an allusion, as in the following *dolphin* and *dogfish*: "*Puzel* or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish, Your hearts Ile stampe out with my Horses heeles." Hence it does not countenance the supposition that the sound of French *u* was impossible to an Englishman. *Pucelle* is spelled *Puzel* throughout in the fo. 1623.

foot, gown, H^s 3, 4, 32 (451, 54).

Katherine's unfortunate mistakes as to these words at least shew the French *ou* was = English *oo* (*uu*), and French *-on* = English *-own* (*oun*), *suprà* pp. 825, 827.

ranged under the orthographies

prove an *ass*." This is to the same effect as the last, and is confirmed by *Judas Jude-ass* LL 5, 2, 299 (157', 629).

bass base TG 1, 2, 61 (23', 96). TS 3, 1, 17 (240', 46). R³ 3, 3, 23 (372, 180). Both must have been (*baas*) as both are now (*baes*).

Marry! marry R³ 1, 3, 33 (561, 98).

RJ 1, 3, 16 (716, 62). The first was the exclamation, *Mary!* addressed to the Virgin, which therefore could not have been called (*Mearri*) as now.

marrying marring MW 1, 1, 12 (42, 25). AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34). AW 2, 3, 109 (264, 315). This favourite pun, in which the modern *marring* (*maariq*) retains its ancient sound, with at most the vowel lengthened, confirms the last remark.

all awl JC 1, 1, 12 (764, 25). This might have been either (*a'l*, *aul*) with *Bullokar*, or (*aal*, *aal*) with *Gill*, and hence confirms nothing.

A, AI.

bairns barns MA 3, 4, 21 (124, 49).

"Then, if your husband have stables enough, you'll see he shall lack no *bairns*." *Bairns* is only a modern orthography. In AW 1, 3, 10 (257, 28) the first folio reads *barnes*, the second *bearns*, probably only a transposition of the *e*, and the two last *barns*. This therefore gives no information respecting *ai*.

tale tail TG 2, 3, 9 (26', 54). Oth 3, 1, 6 (892, 8). In the first case the joke is so obscure when no difference is made between the sounds of *tail*, *tale*, that Hammer illustrates it with a kick. In the second the first folio reads *tale* in both places, and *tail* is meant probably in both cases. Under no circumstances can we suppose *tale*, *tail* to have had the same sound till the XVIIIth century. See however the quotation from Holyband, *suprà* p. 227, note, col. 2, which seems to indicate an occasional confusion of *ai*, *a*, and also Spenser's rhymes, *suprà* p. 867.

waste waist MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 46). 2 H⁴ 1, 2, 44 (413, 160). Waist is a modern spelling, see *suprà* p. 73, n. 1.

with maid withmade MM 1, 2, 48 (68', 94). "Is there a maid with child by him? No, but there's a woman with *maid* by him." Where there is an allusion to *withmaid* = *unmade*, *ruined*. But it belongs to the class of vague allusions on p. 922.

AI, EA, E.

beats baits WT 1, 2, 32 (312', 91). *Leontes* speaking of *Paulina* calls her, "A callat Of boundless tongue, who late hath *beat* her husband And now *baits* me!" Here it is absolutely essential to the cutting sarcasm that *beat*, *bait* should have been differently pronounced. It would make nonsense to say (*beet*, *beets*). The modern (*biit*, *berts*) preserves the full force of the original. See remarks on *bate* *beat* p. 923, c. 1.

fair fear VA 1083 (1013). "Having no *fair* to lose, you need not *fear*." This

These are the only puns which I have discovered, though I looked carefully for them, in which *ai* could have the sound of (*ee*). The three words thus determined are *main*, *heir*, *raisins*. We have no contemporary orthoepical account of these words; but Gill uses (*main*) in composition, and Cheke spells *heiers*. Considering how widely the (*ee*) pronunciation had spread so early as Hart's time, and that Gill acknowledged though scouted its existence, the number of instances is remarkably small, while the first of the preceding examples, *beat*, *bait*, seems to establish an accepted difference of sound, between *ai*, *ea*, the last of which was undoubtedly (*ee*).

E, EA, IE.

cōnceal'd cāncell'd RJ 3, 3, 29 (729, 98). Rather an allusion than a real play upon words.

play on words does not require an identity of sound, and is quite well enough preserved in the modern (*feer*, *fiir*).

prey pray H¹ 2, 1, 26 (388, 89). Here there was an identity of sound, but there is nothing to determine what it was. Gill marks *prey* as (*prai*) and expressly says that *pray* is not (*pree*). *main* Maine 2 H⁶ 1, 1, 32 (498, 209).

"Unto the *main*! O father, *Maine* is lost—

That *Maine* which by *main* force
Warwick did win,
And would have kept so long as breath
did last!

Main chance, father, you meant; but
I meant *Maine*,
Which I will win from France, or
else be slain."

The pronunciation was probably (*meen*) in each case. But it is possible that the English pronunciation of the state of Maine was still (*Main*). Gill pronounces the rhyming word *slain* (*slain*).

hair heir CE 3, 2, 41 (101, 127). The joke is rather covert, but still it seems as if this was one of the words in which *ei* = (*ee*), and this is confirmed by the next example.

here apparent, heir apparent H¹ 1, 2, 17 (383', 65). We shall find many rhymes of *here* with (*eer*) although it is one of the words recognized as having (*iir*), see p. 892. The preceding instance shewing that *heir* was also (*uicer*), the pun is justified, see *suprà* p. 80, note.

reason raisin H⁴ 2, 4, 94 (392', 264). It is probable that *raisin* as a modern French word was pronounced (*reezin*), and hence the pun. See *suprà* p. 81, note, col. 1.

best beast MN 5, 1, 59 (178, 232). The difference between the long and short vowels (*best*, *bcest*) is necessary to make the joke apparent,

which is lost in the modern (best biist). Long (ee) and short (e) frequently rhyme.

veil, wel *Dutch* LL 5, 2, 121 (154, 247). "Veal, quoth the Dutchman. Is not *veal* a calf?" The identity of both words, as heard by the writer, is evident. They were probably really (veel, bheil).

ne'er near R² 5, 1, 14 (377, 88). The first is still generally (neer), though some change both into (niir).

pierce-one person LL 4, 2, 27 (145', 85). See *suprà* p. 105, n. 1.

dear deer MW 5, 5, 29 (65', 123). LL 4, 1, 43 (144', 116). See *suprà* p. 81, l. 15.

heart hart AY 3, 2, 73 (217, 260). JC 3, 1, 68 (776, 207).

art heart TS 4, 2, 6 (245, 9).

heard hard TS 1, 2, 49 (238, 184). Rhymes will be found to indicate the same pronunciation of *heard*, see also p. 82, l. 17 and p. 86, l. 11.

EE, IE, I

sheep ship LL 2, 1, 89 (141, 219).

See *suprà* p. 450, n. 1.

lief live v JC 1, 1, 36 (766, 95).

clept clipt LL 5, 2, 274 (157', 602).

civil Seville MA 2, 1, 110 (117, 304).

I have heard of (siv-il) oranges from a lady who would have been more than 100 were she still alive, so in this case the pun may have been complete. In the xviith century the confusion between (e, i) was frequent, as also in the rhymes of the xivth, (*suprà* p. 271), and we shall find many similar rhymes in Shakspeare. In *spirit*, *syrop*, *stirrup* we have still the common change of (i) into (e), but we cannot suppose that either of these changes was acknowledged.

OA, O, OO.

post pos'd CE 1, 2, 13 (95, 63). "I from my mistress come to you in *post*: If I return, I shall be *post* indeed, For she will score your faults upon my pate." Dyce (9, 330) explains this to be "an allusion to keeping the score by chalk or notches on a post; a custom not yet wholly obsolete." May not the latter word be *posed*, having a *pose* or pain or cold in the head?

sore soar RJ 1, 4, 7 (716', 20).

Moore more MV 3, 5, 12 (196', 44).

Moore may have been indifferently

(moor, muur), as at present indifferent (*moor*, *muur*).

Pole pool 2 H² 4, 1, 25 (515', 70).

The name Pole is still generally called (Poul). The name GEFRRYE POOLE, 1562, with *oo*, may still be read on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower in the Tower of London.

wode wood MN 2, 1, 24 (165', 192):

Wode meaning mad, is not now distinguished from *wood* in Yorkshire, both being called (wad).

Rome roam H² 3, 1, 11 (480, 51).

"Bishop of Winchester. Rome shall remedy this. Warwick. Roam thither, then." This pronunciation; says Dyce (9, 367), "may perhaps be considered as one of the proofs that Shakspeare was not the author of that play." But the existence of the pun shews that the old Chaucerian (oo) of (Roome) was still known, though the final (e) was dropped. See next entry.

Rome room KJ 3, 1, 27 (341', 180). JC

1, 2, 38 (766, 156). Both these allusions are in passionate stately verse. They are generally assumed to determine the sound of *Rome* as (Ruum). See *suprà* p. 98, last line, p. 101, line 1, p. 102, line 23. Dyce (ib.) quotes the same pun from Hawkins 1626, and from the tragedy of Nero 1607, and the rhyme *tomb*, *Rome* from Sylvester 1641. To these we may add Shakspeare's own rhymes: *Rome* doom RL 715 (1021). *Rome* groom RL 1644 (1029). Bullokar also writes (Ru'm). It is however certain that both pronunciations have been in use since the middle of the xviith century. (Ruum) may still be heard, but it is antiquated; in Shakspeare's time it was a fineness and an innovation, and it is therefore surprising that Bullokar adopted it.

sole soul TG 2, 3, 1 (26', 19). MV 4,

1, 29 (198, 123). RJ 1, 4, 5 (716',

15). JC 1, 1, 6 (764, 16). Possibly

both were called (sooul), see *suprà*

p. 755, and note 3. In his list of

errata Gill corrects his *öl*=(ool) to

öul=(ooul) in the word *gold* "idque

quoties occurrit, cum similibus föuld,

föuld, &c." It will be seen, however,

that (oo) often rhymes with (ou) in

Shakspeare.

so sew TG 3, 1, 88 (33, 307). "*Speed*.

Item: She can sew.—*Launce*. That's

as much as to say, can she so?"

This is a similar confusion of (oo, oou). When we consider that at present (oo, cou) are seldom distinguished, we cannot be surprised.

U, O, OO,

sum some MV 3, 2, 15 (194, 160).

2 H⁴ 2, 1, 27 (415', 78).

sun son KJ 2, 1, 100 (339, 499).

3 H⁶ 2, 1, 5 (532', 40). R³ 1, 3, 82 (563, 266).

done dun RJ 1, 4, 12 (717, 39).

cosen cousin MW 4, 5, 35 (63, 79).

H⁴ 1, 3, 39 (387, 254). R³ 4, 4, 61 (583, 222).

full fool LL 5, 2, 180 (155, 380). TC 5, 1, 6 (647, 10).

moody muddy RJ 3, 1, 4 (725, 14).

"*Mercutio*. Come, come, thou art as hot a Jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and as soon moved to be moody, and as soon moody to be moved." The first moody appears to be muddy. If so, this play on words corroborates the external testimony that Shakspeare's pronunciation of short *u* was (*u*). Compare: muddled in Fortune's mood, AW 5, 2, 1 (276, 4), and: muddy rascal 2 H⁴ 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), and see Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, *infra*, under U. too two R³ 4, 4, 109 (584', 363). too to MA 1, 1, 21 (111', 53).

I, U.

I aye T 4, 1, 54 (17, 219). "And I, thy Caliban, For aye thy foot-licker." The pun is not certain.

I ay eye TN 2, 5, 66 (291, 145). "*Malvolio*. And then I comes behind. *Fab*. Ay, an you had any eye behind you, you might, &c."—RJ 3, 2, 7 (727', 45). See *suprà* p. 112, l. 16-28.

nod-ay noddy TG 1, 1, 47 (22, 119).

"*Proteus*. But what said she?—*Speed* (*first nodding*). Ay.—*Proteus*. Nod-Ay—why that's noddy." This shews that the final -y was often (ai), as Gill makes it, and as it will be seen to rhyme most frequently (not always) in Shakspeare. The passage is quoted above in the text adopted in the Cambridge Shakspeare, where the stage direction is inserted. The first fo. reads: "*Proteus*. But

what said she?—*Speed*. I.—*Proteus*. Nod-I, why that's noddy." I and ay, are generally both written I in that edition.

Marry! mar-I. AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34).

"*Oliver*. What mar you, then?—*Orlando*. Marry, sir, I am helping you to mar that which, &c." Here the double sense is given, first the exclamation *Marry, sir!* and secondly by the answering question: *Mar I, sir?* See the pun on *marry! marry* *suprà* p. 923, c. 2.

hie high RJ 2, 5, 19 (724', 80). This is also a case of an omitted guttural, common in Shakspeare's rhymes.

I you=i u LL 5, 1, 22 (150', 57).

"*Armado*. Monsieur, are you not lettered?—*Moth*. Yes, yes; he teaches boys the horn-book. What is a, b, spelt backward, with the horn on his head?—*Holofernes*. Ba, pueritia, with a horn added.—*Moth*. Ba, most silly sheep with a horn. You hear his learning.—*Hol*. Quis, quis, thou consonant?—*Moth*. The third of the five vowels, if you repeat them; or the fifth, if I.—*Hol*. I will repeat them,—a, e, i.—*Moth*. The sheep: the other two concludes it,—o, u." Here the name of the vowel *i* is identified with the pronoun *I*, which presents no difficulty, and the name of the vowel *u* with the pronoun *you*, and perhaps the sheep *ewe*, the first of which is opposed to the pronunciation (yy), which all writers down to Wallis give to the French vowel, except Holyband, *suprà* p. 228, note, col. 2, l. 14. The pun is quite reconcilable with our modern pronunciation of *u*, *you*, *ewe*, but see the last two words in the vocabulary pp. 889, 910. It would perhaps be unwise to push this boy's joke too far. *Moth*'s wit, which did not scruple about adding on a consonant to convert *wittol* into *wit-old* in his next speech, might have been abundantly satisfied with calling the vowel (jyy). See, however, the rhymes on long *u*, *ue*, *ew*, *iew*, and *you*; and the observations on Shakspeare's pronunciation of long *u*, in the introduction to the specimen at the end of this section.

This examination of puns has not resulted in any real addition to our knowledge. It has confirmed the value of long *a*=(aa) or almost (aah) and quite distinct from (ee). It has rendered rather

doubtful the exact pronunciation of *ai*, making it probably the same as (ec) in three words, generally different from (ce), and occasionally approximating to (aa). It confirms the use of *ea*, *oa*, and of *öl* as (ooul). In the case of *mud*, it implies the general pronunciation of short *u* as (*u*). It confirms the identity of sound in *I*, *eye*, *aye*. It shews that long *i* and the pronoun *I* were identical, and that long *u* and the pronoun *you* were either identical or closely related. It is evident that without the external help we should have been little advanced.

SHAKSPEARE'S METRICAL PECULIARITIES.

My collections have not been made with sufficient care to give a full account of Shakspeare's metres, which would have also required more space than could be given to it in a work already overswollen. My attention has been chiefly directed to three points, and that only from the beginning of the Histories. These are, the number of measures in a line, the number of syllables in a measure, and the position of the accent in words. These are necessary to determine the existence of a dissyllabic pronunciation where a monosyllabic now prevails, (or, as it may be called by an inversion of the real process, of resolution,) and to understand the rhymes. All my shortcomings in this respect, however, will be abundantly made up by the third edition of the Rev. E. A. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*,¹ which was passing through the press at the same time as these sheets. I shall have to make frequent reference to the chapter on Prosody, but as the work is indispensable to all my readers, I shall merely give Mr. Abbott's results, and leave the proofs to be gathered from his own accessible pages. On much relating to rhythm and scansion of lines there is some divergence of opinion between Mr. Abbott and myself, owing to the very different points from which our observations and theories take their rise, but the instances which he has collected and classified, and the explanations which he has given, must be fully considered by any future writer on the subject.

I regret that I did not note the lines containing a defective first measure, as these had been made a special study in Chaucer's prologue. In the preface to the Cambridge Shakspeare, vol. i, p. xvii, the following are quoted:—

No, I will not, for it boots thee not. What? TG 1, 1, 9 (21, 28).

Fire, that's closest kept, burns most of all. TG 1, 2, 22 (22', 30).

Is't near dinner time? I would it were. TG 1, 2, 37 (23, 67).

Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since. T 1, 2, 14 (2', 53).

which, however, are none of them entirely satisfactory. In the

¹ A *Shakespearian Grammar*. An attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English. For the use of Schools. By E. A. Abbott, M.A., head master of the City of London School, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London (Macmillan), 8vo.

first edition, 1869, pp. 136. Revised and enlarged edition, 1870, pp. xxiv, 511. The Prosody, which only occupied 10 pages in the first edition, is expanded to 102 pages in the third. In the above text this 1870 edition will be cited as *Abb.*, with a number annexed referring to the section.

first case the editors have accidentally omitted to notice the final *what?* which renders the line entirely defective. If we read, *What not?* or *what boots not?* the line would have only a third place trissyllabic measure. Thus, italicising the even measures,

No, I *will not*, for it boots *thee not*. What boots not?

The numerous instances cited below of the dissyllabic use of *fire* and generally the syllabic value of *r*, renders the second and fourth instances incomplete. The objection raised by the editors "that one word should bear two pronunciations in one line is far more improbable than that the unaccented syllable before *twelve* is purposely omitted by the poet," is not tenable. The word *year* might be dissyllabic in both places, a trissyllabic fifth measure being not uncommon, and the use of the same termination sometimes as two distinct metrical syllables, and sometimes as part of a trissyllabic measure, is extremely common. We have it in two consecutive lines in

It is *religion* that doth make vows kept;

But thou hast sworn against *religion*. KJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).

Be *patient*, gentle queen, and I will stay.

Who can be *patient* in such extremes? 3 H^o 1, 1, 109 (528', 214).

In the third example, the simple resolution of *is't* into *is it*, by the editors in their text, saves the metre. In the second we might also read *that is*. And in the last example an initial '*Tis* may have dropped, as Pope suggests. These considerations serve to shew how cautious we must be, and how large a comparison of instances has to be made, before we can decide on such a point. It is from this feeling that I have thought it advisable to accumulate instances, and classify them as well as possible. Resolutions, trissyllabic measures in every place, real Alexandrines,¹ and lines with two superfluous syllables, are well established, by the following collections. Defective first measures have still to be traced.² The

¹ The line: *Ay*, and we are betrothed; nay more our marriage hour, TG 2, 4, 93 (28', 179), cited by the editors of the Cambridge Shakspeare as an instance of the "irregularity" of "a single strong syllable commencing a line complete without it," is a perfect Alexandrine, with the complete pause at the end of the third measure, and is so printed in their text. In the preface they put the *Ay* into a single line, and reduce the rest to five measures by reading *we're*. This instance is, however, complicated by the previous imperfect line: *But she loves you*, on to which the first words of this speech; *Ay*, and we are betrothed, might be joined, completing the verse. So that we really have one of those cases where "when a verse consists of two parts uttered by two speakers, the latter part is frequently the former part of

the following verse, being as it were, *amphibious*," Abb. 513; where numerous instances are cited. These sections belonging to two lines might be conveniently termed *amphistichs*. In this case, to consider "*Ay*, and we are betrothed," as an amphistich, would be to confirm the Alexandrine nature of the second part. The following instances, cited by Abb. ib., are then precisely similar; the amphistich is italicized. HOR. Of mine own eyes. MAR. *Is it not like the king?* HOR. As thou art to thyself. H 1, 1, 42 (812, 58). HAM. No, it is struck. HOR. *Indeed? I heard it not*: then it draws near the season. H 1, 4, 5 (816', 4).

² Then the whining schoolboy with his satchel AY 2, 7, 31 (214', 145), seems a clear instance, but in the Globe edition the editors of the Cambridge

whole subject of English metres requires reinvestigation on the basis of accent. The old names of measures borrowed from Latin prosodists are entirely misleading, and the routine scansion with the accent on alternate syllables is known only to grammarians, having never been practised by poets.¹

Miscellaneous Notes.

Noteworthy Usages.

a' = *he in serious verse* KJ 1, 1, 22 (333, 68) *Abb.* 402.

alderliest 2 H¹ 1, 1, 3, (496' 28).

atonement = *reconciliation* R³ 1, 3, 20 (560', 36).

chirrah = *sirrah* LL 5, 1, 10 (150', 35)

See *infra*. Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation under CII.

Tisick the deputy 2 H¹ 2, 4, 28 (419, 92). Put in the mouth of the Hostess this indicates a mere vulgarity, but Jones recognizes this pronunciation of *deputy* in 1700, and also *Cubid*. *Tisick* (*viz*:ik) for *phthisick* is still the rule.

fet = *fetched* H⁵ 3, 1, 1 (448', 18).

handkercher AY 4, 2, 22 (224, 98) in serious verse, recognized by Jones 1700.

it = *its* "go to it grandam, child" KJ 2, 1, 36 (336, 160), "it's had it head bit off by it young," KL 1, 4, 76 *song* (853', 237), *Abb.* 228.

Mytile-ne P 5, 3, 1 (998', 10). Generally *-lene* makes one syllable.

peat = *pet* TS 1, 1, 16 (232', 78).

Powles. We might as well push against *Powle's*, as stir'em H⁵ 5, 4, 4 (620, 16). See *suprà* p. 707, note on v. 509, the pronunciation is recognized by Butler 1630, Hodges 1643, English Schole 1687, Midge 1688, Jones 1700.

raught = *reached* H⁵ 4, 6, 4 (460', 21).

renying PP [18]. 7 (1055', 251), compare *renuges* AC 1, 1, 1 (911, 8),

Shakspeare have adopted Rowe's amendment, and read: And then the, &c. Mr. Abbot has shown that Shakspeare uses monosyllabic measures freely. The reader should study the passages cited in *Abb.* 479a-486. Although a disyllabic pronunciation is probable in many cases, as in *fear*, *dear*, and other words in *r* (*Abb.* 480), some other explanation of these monosyllables seems necessary in most instances.

¹ *Abb.* 452, assumes the ordinary theory, and in 453a, declares that the

evidently a misprint for *reneyes*, see *suprà* p. 282, l. 2.

Thee as predicate. I am not thee, Tim 4, 3, 72 (758, 277). The oldest example of this construction that I have noted. *Abb.* 213.

These sort. These set kind of fools TN 1, 5, 37 (284', 95), these kind of knaves I know KL 2, 2, 44 (857', 107). These are the oldest examples of this construction I have noted. *Abb.* does not note them.

Troilus. TC 1, 1, 1 (622', 5). In two syllables throughout the play, but always in three in Chaucer.

thou whoreson *zed*! thou unnecessary letter, KL 2, 2, 32 (857, 69). Here Johnson conjectures *C* for *zed*. The name *zed* and not *izzard* is noteworthy.

BT = T.

better debtor AY 2, 3, 10 (211', 75).

det = *debt* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 24).

debt Boycet LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 333).

dout = *doubt* LL 4, 1, 5, (150, 23).

doubt lout KJ 3, 1, 46 (342, 219).

Corruptions.

canaries = *quandaries* MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 61). Does this determine the position of the accent on the second syllable? See *suprà* p. 913, col. 1, l. 1.

rushling = *rustling* MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 68), shewing that same tendency to

accented syllable is by no means necessarily emphatic. Respecting my statement, *suprà* p. 334, l. 5, he says: "From an analysis of several tragic lines of Shakespeare, taken from different plays, I should say that rather less than one of three have the full number of five emphatic accents. About two out of three have four, and one out of fifteen has three." Another reader of the same lines might materially alter these ratios, so much depends upon the particular reader's own rhythmical feelings.

convert (s) into (sh) before a mute even when not initial that we find in vulgar German, (isht) for (ist), and Neapolitan (ashpet) for (aspetta).
Wheson week = *Whitsun week*, 2 H⁴ 2, 1, 32 (415', 96), *Wheson* quartos, *Whitson* folios. See below, Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation under I.

sculls = *schools* i.e. shoals, a presumption that u = (u) TC 5, 5, 4 (651', 22).

Syllabic French -e.

Speak it in French, king; say "*par-don-ne moi*" R¹ 5, 3, 39 (379', 119).

Have I not heard these islanders shout out "*Vi-ve le roi!*" as I have bank'd their towns KJ 5, 2, 5 (352', 104).

Rust, sword! cool, blushes! and *Paroll-es* live AW 4, 3, 121 (274', 373).
See several other instances *Abb.* 489.

Syllabic Genitive -es.

to shew his teeth as white as *whal-e's* bone LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 332).

Folios, except first, read *whale-his*.
Of *Mars-s*' fiery steed. To other

re-gions. AW 2, 3, 105 (264, 300)
Marses in Fo. 1623.

See cases of the omission of this syllable after -s, -se, -ss, -ce, -ge in *Abb.* 471.

Ache (suprà pp. 208, 912).

Dissyllabic Plural.

Fill all thy bones with *aches* make thee roar T 1, 2, 96 (5', 369).

Aches contract and starve your supple joints Tim 1, 1, 135 (743' 257').

Their fears of hostile strokes, their *aches*, losses Tim 5, 1, 68 (762, 202).

As we have *mistakes* a trissyllable, R² 3, 3, 4 (370', 9), these examples could not prove *ache* to have been (aats) without external authority; and both pronunciations (aats, aak) apparently prevailed.

Monosyllabic Plural.

That the sense *aches* at thee, would thou hadst ne'er been born. Oth 4, 2, 31, (902', 69).

Rhymes with -ake.

sake ache CE 3, 1, 33 (99, 56).
ache brake VA 875 (1011).

Unusual Position of Accents.

archbishop H⁸ 4, 1, 11 (612', 24).

advértis'd 3H⁶ 4, 5, 1 (547, 9), 5, 3, 4 (552, 18), TC 2, 2, 101 (632, 211).

See suprà p. 913. end of I.

aspéct H³ 3, 1, 1 (448', 9), R³ 1, 2, 64 (559', 155).

charâcters R³ 3, 1, 26 (571, 81), charâcter v. H 1, 3, 8 (815', 59), charâcter'd 2H⁶ 3, 1, 54 (510, 300),

charâctery JC 2, 1, 72 (772, 308).

commérce TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105), 3, 3, 35 (639', 205).

compâre s. TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 182).

cóplete R³ 4, 4, 46 (583, 189), TC 3, 3, 31 (639', 181).

cónfessor RJ 2, 6, 4 (725, 21), Edward Cónfessor H⁸ 4, 1, 34 (613, 88).

conjúr'd = *modern* cónjured RJ 2, 1, 7 (719', 26), cónjüre = *modern* conjüre M 4, 1, 15 (801', 50).

cónsigned TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).

contráry verb RJ 1, 5, 24 (718', 87)

contrâct s. AW 2, 3, 65 (263, 135),

H⁶ 3, 1, 41 (481, 143).

cornér 3H⁵ 4, 5, 4 (547', 6).

démonstrate Tim 1, 1, 38 (742, 91),

Oth 1, 1, 8 (879', 61).

détestable KJ 3, 4, 8 (344, 29), RJ 4, 5, 19 (735', 56), Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 33).

distinct TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).

dividable TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105).

émpiries AW 2, 1, 47 (260, 125).

exploits H⁵ 1, 2, 11 (441', 121).

fórlorn TA 2, 3, 30 (695', 153).

hórizon 3H⁶ 4, 7, 31 (549', 81).

implóraters H 1, 3, 24 (816', 129).

indulgence TC 2, 2, 99 (632, 178).

instinct R³ 2, 3, 20 (569', 42), C 5, 3, 3 (683', 35).

madám TA 1, 1, 13 (689', 121).

mánkind Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 40).

mervailions H⁵ 2, 1, 17 (443', 50).

óbscure TA 2, 3, 9 (695', 77).

Péntapólis P 5, 3, 1 (998', 4).

persévér CE 2, 2, 77 (93', 217), MN

3, 2, 47 (171', 237), AW 3, 7, 8

(270, 37), KJ 2, 1, 91 (338', 421),

H 1, 2, 16 (813', 92), P 4, 6, 47

(994', 113), persévérance TC 3, 3, 31

(639, 150). These agree with the

modern *séver, sévérence*, which doubt-

less influenced the older pronuncia-

tion, although not etymologically

related; the modern *persévère, perse-*

vérence, must have been introduced

by some Latinist, such as those who

now prefer *ini-quitous, inimi-cal*,

and were guilty of *cú-cumber*; but

when?

perspective AW 5, 3, 14 (277, 48).
 préceptés H⁵ 3, 3, 1 (450, 26).
 prescience TC 1, 3, 10 (627, 199).
 protést s. TC 3, 2, 49 (637, 182).
 réceptacle TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 92), RJ 4,
 3, 5 (734, 39).
 récordeur R³ 3, 7, 6 (576, 30).
 rélapse H⁵ 4, 3, 20 (459, 107).
 revénue MN 1, 1, 32 (162, 158), TC
 2, 2, 100 (632, 206), H 3, 2, 14
 (827, 63), revénue R³ 3, 7, 29 (577,
 157).
 royál R³ 1, 2, 88 (560, 245).
 séquester'd TA 2, 3, 9 (695, 75).
 siníster H⁵ 2, 4, 10 (447, 85).
 succéssors H⁵ 1, 1, 14 (593, 60).
 Thá-i-sa P 5, 1, 73 (997, 212), P 5, 3,
 1 (998, 4) compare the accent in
 Gower, *suprà* p. 265.
 toward *prep.* JU 1, 1, 35 (765, 85)
 toward froward TS 1, 1, 12 (232,
 68), *adj.* TS 5, 1, 89 (253, 182).
 triumph H⁵ 5, 3, 6 (406, 15), 5, 4, 6
 (407, 14), triámphing R³ 3, 4, 31
 (575, 91), triúmphe TA 1, 1, 22
 (690, 170), triúmph TA 1, 1, 24
 (670, 176 and 178), RJ 2, 6, 3
 (725, 10).

The following differences of accent are noted in *Abb.* 490-492. The query indicates doubt, or dissent from Mr. Abbott's conclusion respecting the position of accent, and some remarks are bracketted.

Accent nearer the end than with us :
 abjéct, accéss, aspéct, charácters, com-
 méndable, commérce, confiscaté, consórt,
 contráry s., contráct s., compáct s.,
 différent [C⁵ 5, 1, 19 (106, 6), proba-
 bly corrupt, the second and third folios
 read, "And *much much* différent from
 the man he was"], edict, effigies,
 envý s., oxile, instnct, intó, miséry
 [MV 4, 1, 76 (199, 272), undoubt-
 edly corrupt, the three later folios
 read, "Of such a misery doth she ent
 me off," but this correction is not satis-
 factory; the sense requires words like
 "from all such misery, etc." or "and all
 such, etc."; the "of" comes in strangely,
 and seems to have arisen from the final
 "oft"], nothing? obdúrate, oppórtu-
 nité, outráge, pérémptory [as Mr. Ab-

bott suggests, this accent is not needed
 for the scansion], porténts, préceptés,
 prescience, recórd [still so called in law
 courts], sepúlchre, siníster, sojóurn'd,
 something?, sweetheárt, triámphing,
 untó, welcómé, wherefóre. Words in
 -ised: advertised, chástised, canonized,
 authórizéd, solémnised and solémnized,
 [rather than make an exception, which
 is improbable, introduce a second tri-
 syllabic measure, and read: Straight
 shall our nupti-al rites *be solémnized*,
 MV 2, 9, 2 (190, 6).]

*Accent nearer the beginning than with
 us :* archbishop, cément s., compéll'd,
 cómplete, cónceal'd, cónduct, cónfessor,
 cóngeal'd, cónjure = entreat, cónsign'd,
 córrosive, délectable, détestable, dis-
 tinct, fórlorn, húmane, máintain, má-
 ture?, méthinks?, mútiners, mysélf?,
 Nórthampton, óbscure, óbservant, per-
 séver, perséptive, pioners, plébéians
 [the word is not frequent, it is certainly
 plébéians in H⁵ 5, ch. (463, 27), and
 TA 1, 1, 36 (690, 231), unless we read
 "Patrici-ans and pléb-éians we create,"
 the italics shewing a trissyllabic mea-
 sure; in C 1, 9, 1 (661, 7) I would
 rather read "That with the fusty *pleb-
 éians* hate thine honours," than "That
 with the fusty pléb-éians *hate* thine
 honours," the italics again shewing the
 trissyllabic measure; in C 3, 1, 53
 (669, 101), I read "Let them have
 cushions by you. You're plébéians,"
 and Mr. Abbott's scansion seems forced;
 again, "the senators and plébéians love
 him 'too,'" C 4, 7, 7 (681, 30), but
 AC 4, 12, 4 (936, 34) "And hoist thee
 up to the shouting plébéians," (unless
 we read *unto* with Keightley and make
 a trissyllabic measure: And hoist thee
 up unto the shouting *plébéians*.) and
 C 5, 4, 12 (685, 39) "The plébéians
 have got your fellow tribune," (which
 could be easily amended by adding *fast*,
 or *now*, or *there*, at the end of the line,
 in which case there would be a trissylla-
 bic first measure,) seem real cases; but
 they are the only ones in Shakspeare
 and, as we have seen, the reading may
 be faulty!], pársuit, párvveyor, quin-
 tessence, récordeur, rélapse?, rhéumatic,
 sécure, séquester'd, succéssor, succés-
 sive, towards, útensils?, without.

In this connection the following extracts from Gill's *Logonomia*, pp. 128-138, are valuable, though they are much injured by his confused notions of the difference between accent and quantity.

GILL ON ACCENT AND METRE.

Cap. XXV. *De Accentu.*

Vocum prosodia vsu potiùs quàm regulis percipitur: ea tota in accentu est. Accentus est duplex, Grammaticus, *et* Rhetoricus. Grammaticus est qua vocalis vna, aut diphthongus, in omni dictione affecta est. Rhetoricus, qui ad sensum animo altiùs infigendum, emfasin in vnâ voce habet potiùs quàm aliâ. Monosyllaba omnia per se accepta accentum acutum habere intelliguntur: at composita, nunc in priori tonum habent; vt, (nors'man, ship'hauk), nunc in posteriori; vt (withstand', withdraa', himself'). Quædam ita facilia sunt, vt accentum vtrobis recipiant, vt (tshurtsh'yard', out'run', out'raadzh').¹

Dissyllaba quæ oxytona sunt, (biliiv', asyyr', aswaadzh', enfoors', konstrain'): quæ paroxytona, vt (pit'i, kul'er, fol'ooou).

Trissyllaba quædam paroxytona sunt: vt, (regraat'er, biluv'ed, akwaint'ed); quædam proparoxytona; vt (miz'eri, des'teni): quædam indifferentia; vt, (foar'goo'ing, foar'staal'er).²

Animaduertendum autem nos tanto impetu in nounullis vocibus accentum retrahere, vt nulla syllabarum longitudo; naturâ aut positione facta contraheniat: idque non in nostris tantum (forester, karpenter): sed etiam in illis quæ doctuli à Latinis ascuerunt: vt, (AA'ditor, kompet'itor, kon'stansi, redzh'ister, tem'perans, in'stryment, mul'tityd). Hic autem duplici cautelâ opus: primâ, vt illa excipias quæ ad nos integra transierunt; quibus cû humanitate vtimur qua peregrinis, qui suo iure *et* more viuunt, vt (Amin'tas, Erin'nis, Barika'do). Secundò excipias illa à Latinis in io, quæ quanquam in nostrum ius concesserunt, proprium tamen accentum retinent in antepenultimâ; vt (opin'ion, satisfak'sion) et alia sic exeuntia (min'ion, fran'ion), etc.³

Plurisyllaba etiam (quod in alijs quas scio linguis non fit) accentum sæpius in quartâ recipiunt; vt (ok'yypei'er, vidzh'ilansi, lit'eratyrr): *et* omnia fere illa quæ in (muqger)⁴ exeunt aut (abl): vt (kos'terdmuqger, oï'ernmuqger, mar'tshantabl, mar'idzhabl, miz'erabl, on'orabl). mirum dixeris si tonum in quinta repereris, tamen sic lege (mul'tipliabl, vit'rifiabl, Kon'stantinopl), *et* alia fortasse plura.

Duo sunt quæ tonum variant: Differentia, *et* Numerus poeticus.

1. Differentia est, qua vox voci quodammodo opponitur: hæc accentum transfert in syllabam vulgariter accentuatâ præcedentem, vt (du

¹ Gill does not mark the position of the accent in these three words. In those subsequently cited he marks it by an acute on the vowel of the accented syllable, and neglects to distinguish long and short vowels in consequence, as he says in his errata: "Capite 25 et deinceps; accentuum notatio longarum vocalium quantitati veniam inueniet." I have, therefore, in my transcription restored the quantity, and replaced *i* by

j (=oi) and *u* by *v* (=yy), when it appeared necessary.

² Gill writes no accent marks in these two words.

³ The term *antepenultime* here determines the dissyllabic character of the termination *-ion* = (*-sion*) in Gill's mind.

⁴ Gill does not distinguish (muqger) from (muqer); my transliteration is, therefore, also an interpretation.

yuu taak mii roikht, or mis'taak mii?) sic (with'noould, un'thaqkful, dis'onestoi, dis'onorabl, dis'onorablai) etiam, et (un'meezyrablai); huc refer (dezert') meritum, et (dez'ert) desertum aut solitudo, etc. Numerus poeticus proparoxytonis in [i] saepe vltimam productam acuit, vt, (mizeroi', konstansoi', destnoi');¹ vnde etiam in prosâ ferè obtinuit, vt vltimâ vel longâ vel breui æqualiter scribantur, et pronuncientur, non acuantur tamen.

De Rhetorico accentu difficilius est iudicium; quia suum cuique est, et varium. Exemplo res meliùs intelligetur.

(Moi song, if an'i ask whuuz grii'vus plaint iz sutsh,
Dai, eer dhou let niz naam' bii knooun, niz fol'i shoouz tuu mutsh,
But, best weer dhii tu hoid', and never kum tu loikht:
For oon dhe erth' kan noon but oi', dhoin ak'sents sound aroikht'.)

Diximus monosyllaba omnia acui, hoc est accentu Grammatico: at in orationis contextu illis tantum vocibus est accentus oratorius, siue quædam toni ἐνέργεια, quibus sensus vis et ἐνέργεια inest: reliquæ omnes præ his quodammodo barytonæ habeantur. Ego igitur sic ista lego, vt versus primus vno tenore, et æqualis fluat. In secundo tribus voculis accinitur (dai, naam', fol'i): quia, ex sensu apparenti moriendum potius est carmini, quàm nomen auctoris indicandum; cui tanta stultitia malum est omen. At ex implicitâ Antanaclasi, sine diastola Τῶν (dai'), et (er, let dhou niz naam bi knooun Doi'er); etiam cum priori tepidius erit, et sine accentu oratorio offerendum. Duos sequentes versus licet ego sic legam, vt (hoid), et (nev'er) in priori accentum: (erth', ei), et (dhoin),² in posteriori: alius tamen fortasse aliter: idque cum bonâ vtrunque ratione. Atque hæc de accentu acuto Grammatico, et Oratorio, præcepta sunt. Granis ubique intelligitur, vbi alius non est accentus. Circumflexus [^] in alijs dialectis frequentius auditur quàm in communi; vbi tamen ea est aliquando vocis alienius prosodia, vt sensum mutet. Exemplo (oi am afraid' of him) i. metuo ab illo: (oi am afraid' of him). i. quid de illo futurum sit timea.

Accentui inseruiunt interpunctiones: quia illæ vt sensum aperiunt, ita quantum possunt accentui viam sternunt. Eædem sunt nobis quæ Latinis, et vsus idem: sunt autem Κόμμα siue incisum [,], Ὑποδιαστολή aut subdistinctio [;], Κῶλον siue membrum [:], Περίοδος siue sententiæ et sensus integra complexio [.] His adijunge interrogationis notam [?] et exclamationis [!]. Παρενθέσει (scientibus loquor) nihil includi debet quod cum vllâ

¹ The accent is not written here, but is inferred from the context. Observe that we had (des'ten) a little above.

² Erroneously printed (doin).

³ Gill writes *afraid*, *afraid*. He had long previously explained *á* to mean (AA), and hence I have thus interpreted the sign, but the interpretation is probably incorrect. He has nowhere given a physiological description of the

effects which he means to indicate by the old Latin terms, acute, grave, and circumflex, which were perhaps in Latin the rising, the falling, and the rising and falling inflections, (. . .) supra p. 12, but there is no reason to suppose that he had in view anything but *stress* for acute, its absence for grave, and a broadening i.e. opening or rounding or else excessive lengthening of the vowels for the circumflex.

voce in reliquâ orationis serie syntaxin habet: at Ὑποπαρενθέσει [ι̇]¹ illud quod abesse quidem potest, sed cum aliâ aliqua sententiæ voce construitur.

Exemplum.

(Dhe best (said n̄i)² dhat ei kan yuu adveiz
Iz tu avoid· dh- okaa'zion of dhe ñl,
Dhe kAAZ remuuv'ed whens dh- iivl duthi araiz·
{ As suun it mai } dh- efekt· sursees·th st̄l.)

Huc accedit Ἀπόστροφος in (dh- efekt'),³ et in vocibus compositis Ὑφ̄η siue maccaf [-] vt (hart-eeting griif). Et vltimò (si tu concedas (lector) in Διαρέσει, Διαστολή [-] in συναιρέσει, Ἀρπη [-] vt in (okaa'zion) trissyllabâ;⁴ sed his et Ὑποπαρενθέσει in vsu frequenti, locus rarò conceditur.

Cap. xxvi. *De Metro.*

Metrum apud nos largè acceptum, aliquando significat ipsa in carmine omiooteleuta: nonnunquam ponitur pro omni oratione adstricta numeris; sic enim metrum, et prosam opponimus. Sed hîc pro omni mensurâ syllabæ, pedis, metri propriè dicti, et carminis vsurpo.

De Syllaba.

Syllabarum quantitas septem modis agnoscitur. 1. Vocali. 2. Diphthongo. 3. Accentu. 4. Positione. 5. Derivatione. 6. Præpositione. 7. Metaplasmo.

1. Vocalis et 2. Diphthongus.

Satis aparuit in grammaticâ, quæ syllaba longa aut brevis censi debet, ex vocalibus, quas longas aut breves esse diximus: 1. Poetæ tamen illa in (ei) desinentia licenter corripunt; quia in fluxu orationis accentus in pròpinquâ syllabâ eius longitudinem absorbet. At si syllaba accentu vîlo grammatico, vel rhetorico afficiatur, non corripitur; vt, (m̄i moni) - - - .

2. (Yy) in fine anceps est; vt (nyy, tryy):⁵ at consonâ in eâdem voce monosyllabâ sequente, longa est; vt, (syyr,⁶ pyyr). sic in dissyllabis, si accentum habeat: vt, (manyyr', refyyz') verbum: at accentus in priori, ultimam ancipitem relinquit; vt, in (refyyz, refyz)⁷ subst. 3. Vocalis, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem non cor-

¹ This is a sign not otherwise noticed, probably of Dr. Gill's own coinage, for the printer had clearly to "make" the mark, the first time from (and ;, the second time, in the example, from j and ;.

² The original has "(Dhe (best said n̄i) dhat), etc., where the parenthesis is clearly incorrectly put.

³ Gill prints Ὑ'efekt.

⁴ Gill seems to intend to say that (okaa'zion), which is really of four syllables, here reckons as three, from

the rapidity with which (i) is pronounced. See infra, p. 937, n. 1.

⁵ This vowel being represented by y in Gill never has the mark of prolongation placed over it; hence it has been uniformly transliterated (yy). A pure (y) in closed syllables does not seem to have occurred in English of so late a date.

⁶ Observe, an (s) not an (sh), and see *suitor*, supra, pp. 215, 922.

⁷ The word is only written once *réfyz* in Gill, but is repeated here to exhibit the "doubtful" quantity.

ripitur necessariò ut apud Latinos. Sed contrà, vocalis longa, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem semper producitur, si in se accentum habeat, vt (denoi'ing, displai'ed).¹ 4. Vocalis, aut Diphthongus per synalœpham licentiâ poeticâ nonnunquam intercipitur: sed frequentissimè intercidit (u), in (tu) datiu *et* infinitiu signo; *et* (e), in articulo (dhe), tamen non semper. in (Dhou) ante (art) diphthongus sæpe deficit.²

3. Accentus.

Omnis syllaba, accentum acutum habens aut circumflexum, longa est: idque maxime si syllaba dictionis prima, non sit. Nam prima naturâ suâ brevis, accentum sæpe admittit, vt (go'ing, du'ing, au'ri, spir'it, bod'i), quæ etiamsi ex vocali breues esse intelligantur, accentu tamen subinde communes fiunt vt in illo Choriamb (Laa'di, ladii').³

2. In trissyllabis etiam, acutus in breui ante liquidam, syllabam aliquando ancepitern facit, vt in (mal'adoi, sém'on'i, dzhen'eral, ben'efit').⁴

3. Vocalis brevis in vltimâ, ante duplicem, aut etiam ante solam liquidam, accentu anceps fit. Vt (beg'in', dist'it', defer', prolog'). Idipsum etiam in monosyllabis accentu acutissimis fiet; vt, (aks', dzhudzh', fel', sín', soq', war', dzhar'). Quam formam quædam etiam ante mutam sequuntur; vt, (bud') gemma, (but') meta.

4. Omnis syllaba ante accentuatam brevis est: vt, (dezoir', abroo'ad (?), aban'don, devoi'ded, divo'in'loi, béliiv'ing, preven'ted): nisi obstet natura; vt, in (foorgo'ing, foorspee'king); aut positio, vt, (forgot'n forgiv'iq). Sed hic tantum valet accentus, vt in multis duplicatis alteram elidat, vt, (atend', apiir'iq, opoo'zed, adres'ed); pro (attend; appiir'iq, oppoo'zed, addres'ed): Sed vt consonam elidat vel non, poetæ in medio relinquunt.

5. Syllabæ quæ solis constant consonantibus, quia accentum nunquam recipiunt, breues iudicantur; vt, (sad'l, trub'l, moist'n).

6. Accentus Rhetoricus longas præcedentes sæpenumero corripit: vt, (If yi bi Aal thii'vz, what hoop hav ei?) vbi vocales naturâ longæ in (yii, bii, haav) ratione accentuum in⁵ (Aal) *et* (ei) correptæ sunt.

4. Positio.

In diuersis dictionibus positio sæpe valet vt apud Latinos, in eadem dictione, accentus positioni præualet; ita vt in trissyllabis,

¹ As Gill could not have used the word diphthong in the sense of digraph, more especially because he represents the (ai) in the first word by a simple sign *j*, we have here a confirmation of the theory that he pronounced his *ai* as a diphthong (ai), and not as a simple vowel (ee).

² This implies the pronunciation of *thou'rt* as (dhart) and not (dhourt).

³ No accent marked in Gill. The assumption of the choriamb - ' - ' - ,

shews that the accents were intended as I have placed them. This passage should have been referred to suprâ p. 281, l. 34.

⁴ The exact meaning of this passage is doubtful, owing to the constant confusion of accent and quantity in Dr. Gill's mind, while he attempts to separate them.

⁵ Misprinted *in*, as if it were one of the English words, being put into a different type.

accentus in primâ sonorâ naturâ aut positione longâ, abbreviet utrasque sequentes; vt, in (Tshes·tertun, Wîm·bldun). Nec quisquam, qui Anglicè nouit, negare audebit (T'en·terden stîr·pl) esse carmen Adonicum. nam hic adeo violentus est accentus, vt etiam in diuersis dictionibus positionem auferat. Idipsum affirmabis, si Sussexios audias in (WAA·terdoun for·rest).¹ Adeo clarus est accentus in primo trissyllabo, licet positione non eleuetur. Hic tamen cautelâ opus, nam si ad positionem (l, n) vel (q) concurrat, media syllaba producit: vt (Sem·pîqam, Trum·pîqtun, Ab·îqton, Wîm·undam, Wîl·fulnes) etc.² Quod dixi apparebit exemplo.

(What if a daai, or a munth, or a jeer) hemistichium est, duobus constans dactylis, et choriambo, nemo dubitat. (Soo it befel· on a Pen·tekost dai). Nec quisquam hic magnopere hæret, nisi quod particula (it) tardius sequi videtur ob positionem: at Metaplasmo occidentali (ivel·) pro (bifel·) nihil occurrit rotundius; nam positio illa in (kost), nullo modo tempus retardat propter accentum in (Pen). Positio aliàs valet ad Longitudinem; vt, (Gîlz·land, Lon·don, har·vest).

5. Deriuatio.

Deriuatiua eandem cum primitiuis quantitatem plerumque sortiuntur; vt, (dai, dai·iq; dezair, dezair·ed; profaan·, profaan·loi). Excepiuntur illa, quæ à longis enata, vocalem naturâ longam corripunt; vt, a (mair·zer, mîz·erabl, mîz·eri): Et anomala coniugationis primæ, quæ figuratiuam comutant: vt, à (reed, red); à (sweet, swet); à (wroit, writ; stroik, strîk), etc. His adde vnum tertiæ (dun, did). Secundo excepiuntur illa à peregrinis deducta, quibus syllabarum quantitas naturâ, positione, aut accentu mutatur; vt à noto as, (tu noot·ei),³ à magnifico (tu mag·nîfoi), à potens, (poo·tent) etc. At (im·potent, omnî·otent), suam naturam sequuntur: quod etiam in alijs fortè pluribus obseruabis.

6. Præpositio.

Præpositiones inseparabiles (a, bi, re), etiam (un, dîs, mîs) si positio sinat, corripuntur. Reliquarum omnium quantitas ex suis vocalibus satis intelligitur.

7. Metaplasmus.

Est, quum necessitatis, aut iucunditatis gratia, syllaba, aut dictio à formâ propriâ in aliam mutatur. Huc refer omnes antedictas dialectos præter communem. Et licet omnis Metaplasmus ad syllabarum quantitatem agnoscendam non sit utilis: tamen quia plurimæ eius species hic multum possunt, eas omnes simul explicabimus.

¹ Written *Wâterdoun*, the first vowel probably stands for *æ* = (AA·) in Gill's notation.

² In the vocabulary I have introduced a second accent mark thus (Sem·pîq·

am), to represent this presumed lengthening.

³ There seems to be some misprint here; the original is followed literally, with the exception of the accents, which were not marked.

Prothesis apponit caput id quod Aphæresis aufert:

vt, (aroikht; emmuuv): pro (roikht, muuv): *et* eleganti imitatione Latinæ compositionis, (efraid'), pro (fraid. ven'dzher), pro (aven'dzher).

Syncope de medio tollit, quod Epenthesis infert.

vt, (hum'bles, whuuve'er), pro (hum'blnes), *et* (whuusoev'er); (er'rand) pro (ee'rand).

Aufert Apocope finem, quem dat Paragoge.

vt, (What ei dhe bet fordhoi') Spens. pro (bet'er, tel'en) *et* (displee'zen), Chauser pro (tel, displeez')

Consonam vt Ecchipsis, vocalem aufert Synalæpha.

Exempla.

(Faam with abundans maak'eth a man threis blessed an hap'pi)
pro (and hap'pi).

(First, let Simmer'ian dark'nes bi mi oon'l- habita'sion)¹
pro (oon'lei).

Systola longa rapit, breuiata Diastola longat.

vt, Sidn. (un'tu Kyypid dhat buoi shal a pedan'te bi found:) ubi prima in (pedan'te) à παιδός corripitur.

Diastola *Taois, Εκτασις* siue extensio dicitur. Exemplum reperies apud eundem Sidneium.

(Dhat bai a bod'i it gooz, sins bai a bod'i it iz.)

vbi ex (bod'i) perichio, trocheum facit contra quam eius natura pati potest, Rectius ille in speculo Tuscanismi.

(:Aal gal'ant vir'tyyz, Aal kwal'litiz of bod'i and sooul.)²

Plus satis huiusmodi exemplorum inuenies apud Stanihurstum, *et* alios.

(Sins mai nooz out'peek'iq (gud Sir) yuur lip'labor hin'dreth).

Neque enim verum est quod scribit quidam, Syllabarum regnum illis concessum, qui primi suo exemplo illarum quantitatem definirent: Syllabæ enim naturâ suâ; id est, cuiuscunque linguae idiomate, aut longæ sunt, aut breues, aut indifferentes, vteunque mali poetæ illarum quantitate abutuntur.

Syllaba de binis confecta, Synæresis extat.

Vsitatissimus est hic metaplasmus in verbalibus passivis in (ed); vt, (luv-d) pro (luv'ed) *et* vbique alias; vt (ev'-roi) pro (ev'eroi); whatsoev'er, okaa'zion), trissyllabis.³ Neque in vñ tantum dictione synæresis est, sed etiam in diuersis; vt (Is-t not inukh')?

¹ These are accentual hexameters, the author not named. Hence the final (-sion) of (habita'sion) reckons as a single syllable. Compare supra p. 934, note 4.

² This requires much forcing of the stress to make an accentual hexameter, thus: (:Aal gal'ant vir'tyyz, Aal kwal'litiz of bod'i and sooul). Gill doubles the (l) in (kwal'litiz) to make "position."

³ Probably (whatsever, okaa'zion), but the actual "synæresis" is not written. There can be no thought of (okaa'zhon), which was probably never used, the (aa) having changed to (ee) before (z) was reduced to (zh). The pronunciation (whatsever) is quite conjectural, as there is no authority for it. The hyphens represent Gill's apostrophes.

pro (iz it not), *et* in communi loquendi formulâ pro (much gud du-t yuu) pro (du it).¹ Sic (wast, for-t, whuuz deer²) pro (waz it, for it, whuu iz deer²).

Διαίρεσις siue *Διάλυσις*.

Dicitur in binas separare Diaeresis vnam.

Vt Sp. (wuund'es, kloud'es, hand'es); pro (wuundz, kloudz, handz.) Huic cognata est.

Τμήσις, Διακοπή, siue Intercisio.

Dat Tmesin partes in binas dictio secta.

vt (Tu us ward) pro (toward' us.)

Μετάθεσις.

Fit Meta ritè thesis, si transponas elementa.

Vt (vouched saaf), pro (vouch'saaf'ed). Spen: (Loom whæil) pro (whæiloom')

Αντίθεσις, melius *Αντίστοιχον*.

Est Antistæchon tibi litera si varietur.

Spens. (foon, ein, hond, lond) pro (fooz, eiz, hand, land.) hunc referre potes illa tertiæ personæ Indicatiui præsentis in (s, z, ez) pro (eth): vt (hii speaks, luvz, teeche'ez); pro (speek'eth, luv'eth, teeche'eth). In quibus non tantum est Antistæchon sed *et* synæresis

Ista Metaplasmmum communi nomine dicas.

Quæ dixi de quantitate syllabarum, ita abhorrere videbuntur ab auribus illorum qui ad Latinam prosodiam assueuerunt, vt mihi nunquam satis cauuisse, illos satis admonuisse possim. Sed si syllaba breuis vnius temporis concedatur, longa duorum; ego veritatem appello indicem, auresque musicorum testes: his causam omnem permitto. Ipsos autem, qui me iudicio postulauerint, adhortor, vt meminerint quàm multa Latini à Græcis discesserunt Atque, vt mittam significationem, genus, syntaxin alicubi; in prosodiâ toto cælo aberrarunt, omega vix productam in ambo; *et* ego, *et* Noster Apollo veta. Sed quia de his paulò fusiùs dicendum est postea,³ in presens missa facio.

¹ See suprâ p. 165, l. 24, and p. 744, note 2. "The tendency to contractions [in the Lancashire dialect] is very great, rendering some sentences unintelligible to a 'foreigner.' *Luthee* proo (look thee, pray you): *mitsh goodeetoo* (much good may it do you)." *Folk-Song and Folk-Speech of Lancashire*, by W. E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L., page 69. In a private letter Mr. Axon informs me that these phrases are pronounced, (ludh'i prii'u; mitsh gud'it'u) the last (ii) being long but unaccented. In the north (dii) is very common for (duu), so that the analysis of the words is (mitsh gud-dee-it-u). (Ludh'i) is also heard in Yorkshire.

² Probably a misprint for (dheer) in both cases.

³ This refers to "Cap. xxvii., Carmen Rhythmicum," which would have been interesting, had not Dr. Gill's utter confusion of accent and quantity rendered it entirely worthless. Thus speaking of heroic and Alexandrine verses he says: "Scenicum, *et* Epicum, vno ferè carminis genere contenta sunt: illud est vt plurimum pentametrum. Spenceri tamen Epicum, siue Heroicum, nonum quemque versum habet hexametrum: ad gravitatem, *et* quandam stationis firmitudinem. In scenico, poetæ malè negligunt *δμοιοτέλευτα*, quæ in Epico continuasunt." &c., p. 142. In Cap. xxviii., Dr. Gill treats "De Carminibus ad numeros Latinorum poetarum compositis."

Pedos, quibus Anglica poesis ytitur, sunt dissyllabi tres; spondeus - - , trocheus - - , iambus, - - . Trissyllabi quinque; tribrachus - - , molossus - - , dactylus - - , anapæstus - - , amphimaerus - - . Tetra syllabos tantum duos animaduerti: quorum vnus est pæon quartus - - , alter choriambus - - .

CONTRACTED WORDS.

The following list is taken from *Abb.* 460-473. All omitted syllables are here inserted in parentheses. A star * prefixed, shews that this contraction is acknowledged either in the same or a similar word, by Jones 1701, and will be found in the Vocabulary of the xviiith century to be given in Chapter IX. When † is prefixed, the instance is not from Shakspeare himself. A subjoined (?) indicates that the passage cited in proof does not appear decisive.

Prefixed dropped. — *(em)boldened, *(a)bove, *(a)bout, (up)braid, †(re)call, (be)came, (be)cause, (con)cerns, (de)cide, (re)cital, †(re)collect, (be)come?, (en)couraging, *(ac)count, *(en)dear(o)d, (be)fall, (be)friend, (a)gain(st)-giving, (mis)gave?, (be)get, (a)gree, (be)haviour, (en)joy, *(a)larum, (a)las, (be)lated, (un)less, (be)longs, (be)longing, *(a)miss, *(a)mong, (be)nighted, *(a)nointed, *(an)noyance, (im)pairs, *(im)pale, *(ap)parel, (com)plain, (en)raged, *(ar)ray, *(ar)rested, *(as)sayed, *(e)scape, (ek)scuse = excuse, (in)stalled, †(fore)stalled?, *(a)stonished, (de)stroyed, *(at)tend, (re)turn, *(al)lotted, un(re)sisting?, (be)ware, (en)vironed, (re)course, (re)venge. In some cases, where the contraction is not written, Mr. Abbott assumes it, although the use of a trissyllabic measure would render it unnecessary.

Other contractions. — Barthol(o)mew, Ha(ve)rford, †dis(c)i(ple), ignom(in)y, †gen(tle)man, gentil(e)man, gent(le), †eas(i)ly, par(i)lous = perilous, inter(ro)gatories, can(dle)stick, †mar(ve)lle, †whe(th)er, God b(e with) ye, see *supra* p. 773, in (hi)s, th(ou) wert, you (we)re, h(e) were, y(ou) are, she (we)re. In these five last cases, notwithstanding the orthography, the sound may have been, (dhou-rt, juu-r, xii-r, juu-r, shii-r). But in the passage cited for *she (we)re*, "Twere good *she were spoken* with: for she may strew," H 4, 5, 5 (836, 14), the trissyllabic measure, which would be naturally introduced by any modern reader, obviates all difficulties. Similarly in the passages cited for *this = this is*, a trissyllabic measure removes all difficulties. Mr. Abbot says (461),

"it (this contraction) is at all events as early as Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 233." On referring to the six-text edition, v. 1091, we find three MS. (Hengwrt, Cambridge, Lansdowne,) to which we may add *Harleian*, reading in various spellings, "We mote endure it this is the schort and playn," where we may either contract "endure't," or make it *the schort* a trissyllabic measure; but the *Ellesmere* MS. omits *it*, which seems the best reading, as the *it* is clearly superfluous, and the *Corpus* and *Petworth* omit *the*, which is not so commendable. Hence it is by no means clear that Chaucer ever said *this* for *this is*. Relying on the provincialism 'se, 's for *shall*, in KL 4, 6, 85 (873, 246), and *Lady Capulet's thou's* for *thou shalt*, which was evidently an accommodation of her language to the nurse's, RJ 1, 3, 6 (715, 9), Mr. Abbott would avoid several trissyllabic measures, by reading *I'se* for *I shall*, but this does not seem advisable. Wi(th), †w(i)th us, †w(i)th ye, were probably (wi, wi'us, wi'ri). To these he adds d(o)off, d(o)on, d(o)out, proba(b)le(e).

Words contracted in pronunciation. — *Abb.* 462, desirous of limiting the use of trissyllabic measures and Alexandrine verses as much as possible, suggests many elisions which often appear doubtful, and are certainly, for the most part, unnecessary. A grammarian who would count the syllables of Italian or Spanish verses on his fingers, would be led to conclude that final vowels were always elided before initial vowels, and that frequently a whole word, consisting of a single vowel, was lost in pronunciation. Turning to the musical setting of Italian words, and seeing only one

note written for the two or three vowels which thus come together, he would be strengthened in this opinion. But if he listens to an Italian singing or declaiming, he would find all the vowels pronounced, sometimes diphthongizing, but, as a rule, distinctly audible, without any connecting glide. Such open vowels are, however, generally pronounced with extreme rapidity, and perhaps this is what Mr. Abbott means by "softening," a term which he frequently uses in a manner phonetically unintelligible to me, thus: "R frequently *softens or destroys* a following vowel, the vowel being *nearly lost* in the burr which follows the effort to pronounce the *r*," *Abb.* 463, as alar(u)m, warr(a)nt, flour(i)shing, nour(i)sh, barr(e)ls, barr(e)n, spir(i)t; "R often *softens* a preceding unaccented vowel," *Abb.* 464, as confed(e)rates; "Er, El, and Le final *dropped or softened*, especially before vowels and silent *h*," *Abb.* 465. "*Whether and ever* are frequently written or pronounced *wh'er* or *where* and *e'er*. Tho *th* is also *softened* in *either, hither, other, father*, etc., and the *v* in *having, civil*, etc. It is impossible to tell in many of these cases *what degree of 'softening'* takes place. In '*other*,' for instance, the *th* is *so completely dropped* that it has become our ordinary '*or*' which we use without thought of contraction. So '*whether*' is often written '*wh'er*' in Shakespeare, *Some, but it is impossible to say what, degree of 'softening,'* though not expressed in writing, seems to have affected *th* in the following words, *brother, either, further, hither, neither, rather, thither, whether, whither, having*," *Abb.* 466, where he cites instances, which might certainly all have been used by a modern poet who naturally speaks the words dissyllabically. A few words as *or, ill, e'er*, have established themselves. It is impossible to say what liberty of contraction or change the xvth century poets allowed themselves in verse. "*I* in the middle of a trissyllable, if unaccented, is frequently dropped, or *so nearly dropped* as to make it a favourite syllable in trissyllabic feet," *Abb.* 467, where he cites, *punishment, cardinal,*

willingly, languishing, fantastical, residue, promising;—easily, prettily;—hostility, amity, quality, civility;—officer, mariners, ladyship, beautiful, flourishes, par(i)lous. "Any unaccented syllable of a polysyllable (whether containing *i* or any other vowel) may sometimes be *softened and almost ignored*," *Abb.* 468, as *barbarous, company, remedy, implements, enemy, messengers, passenger, conference, majesty* "a quasi-dissyllable," *necessary, sacrificers, innocent, inventory, sanctuary, unnatural, speculative, incredulous, instruments.* It is hardly conceivable that these vowels were habitually omitted in solemn speech. *Abb.* 469, thus explains the apparent docking of a syllable in proper names. *Abb.* 470, makes *power, jewel, lower, doing, going, dying, playing, prowess, etc.*, frequently monosyllables or "quasi-monosyllables." *Abb.* 471, remarks that "the plural and possessive cases of nouns in which the singular ends in *s, sc, ss, ee*, and *ge* are frequently written, and still more frequently pronounced, without the additional syllable," but his instances of plurals are not convincing. We know that *-ed* after *t, d*, was often lost in olden time, as we now say *it hurt* for *it hurted*, but the instances cited in *Abb.* 472, by no means establish its general omission, or indeed its necessary omission in those very cases. Compare, however, *Abb.* 342.—Final *-ed*, as we see from Gill, was so regularly pronounced, that we should always rather keep than omit it, although Gill allows it to be frequently elided (*suprà* p. 937, l. 35), and *Abb.* 474, shews that it was often omitted and pronounced in the same line. "*Est* in superlatives is often pronounced *st* after dentals and liquids. A similar euphonic contraction with respect to *est* in verbs is found in Early English. Thus '*bindest*' becomes '*binst*,' '*catet*' becomes '*est*.' Our '*best*' is a contraction for '*bet-est*,'" *Abb.* 473, where he cites, *sweet'st, kind'st, stern'st, secret'st, eld'st, dear'st, loyal'st, great'st, near'st, unpleasant'st, strong'st, short'st, common'st, faithfull'st, farant'st.*

TRISSYLLABIC MEASURES.

Unmistakeable trissyllabic measures occur in each of the five places, and occasionally two or even three occur in a single line. The complete lines are quoted and the trissyllabic measures are

italicised. As Mr. Abbott seeks to explain away many of these examples by contractions and softening, I have added the reference to his book wherever he cites the example. But it will be seen that he has not noticed many of these instances.

First Measure Trissyllabic.

Barren winter with his wrathful nipping cold 2 H⁶ 2, 4, 1 (506', 3), *Abb.* 463.

Having God, her conscience, and these bars against me R³ 1, 2, 88 (560, 235), *Abb.* 466

I beseech your graces both to pardon her R³ 1, 1, 10 (557, 84), *Abb.* 456.

Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I tell thee, fellow R³ 1, 1, 13 (557, 98).

By your power legatine within this kingdom H⁶ 3, 2, 91 (611, 339).

In election for the Roman empery TA 1, 1, 3 (688', 22).

Second Measure Trissyllabic.

When *capital crimes*, chew'd, swallow'd, and digested H⁶ 2, 2, 18 (445, 56).

Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did reign H⁶ 2, 5, 11 (479', 83).

A *cockatrice* *hast* thou hatch-ed to the world R³ 4, 1, 19 (579, 55). This seems more probable than the pronunciation of *hatch'd* as one syllable, throwing an emphasis on *thou*. The folio, however, reads *hatcht*.

That would I learn of you, As one *that are best* acquainted with her humour R³ 4, 4, 79 (584, 269). Observe the construction, *you as one that are*.

Be chosen *with* proclamati-ons to-day TA 1, 1, 25 (690, 190), *Abb.* 479.

Third Measure Trissyllabic.

[This is by far the most common and most musical position of the trissyllabic measure.]

Crouch for employment. *But* pardon, gentles all. H⁶ 1, prol. (439, 8).

Appear before us? *We'll yet* enlarge that man H⁶ 2, 2, 18 (445, 56).

These English monsters! *My Lord* of Cambridge here H⁶ 2, 2, 26 (445', 85).

Save ceremony, *save* general ceremony H⁶ 4, 1, 67 (457, 256).

And then we'll try *what these* dastard Frenchmen dare H⁶ 1, 4, 17 (474', 111).

Myself had notice of *your* convénticles. [Or else: *Myself* had notice of *your* convénticles] 2 H⁶ 3, 1, 25 (509, 166).

To prove him tyrant *this* reason may suffice 3 H⁶ 3, 3, 18 (542', 71).

Look, therefore, *Lewis*, *that* by this league and marriage 3 H⁶ 3, 3, 18 (542', 74).

The common people *by* numbers swarm to us 3 H⁶ 4, 2, 1 (545', 2).

I did not kill thy husband. *Why* then he is alive R³ 1, 2, 22 (558, 92).

I have already. *Tush*, *that* was in thy rage R³ 1, 2, 67 (559', 188).

Madam, we did; *he* desires to make atonement R³ 1, 3, 20 (560', 35).

My lord, good morrow! *Good* morrow, Ca-tes-by R³ 3, 2, 28 (573, 76).

At any time *have* recourse unto the princes R² 3, 5, 26 (576, 109), *Abb.* 460.

Thy back is sacrifice to the load. They say H⁶ 1, 2, 10 (595', 50).

The gentleman is learn'd, *and* a most rare speaker H⁶ 1, 2, 18 (596, 111).

Melt and lament for her. *O!* God's will! much better H⁶ 2, 3, 2 (602', 12).

Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin H⁶ 3, 2, 87 (611, 325).

Quite from their fixure. *O* when degree is shaken TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 101), *Abb.* 343, in reference to *shaked*.

To doubtful fortunes: *sequestering* from me all TC 3, 3, 1 (633, 8). As *sequester* occurs, *suprà* p. 931, this might be possibly, though harshly, read: To doubtful fortunes *séquestering* from me all, pronouncing (sek'striq).

Did buy each other, *must* poorly sell ourselves TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 42).

Of dreaded justice, *but* on the ministers C 3, 3, 47 (674', 98).

Than gilt his trophy: *the* breasts of Hecuba C 1, 3, 8 (657', 43).

The graves stood tenantless *and* the sheeted dead H 1, 1, 50 (812', 115), *Abb.* 468, cited in the index only, as explained by that article, see *suprà* p. 940, col. 2.

As of a father: *for* let the world take note H 1, 2, 16 (814, 108).

My father's brother, *but* no more like my father H 1, 2, 20 (814, 152).

Been thus encounter'd. *A* figure like your father H 1, 2, 43 (814', 199).

To hang a doubt on: *or* woe upon thy life Oth 3, 3, 130 (896, 366).

As Dian's visage is now begrim'd or
black Oth 3, 3, 135 (396, 387).
Comfort forswear me! Unkindness may
do much Oth 4, 2, 74 (903, 159).

Fourth Measure Trissyllabic.

Shall not be wink'd at, how *shall we*
stretch our eye H³ 2, 2, 18 (445, 55).
Which haply by much company might
be urged R³ 2, 2, 38 (569, 137).
Then is he more beholding to you than I
R³ 3, 1, 40 (571, 107).
I was then present, saw *them salute* on
horseback H³ 1, 1, 4 (592, 8).
Were hid against me, now to *forgive*
me frankly H³ 2, 1, 28 (600, 81).
Deliver this with modesty to the queen
H³ 2, 2, 48 (602, 136).
To see the battle. Hec³tor, *whose*
patience TC 1, 2, 4 (623, 4).
Co-rivall'd greatness. *Either to har-*
bour fled TC 1, 3, 2 (626, 44).
Let me not think on't—Frailty, *thy*
name is woman H 1, 2, 20 (814, 146).
This hideous rashness, *answer my life*,
my judgment KL 1, 1, 40 (848, 153),
Abb. 364, cited in the index only, to
explain the subjunctive mood.
On thy too ready hearing? *Disloyal!*
No Cy 3, 2, 1 (956, 6).

Fifth Measure Trissyllabic.

The citizens are mum, and speak *not a*
word R³ 3, 7, 2 (576, 3).
Put in their hands thy bruising irons of
wrath R³ 5, 3, 35 (588, 110).
Turns what he list. The king will
know *him one day*.
Pray God he do! he'll never know
himself else H³ 2, 2, 9 (601, 22).
Or maid it not mine too? Or which of
your friends H³ 2, 4, 9 (604, 29).
However, yet there is no breach; *when*
it comes H³ 4, 1, 40 (613, 106).
Fails in the promis'd largeness; checks
and disasters TC 1, 3, 1 (626, 5).
And curse that justice did it. Who
deserves greatness C 1, 1, 50 (655,

180); or we may contract *did't*, and
beginning with an accented syllable
after the pause thus avoid the trissyl-
labic measure.

Which would increase his evil. He
that depends C 1, 1, 50 (655, 183).
Except immortal Cæsar; speaking of
Brutus JC 1, 1, 30 (765, 60).
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged com-
rade. Beware H 1, 3, 8 (815, 65).

Two Measures Trissyllabic.

Of your great predecessor king Edward
the third H³ 1, 2, 25 (442, 248),
Abb. 469. The Collier MS. avoids
the two trissyllabic measures by
reading *Edward third*.
Foul devil, for God's sake hence, and
trouble us not R³ 1, 2, 9 (558, 50).
Either heav'n with lightning strike the
murderer dead R³ 1, 2, 9 (558, 64).
I hope so. I know so. But gentle
Lady Anne R³ 1, 2, 39 (559, 114).
Into a general prophecy: *That this*
tempest H³ 1, 1, 20 (593, 92).
My surveyor is false; the o'er-great
cardinal H³ 1, 1, 57 (594, 222).
To oppose your cunning, you're meek
and humble-mouth'd H³ 2, 4, 18
(604, 107).
A royal lady, *spake one the least word*
that might H³ 2, 4, 25 (605, 153),
Abb. 18, 344 for construction only.
Amidst the other; *whose medicinable*
eye TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 91).
My surname Coriolanus; *the painful*
service C 4, 5, 42 (678, 74).
Of impious stubbornness; 'tis unmanly
grief H 1, 2, 16 (813, 94).
But suck them up to the top-mast. A
kind of conquest Cy 3, 1, 5 (956, 22).

Three Measures Trissyllabic.

To the discontented members, *the mu-*
tinuous parts C 1, 1, 33 (655, 115),
Abb. 497, quoted in the index only.
Given to captivity me, and my utmost
hope Oth 4, 2, 29 (902, 51).

The following instances are not so well marked as the preceding, and many readers would account for them by an elision; but, the commonness of trissyllabic measures being now established, there seems to be no ground for such a violent remedy. Such trissyllabic measures as the following are frequent enough in modern poetry, where the lightness of the first syllable in the measure (depending on the strong accent on the last syllable of the preceding measure,) would make the use of the three syllables as a measure and a half, appear weak or antiquated. But Shakspeare has no such scruples.

Light Trissyllabic Measures.

Was aptly fitted and naturally perform'd TS ind. 1, 25 (230, 87), *Abb.* 472. Writers in the xviiith century would use *nat'rally* and even said (*næt'ræli*), as we now frequently hear (*nætsh-ræli*). But the real number of syllables in the word appears from—

Thy deed, inhuman and *unnatural*,
Provokes this deluge most *unnatural*.
R³ 1, 2, 9 (558', 60').

Whom I *unnaturally* shall disinherit,
? *unnat'rally*. 3H³ 1, 1, 95 (528', 193).

Your high profession sp'ritual *that*
again H³ 2, 4, 18 (604', 117'), or
spiritu'el that, a tetrasyllabic measure, felt as a trissyllabic.

Her tears should drop on them *perpetually* RL 686 (1020').

For he would needs be *virtuous*, that
good fellow H³ 2, 2, 47 (602, 133).

His vacancy with his *voluptuousness*
AC 1, 4, 3 (915, 26).

Upon whose *influence* Neptune's empire
stands H 1, 1, 50 (812', 119), *Abb.* 204, for the use of *upon*.

Printing their proud hoofs in *the* receiving
earth H³ 1, prol. (439, 27).

Why so hath this, both *by the father*
and mother R³ 2, 3, 15 (569', 21).

I took *by the throat* the circumcised
dog Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 355).

To the king I'll say't, and make my
vouch as strong H³ 1, 1, 40 (594, 157).

To the water side I must conduct your
grace H³ 2, 1, 30 (600, 95).

In following this usurping Henr-y
3H³ 1, 1, 32 (527, 81).

Not well dispos'd, the mind *growing*
once corrupt H³ 1, 2, 18 (596, 116).

Of one not easily jealous, but *being*
wrought Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 351).

Out, loath-ed medicine! *hated* potion
hence! MN 3, 2, 61 (172, 264).

Into your own hands, Cardinal by ex-
tortion H³ 3, 2, 77 (610', 285).

Would seem hyperboles. *At* this fusty
stuff TC 1, 3, 8 (627', 161).

That shews good husbandry for the
Volscian state C 4, 7, 5 (681, 22).

The senators and patricians love him
too C 4, 7, 7 (681', 30).

To justice continence and nobility TA
1, 1, 2 (688, 15).

A countenance *more* in sorrow than in
anger H 1, 2, 62 (815, 232), *Abb.* 468,
cited in index only.

Your mystery, your mystery: *nay*
dispatch Oth 4, 2, 19 (902, 30).

Effect of courtesy, *dues* of gratitude
KL 2, 4, 55 (860, 182).

My speculative and officed instruments
Oth 1, 3, 55 (884', 271).

ALEXANDRINE VERSES.

Shakspeare seems never to hesitate to use a pure Alexandrine or six-measure line when it suits his convenience. Such lines also occasionally contain trissyllabic measures. Some of these Alexandrines are well marked, in others the last word has such a strong accent on the last syllable but two that both final syllables fall on the ear rather as an addition to the last measure, a mere superfluous syllable, than a distinct measure by themselves. See *suprà* p. 649, l. 1. These two cases will be separately classed.

Mr. Abbott is always very unwilling to admit Alexandrines. He says: "A proper Alexandrine with six accents, such as 'And now | by winds | and waves | my lifeless limbs | are tossed'—DRYDEN, is seldom found in Shakespeare," *Abb.* 493, but he admits also that lines with *five* accents are rare, *suprà* p. 929, n. 1. As he intentionally confuses the number of accents (or syllables bearing a stress) with the number of measures, he and I naturally view verses from different points. The true Alexandrine has a pause at the end of the third measure. It consists therefore of two parts of three measures each. This is very marked in the heroic French Alexandrine, where there must be a natural pause in the sense as well as at the end of a word. Now such Alexandrines Mr. Abbott

calls "Trimeter couplets—of two verses of three accents each," *Abb.* 500, an entirely new conception, whereby normal Alexandrines are made to be no Alexandrines at all. The rule of terminating the third measure with a word is, however, not so strictly followed by English as by French and German writers. Every one admits that the final line in the Spenserian stanza is an Alexandrine, or at least has six measures. Now in the 55 stanzas of the Faery Queen, Book 1, Canto 1, I find 44 perfect Alexandrines (Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets), 9 in which the third measure does not end with a word, and 2 (stanzas 30 and 42) in which, although the third measure ends with a word, the sense allows of no pause. This is quite enough to establish the rule for Shakspeare's contemporaries, to shew that Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets must be considered as regular Alexandrines, and to admit of the non-termination of a word with the third measure, which is inadmissible in French. Mr. Abbott begins by noting Alexandrines which are only so in appearance, "the last foot containing two extra syllables, one of which is *slurred*," (a term phonetically unintelligible to me) *Abb.* 494. These are those previously mentioned, and instanced below. But Mr. Abbott allows these two superfluous syllables to be inserted "at the end of the third or fourth foot," *Abb.* 495, without having any value in the verse. Thus, "The flúx | of cómpany. | Anón | a cáre|less hérd," AY 2, 1, 6 (210', 52), is made to have only five "feet," i.e. measures, as is also "To cáll | for récompense: | ap|pear | it tó | your mínd," TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3), and so on. This may do for "scanners," but will not do for listeners. These lines have distinctly six measures, with the true pause. "In other cases the appearance of an Alexandrine arises from the non-observance of contractions," *Abb.* 496. These "contractions" would have a remarkably harsh effect in the instances cited, even if they were possible. No person accustomed to write verses could well endure lines thus divided: "I dáre| abide| no lónger (454).| *Whither* (466) should| I flý," M 4, 2, 34 (803', 73). The line belongs to two speeches, and *should* may be emphatic. "She lé|vell'd at | our púr|pose(s) (471), and, | béing (470) roýal," AC 5, 2, 123 (943, 339). Here there are two trissyllabic measures, and no Alexandrine. "All mór|tal cónse|quence(s) (471) háve | pronóunced | me thús," M 5, 3, 1 (807, 5). "As mís|ers dó | by béggars (454); | *neither* (466) gáve | to mé," TC 3, 3, 30 (639, 142). Here *to me* are two superfluous syllables. I should be sorry to buy immunity from Alexandrines at the dreadful price of such Procrustean "scansion." *Abb.* 497, adduces a number of lines which he calls "apparent Alexandrines," and says they "*can be explained*," that is, reduced to five measures, "by the omission of unemphatic syllables." The effect is often as harsh as in those just cited. *Abb.* 498, calls a number of Alexandrines "doubtful," because by various contrivances, reading "on" for "upon" and so on, he can reduce them to five measures. But is this a legitimate method of deducing a poet's usage? Another contrivance is to throw the two first or two last syllables into a line by themselves, *Abb.* 499. Finally we

have the "Trimeter Couplet" (500, 501), "the comic trimeter" (502), and "apparent trimeter couplets" (503), of which enough has been said. In order that the reader may see Mr. Abbott's method of avoiding the acknowledgment of Alexandrines in Shakspeare, reference is made to all the passages in which he cites the following examples with that intention.

Well-marked Alexandrines.

- Whose honour heav-en shield from
soil ! e'en he escapes not H^s 1, 2, 6
(595, 26).
The monk might be deceiv'd, and that
'twas dang'rous for him H^s 1, 2, 32
(596', 179), *Abb.* 501.
Pray for me ! I must now forsake ye :
the last hour H^s 2, 1, 32 (600', 132).
His highness having lived so long with
her and she H^s 2, 3, 1 (602', 2).
Still growing in a majesty and pomp,
the which H^s 2, 3, 1 (602', 7).
As soul and body's severing. Alas !
poor lady ! H^s 2, 3, 3 (602', 16).
More worth than empty vanities, yet
prayers and wishes H^s 2, 3, 22 (603,
69).
O'ertopping woman's power. Madam,
you do me wrong H^s 2, 4, 17 (604',
88).
And patches will I get unto these
cudgell'd scars H^s 5, 1, 27 (464', 94),
Abb. 501.
A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing
pleasing tongue R³ 1, 1, 11 (557,
94), *Abb.* 498.
Say that I slew them not. Why then
they are not dead R³ 1, 2, 20 (558',
89), *Abb.* 500, cited in index only.
I did not kill thy husband. Why then
he is alive R³ 1, 2, 22 (558, 9).
I would I knew thy heart. 'Tis figured
in my tongue R³ 1, 2, 69-79 (559',
192-202). These six Alexandrines
are by some considered to be twelve
six-syllable lines, and, as there is an
odd line of six syllables, v. 203, there
is considerable ground for this sup-
position. We must not forget, how-
ever, that Alexandrines are very
common in R³, and that the odd line
can be explained by an amphistych,
suprà p. 928, n. 1, *Abb.* 500.
And hugg'd me in his arm, and kindly
kiss'd my cheek R³ 2, 2, 9 (563, 24).
Which since succeeding ages have re-
dified R³ 3, 1, 20 (571, 71), *Abb.*
494, cited in index only.
Thou'rt sworn as deeply to effect, what
we intend R³ 3, 1, 70 (572, 158),
Abb. 497.
She intends unto his holiness. I may
perceive H^s 2, 4, 31 (605', 235).
His practices to light. Most strangely.
O, how, how ? H^s 3, 2, 8 (608, 28).
And flies fled under shade, why, then
the thing of courage TC 1, 3, 2
(626', 51).
Speak, Prince of Ithaca ; and be't of
less expect TC 1, 3, 4 (626', 70).
Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow
factions TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 80).
What honey is expected. Degree being
vizarded TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 83).
And sanctify their numbers. Prophet
may you be ! TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 190).
To call for recompense. Appear it to
your mind TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3).
Abb. 458 (miscited as v. 8), 495.
In most accepted pain. Let Diomedes
hear him TC 3, 3, 3 (638, 30).
Not going from itself : but eye to eye
opposed TC 3, 3, 28 (638', 107).
That has he knows not what. Nature,
what things there are TC 3, 3, 29
(639, 127).
In monumental mockery. Take the
instant way TC 3, 33, 1 (639, 153).
To see us here unarm'd : I have a
woman's longing TC 3, 3, 41 (640,
237).
And tell me, noble Diomed ; faith, tell
me true TC 4, 1, 18 (641, 51).
The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedi-
tion C 3, 1, 42 (669', 70), *Abb.*
497, cited in index only.
Insult without all reason, where gentry,
title, wisdom C 3, 1, 62 (670, 144),
Abb. 501, cited in index only.
The warlike service he has done, con-
sider ; think C 3, 3, 26 (674, 49),
Abb. 512, where *think* is treated as
a separate "interjectional line."
As 'tis to laugh at 'em. My mother,
you wot well C 4, 1, 5 (675', 27).
Whose house, whose bed, whose meal,
and exercise C 4, 4, 7 (677, 14).
To thee particularly, and to all the
Volsces C 4, 5, 42 (678, 72).
Therefore away with her, and use her
as ye will TA 2, 3, 33 (696, 166).

Witness this wretched stump, witness
these crimson lines TA 5, 2, 6 (708, 22).
And when he's sick to death, let not
that part of nature Tim 3, 1, 15
(749', 64).

The memory be green and that it us
befitted H 1, 2, 1 (813, 2).

'Tis sweet and commendable in your
nature, Hamlet H 1, 2, 16 (813',
87), *Abb.* 490, who accentuates *com-*
mendable, agreeably to MV 1, 1, 23
(182, 111), in which case there are
two trissyllabic measures in the line.

That father lost, lost his, and the sur-
vivor bound H 1, 2, 16 (813', 90).
Are burnt and purged away. But that
I am forbid H 1, 5, 10 (817', 13).

The sway, revenue, execution of the rest
KL 1, 1, 37 (848', 139), *Abb.* 497,
cited in the index only.

When pow'r to flatt'ry bows? To
plainness honour's bound KL 1, 1,
40 (848', 150), *Abb.* 501, cited in
the index only.

Of such a thing as thou, to fear, not to
delight Oth 1, 2, 27 (881', 71), *Abb.*
405, for the construction only.

Hath this extent, no more. Rude am
I in my speech Oth 1, 3, 32 (883, 81).

Lightly-marked Alexandrines,

or Verses of Five Measures with Two Superfluous Syllables.

And that you come to reprehend my
ignorance R³ 3, 7, 25 (577, 113),
Abb. 487.

The supreme seat, the throne majestic
R³ 3, 7, 28 (577, 118).

All unavoided is the doom of destiny
R³ 4, 4, 58 (583', 217).

Which I do well; for I am sure the
emperor H³ 1, 1, 42 (594', 186).

Wherein? and what taxation? My
lord cardinal H³ 1, 2, 8 (595, 38).

That's Christian care enough for living
murmurers H³ 2, 2, 47 (602, 131).

Is our best having. By my troth and
maidenhead H³ 2, 3, 6 (602', 23).

But what makes robbers bold but too
much lenity 3H³ 2, 6, 1 (537', 22).

Her looks do argue her replete with
modesty 3H³ 3, 2, 61 (540', 84).

I that am rudely stamp'd and want
love's majesty R³ 1, 1, 1 (556, 16),
Abb. 467, cited in index only.

Lord Hastings was to her for his
delivery R³ 1, 1, 8 (557, 75), *Abb.*
494, cited in index only.

I was: but I do find more pain in
banishment R³ 1, 3, 54 (562, 168).

Go to, I'll make ye know your times of
bu-si-ness H³ 2, 2, 24 (601', 72),

In speaking for myself. Yet, by your
gracious patience Oth 1, 3, 32 (883,
89).

Is once to be resolv'd. Exchange me
for a goat Oth 3, 3, 74 (894, 180).

Matching thy inference. 'Tis not to
make me jealous. Oth 3, 3, 74 (894,
183).

A séquester from liberty, fasting and
prayer Oth 3, 4, 24 (897, 40).

And knowing what I am, I know what
she shall be Oth 4, 1, 35 (899', 74).

That the sense aches at thee, would
thou hadst ne'er been born Oth 4, 2,
31 (902', 69).

Why should he call her whore? who
keeps her company? Oth 4, 2, 70
(903, 137).

Acquire too high a fame, when him we
serve's away AC 3, 1, 3 (924', 15).

Some wine, within there, and our
viands! Fortune knows AC 3, 11,
28 (929', 73).

Do something mingle with our younger
brown, yet ha' we AC 4, 8, 3 (935, 20).

And in 's spring became a harvest,
lived in court Cy 1, 1, 11 (944', 46).

Such griefs as you yourself do lay upon
yourself P 1, 2, 12 (979', 66).

busi-ness in three syllables, as usual
in Shakspeare.

Or touch of her good person? My lord
cardinal H³ 2, 4, 26 (605, 156).

Believe me, she has had much wrong,
lord cardinal H³ 3, 1, 13 (606', 48).

You're full of heav'nly stuff, and bear
the inventory H³ 3, 2, 53 (609, 137).

I am not worthy yet to wear: I shall
assuredly H³ 4, 2, 17 (614', 92).

'Tis like a pardon after execution on H³
4, 2, 31 (615, 121).

Heav'n knows how dearly! My next
poor petiti-on H³ 4, 2, 37 (615, 138).

He chid Andromache and struck his
armourer TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 6).

They tax our policy and call it cowar-
dice TC 1, 3, 10 (627', 197).

As feel in his own fall: for men, like
butterflies TC 3, 3, 24 (638', 78).

The reasons are more potent and
heroical TC 3, 3, 33 (639', 181).

Flowing and swelling o'er with arts
and exercise TC 4, 4, 29 (643, 80).

Like labour with the rest, where the
other instruments C 1, 1, 31 (655,
104).

And, mutually participate, did minister
C 1, 1, 31 (655, 106).

Shaksperian "Resolutions," Dissyllables corresponding to Modern Monosyllables.

The following instances of the resolution of one syllable into two, (as they seem to modern readers, who in fact have run two syllables together,) are so marked that it is impossible not to recognize that they were cases of actual accepted and familiar dissyllabic pronunciation. They occur in the most solemn and energetic speeches, where the resolution at present would have a weak and traily effect, such as no modern, even in direct imitation of an old model, would venture to write. We must therefore conclude that all the cases were habitually dissyllabic, and that those numerous cases, where they appear to be monosyllabic as at present, must be explained as instances of trissyllabic measures, Alexandrines, or lines with two superfluous syllables.

Mr. Abbott, however, by his heading "lengthening of words," *Abb.* 477, seems to consider the modern usage to be the normal condition, and the resolution to be the licence. Historically this view is incorrect, and the practise of orthoepists, though subject to the objection that "they are too apt to set down, not what is, but what [they imagine] ought to be," *Abb.* 479,—is all the other way. See Gill on Synæresis, *suprà* p. 937. *Abb.* 481, observes that "monosyllables which are emphatic either (1) from their meaning, as in the case of exclamations, or (2) from their use in antithetical sentences, or (3) which contain diphthongs, or (4) vowels preceding *r*, often take the place of a foot." The examples *Abb.* 481-486, are worth studying, but except in the case of *r*, they appear to be explicable rather by pauses, four-measure lines, accidentally or purposely defective lines, and such like, than by making *go-od*, *bo-ot*, *go-ad*, *fri-ends*, etc., of two syllables, or *daughte-r*, *siste-r*, *murde-r*, *horro-rs*, *ple-asure*, etc., of three syllables, which would be quite opposed to anything we know of early pronunciation. I have, however, referred to all Mr. Abbott's observations on the following citations.

Miscellaneous Resolutions.

And come against us in full *pu-is-sance*
2H¹ 1, 3, 14 (414', 77).

Here's *Glou-ces-ter* a foe to citizens
H⁶ 1, 3, 25 (473, 62).

Abominable *Glouce-ster*, guard thy head
H⁶ 1, 3, 33 (473', 87).

Well, let them rest. Come hither,
Ca-tes-by. R³ 3, 1, 70 (572, 157).

Or horse or oxen from the *le-opard*
H⁶ 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), *Abb.* 484.

Divinest *cre-ature*, *Astræa's* daughter
H⁶ 1, 6, 2 (475, 4), *Abb.* 479,
where he cites: You have done our
ple-asures much grace, fair ladies
Tina 1, 2, 37 (745', 151). Although
he corroborates this division by some
passages of Beaumont and Fletcher,
cited from (S.?) Walker, without com-
plete reference, it must surely be a mis-
take. In the passages from Beaumont

and Fletcher *pleasures* is the last word
of the line, which may in each case
have had only four measures with
one superfluous syllable. The word
pleasure occurs very frequently in
Shakspeare, and, apparently, always
as a dissyllable, except in this one
passage. This leads us to suppose
the line to have only four measures,
thus: You have done | our plea-
-sures much grace | fair la-|dies,
just as the next line but three: You
have ad-|ded worth | unto't | and
lus-|tre; which again is closely fol-
lowed by a line of three measures:
I am | to thank | you for't |, shewing
the, probably designedly, irregular
character of the whole complimen-
tary speech.

The Earl of Pembroke keeps his *regi-
ment* R³ 5, 3, 10 (587', 29).

His *regi-ment* lies half a mile at least
R³ 5, 3, 11 (587', 37).

But deck'd with *di-amonds* and Indian
stones 3 H⁶ 3, 1, 16 (539, 63).

These signs have mark'd me *extra-ordinary* H⁴ 3, 1, 11 (395', 41).

Afford no *extra-ordinary* gaze H¹ 3, 2, 3 (398, 78).

The false revolting Normans *thor-ough*
thee 2 H² 4, 1, 26 (515', 87), *Abb.* 478.

To shew her bleeding body *thor-ough*,
Rome RL 1851 (1030').

To be reveng'd on Rivers, *Vaugh-an*,
Grey R³ 1, 3, 102 (563', 333). This
name appears to be always dissylla-
bic. See the next two instances.

With them Sir Thomas *Vaugh-an*,
prison-ers R³ 2, 4, 24 (570, 43).

With Rivers, *Vaugh-an*, Grey; and so
'twill do R³ 3, 2, 25 (573, 67).

Till in her ashes she lie *buried* H⁵ 3,
3, 1 (450, 9), *Abb.* 474, cited in index
only.

The lustful Edward's title *buried*
3 H⁶ 3, 2, 81 (541, 129).

That came too lag to see him *buried*
R³ 2, 1, 26 (567, 90).

All circumstances well *consider-ed* R³
3, 7, 30 (577', 176), *Abb.* 474.

Please it, your Grace, to be *advertis-ed*
2 H⁶ 4, 9, 7 (521, 23).

For by my scouts I was *advertis-ed*
3 H⁶ 2, 1, 18 (533, 116).

As I by friends am well *advertis-ed*
R³ 4, 4, 163 (586, 501), *Abb.* 491.

And when this arm of mine hath *chds-
tis-ed* R³ 4, 4, 88 (584', 331), *Abb.*
491.

Tybalt is gone and Romeo *banish-ed*
RJ 3, 2, 12 (727', 69); 3, 2, 19
(728', 113). So unwilling are mod-
ern actors to pronounce this *-ed*,
that I have heard the line left imper-
fect, or eked out by repeating—
banishi, banisht.

Sanctuary.

Go thou to *sanc't'ry* and good thoughts
possess thee R³ 4, 1, 28 (579, 94)
Abb. 468.

Of blessed *sanc-t'ry*! not for all this
land R³ 3, 1, 13 (571, 42).

Have taken *sanc-tua-ry*; the tender
princes R³ 3, 1, 11 (570', 28).

You break not *sanc-tua-ry* in seizing
him R³ 3, 1, 14 (571, 47).

Oft have I heard of *sanc-tu-a-ry* men
R³ 3, 1, 14 (571, 56).

The Terminations, *-tion, -sion.*

Whose manners still our tardy apish
na-tion

Limps after in base *imitati-on* KJ 2,
1, 4 (362, 22). This is not meant
for a rhyme, it occurs in blank verse,
and if it rhymed, the second line
would be defective by a whole mea-
sure. As it stands, the first line has
two superfluous syllables.

With titles blown from *adulati-on*.
H⁵ 4, 1, 67 (457, 271).

Will'd me to leave my base *vocati-on*
H⁶ 1, 2, 49 (471', 80).

First will I see the *coronati-on* 3 H⁶ 2,
6, 22 (538', 96).

Tnt, that's a foolish *observati-on* 3 H⁶
2, 6, 25 (538', 108).

O then hurl down their *indignati-on*
R³ 1, 3, 63 (562', 220).

Give me no help in *lamentati-on* R³ 2,
2, 20 (568, 66).

To sit about the *coronati-on* R³ 3, 1,
74 (572, 173).

It is and wants but *nominati-on* R³ 3,
4, 3 (574, 5).

Divinely bent to *meditati-on* R³ 3, 7,
13, (576', 62).

But on his knees at *meditati-on* R³ 3,
7, 16 (576', 73).

And hear your mother's *lamentati-on*
R³ 4, 4, 2 (581', 14).

Thus will I drown your *exclamat-i-
ons* R³ 4, 4, 29 (582', 153).

Now fills thy sleep with *perturbati-on*
R³ 5, 3, 45 (589, 161).

A buzzing of a *separati-on* H² 2, 1, 38
(600', 148).

Into my private *meditati-ons* H² 2, 2,
22 (601', 66).

Only about her *coronati-on* H² 3, 2,
106 (611, 407).

Besides the applause and *approbati-on*
TC 1, 3, 3 (626', 59).

As he being drest to some *orati-on* TC
1, 3, 8 (627', 166).

To bring the roof to the *foundati-on*
C 3, 1, 91 (671, 206).

Abated captives to some *nati-on* C 3,
3, 55 (675, 132).

Let molten coin be thy *damnati-on*
Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 55).

Out of the teeth of *emulati-on* JC 2, 3,
1, (773', 14).

This present object made *probat-i-on*
H 1, 1, 57 (812', 156).

Of Hamlet's *transformati-on*; so call
it H 2, 2, 1 (820, 5), *Abb.* 479,
where he observes that the only
other instances of *-ti-on* preceded by

a vowel in the middle of a line which he has been able to collect are: With *observati-on* the which he vents AY 2, 7, 8 (213', 41), and: Be chosen with *proclamati-ons* to-day TA 1, 1, 25 (690, 190), but when preceded by *e*, as in *action*, *perfection*, *affections*, *distraction*, *election*, he cites six instances. Numerous other cognate cases, cited below, prove, however, that such rarity was merely accidental, and not designed. The instance cited below p. 952, as an Alexandrine by resolution, Mr. Abbott would probably scan: For dep[ra]vation to square] the gen'ral sex TC 5, 2, 102 (649, 132), admitting a trissyllabic foot to avoid an Alexandrine.

But yet an *un-ion* in *partiti-on* MN 3, 2, 43 (171', 210).

We must bear all. O hard *conditi-on*. H^s 4, 1, 67 (457, 250).

This day shall gentle his *conditi-on* H^s 4, 3, 10 (458, 63).

Virtue is choked with foul *ambiti-on* 2 H^s 3, 1, 25 (508', 143).

Than a great queen, with this *conditi-on* R³ 1, 3, 35 (561', 108).

Who intercepts my *expediti-on*? R³ 4, 4, 24 (582' 136).

Thrice fam'd beyond all *eruditi-on* TC 2, 3, 93 (634', 254).

I do not strain at the *positi-on* TC 3, 3, 29 (638', 112).

To undercrest your good *additi-on* C 1, 9, 11 (661', 72).

Meanwhile must be an earnest *moti-on* H^s 2, 4, 31 (605', 233).

God shield I should disturb *devoti-on* RJ 4, 1, 24 (733, 41).

Enforced us to this *executi-on* R³ 3, 5, 16 (575', 46).

To do some fatal *executi-on* TA 2, 3, 3 (694', 36).

So is he now in *executi-on* JC 1, 1, 85 (767', 301).

Which smok'd with bloody *executi-on* M 1, 2, 3 (788', 18).

The brightest heav-en of *inventi-on* H^s 1, prol. (439', 2).

Did push it out of further *questi-on* H^s 1, 1, 1 (439', 5).

All out of work and cold for *acti-on* H^s 1, 2, 10 (441', 114).

After the taste of much *correcti-on* H^s 2, 2, 17 (445, 51).

To scourge you for this *apprehensi-on* H^s 2, 4, 37 (478', 102).

To *ques-ti-on* of his *apprehensi-on* 3 H^s 3, 2, 80 (541, 122).

Thy son I kill'd for his *presumpti-on* 3 H^s 5, 6, 11 (554', 34).

E'en for revenge mock my *destructi-on* R³ 5, 1, 3 (587, 9).

To keep mine honour from *corrupti-on* II^s 4, 2, 12 (614, 71), compare: *Corruption wins* not more than honesty H^s 3, 2, 109 (612, 445), where there must be a trissyllabic measure.

To us in our *electi-on* this day TA 1, 1, 37 (690, 235).

Which dreads not yet their lives *destructi-on* TA 2, 3, 3 (694', 50).

Wanting a hand to give it *acti-on* TA 5, 2, 4 (708, 17).

When sects and *facti-ons* were newly born Tim 3, 5, 6 (752', 30).

But for your private *satisfacti-on* JC 2, 2, 20 (773, 72).

As whence the sun 'gins his *reflecti-on* M 1, 2, 5 (788', 25).

O master! what a strange *infecti-on* Cy 3, 2, 1 (956', 3).

For, by the way, I'll sort *occasi-on* R³ 2, 2, 43 (569, 148).

This we prescribe through no *physician*

Deep malice makes too deep *incisi-on* R² 1, 1, 19 (357', 154). The quartos read *phisition*, the first two folios *physition*. Thus justifying the rhyme, which is on the last syllable.

When they next wake, all this *derisi-on* Shall seem a dream and fruitless *visi-on*. MN 3, 2, 92 (173, 370). The rhyme is on the *-on*, to make it on the *-is* would be to lose a measure in each verse.

Some say the lark makes sweet *divisi-on* RJ 3, 4, 5 (730', 29).

Jove, Jove! this shepherd's *passi-on* Is much upon my *fashi-on* AY 2, 4, 19 (212, 61). Observe that the rhyme is here an identical one, on the final syllable *-on*, as in the two preceding cases, and that it is *not* a double rhyme (pash'un, fash'un) like the modern (pash'un, fash'un), as this would make each line defective by a measure. The following examples shew that *pas-si-on*, *fash-i-on*, were really trissyllables. The apparent double rhyme *passion*, *fashion*, which occurs three times, is really an assonance of (-as-, -ash-), and will be so treated under assonances, see S with SH and Z, below. It is necessary to be careful on this point, because readers not aware of the trissyllabic nature of *passion*, *fashion*, or the use of assonances in

- Shakspeare, might by such rhymes be led to imagine the change of *-sion* into (*-shun*), of which the only trace in Shakspeare's time, is in the anonymous grammar cited, *supra* p. 916.
- Bear with him, Brutus, 'tis his *fashi-on* JC 4, 3, 55 (782, 135).
- You break into some merry *passi-on* TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 97).
- 'A re' to plead Hortensio's *passi-on* 'C fa ut' that loves with all *affecti-on* TS 3, 1, 27 (240', 74).
- This is it that makes me bridle *passi-on* 3 H⁴ 4, 4, 8 (547, 19).
- I feel my master's *passi-on*! this slave Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 59).
- Whilst our *commissi-on* from Rome is read H² 2, 4, 1 (603', 1).
- He speaks by leave and by *permissi-on* JC 3, 1, 77 (776', 239).
- Other Terminations in *-ion*.
- It is *reli-gion* that doth make vows kept;
- But thou has sworn against *reli-gi-on* KJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).
- Turns insurrec-tion to *reli-gi-on* 2 H⁴ 1, 1, 34 (411', 201).
- 'Twas by *rebelli-on* against his king 3 H⁴ 1, 1, 59 (527', 133).
- I would not for a *milli-on* of gold TA 2, 1, 8 (693, 49).
- Could never be her mild *compani-on* P 1, 1, 4 (977', 18).
- And formless ruin of *obliv-i-on* TC 4, 5, 72 (645', 167).
- Swill'd with the wild and wasteful *oce-an* H² 3, 1, 1 (445', 14).
- Final *-ience, -ient, -ious, -iage, -ial, -ier*.
- Then let us teach our trial *pati-ence* MN 1, 1, 31 (162', 152).
- Lest to thy harm thou move our *pati-ence* R³ 1, 3, 73 (562', 248).
- Right well, dear madam. By your *pati-ence* R³ 4, 1, 6 (578', 15).
- Then *pa-ti-ent-ly* hear my *impa-ti-ence* R³ 4, 4, 32 (582', 156).
- To see the battle. Hector whose *pati-ence* TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 4).
- Fearing to strengthen that *impati-ence* JC 2, 1, 63 (771', 248).
- Dangers, doubts, wringing of the *consci-ence* H² 2, 11 (601, 28).
- For policy sits above *consci-ence* Tim 3, 2, 24 (750', 94).
- And yet 'tis almost 'gainst my *consci-ence* H 5, 2, 111 (845, 307).
- Know the whole world he is as *vali-ant* TC 2, 3, 86 (634, 243).
- For I do know Fluellen *vali-ant* H² 4, 7, 53 (462, 187).
- Were not 'revenge *suffici-ent* for me 3 H² 1, 3, 10 (530, 26).
- If you should smile he grows *impati-ent* TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 99).
- Be *pa-tient*, gentle queen, and I will stay. Who can be *pati-ent* in such extremes? 3 H² 1, 1, 109 (528', 214), *Abb.* 476.
- I can no longer hold me *pati-ent* R³ 1, 3, 50 (562, 157).
- How *fur-i-ous* and *impati-ent* they be TA 2, 1, 14, (693', 76).
- Than the sea monster! Pray, sir, be *pati-ent* KL 1, 4, 89 (854, 283).
- Heav'n, be thou *graci-ous* to none alive H² 1, 4, 15 (474, 85).
- The forest walks are wide and *spaci-ous* TA 2, 1, 25 (693', 113).
- Confess yourself wondrous *malici-ous* C 1, 1, 29 (655, 91).
- Hath told you Cæsar was *ambiti-ous*, But Brutus says he was *ambiti-ous*, Did this in Cæsar seem *ambiti-ous* JC 3, 2, 30 (777', 83. 91. 95. 98. 103).
- Therefore 'tis certain he was not *ambiti-ous* JC 3, 2, 34 (778, 117), where the line is therefore Alexandrine, or rather with two superfluous syllables.
- Why so didst thou: seem they *religi-ous* H² 2, 2, 26 (445', 130).
- Methinks my lord should be *religi-ous* H² 3, 1, 15 (480, 54).
- To England's king in lawful *mar-ri-age* 3 H² 3, 3, 15 (542, 57).
- Is now dishonour'd by this new *mar-riage* 3 H² 4, 1, 14 (544', 33).
- And in his wisdom hastes our *marri-age* RJ 4, 1, 4 (732', 11).
- For honesty and decent *car-ri-age* H² 4, 2, 37 (615, 145).
- Too flattering sweet to be *substanti-al* RJ 2, 2, 33 (720', 141).
- He would himself have been a *soldi-er* H⁴ 1, 3, 6 (385', 64).
- With some few bands of chosen *soldi-ers* 3 H² 3, 3, 55 (543', 204).
- The counsellor heart, the arm our *soldi-er* C 1, 1, 34 (655, 120).
- But he's a tried and valiant *soldi-er* JC 4, 1, 12 (780, 28), *Abb.* 479.
- You say you are a better *soldi-er* JC 4, 3, 20 (781, 51).
- Final *-or, -ir, -er*, after a Vowel.
- May-or*, farewell, thou dost but what thou mayst H² 1, 3, 32 (473', 85).
- He sent command to the lord *may-or* straight H² 2, 1, 39 (600', 151).

The *we-ird* sisters hand in hand M 1, 3, 12 (789', 31), *Abb.* 484.

I mean, my lords, those *pow-ers* that the queen 3 H^o 5, 3, 1 (552', 7).

But you have *pow-er* in me as a kinsman R³ 3, 1, 41 (571', 109).

The greatest strength and *pow-er* he can make R³ 4, 4, 138 (585', 449).

But she with vehement *pray-ers* urgeth still RL 475 (1019).

I would prevail if *pray-ers* might prevail H³ 3, 1, 20 (480', 67).

With daily *pray-ers* all to that effect R³ 2, 2, 6 (567', 15).

And, see, a book of *pray-er* in his hand R³ 3, 7, 28 (577', 98).

My *pray-ers* on the adverse party fight R³ 4, 4, 46 (583', 190).

Hath turn'd my *feign-ed pray-ers* on my head R³ 5, 1, 5 (587', 21), *Abb.* 479.

Make of your *pray-ers* one sweet sacrifice H² 2, 1, 27 (600', 77).

Almost forgot my *pray-ers* to content him H³ 3, 1, 29 (607', 132).

Men's *pray-ers* then would seek you, not their fears H² 5, 3, 24 (618', 83).

If I could pray to move, *pray-ers* would move me JC 3, 1, 30 (774', 58).

These instances shew that the word *pray-er* must always be considered as a dissyllable, and that no distinction could have been made, as now, between *pray-er* one who prays (*pree*'), and *prayer* the petition he utters (*preer*'), but both were (*prai-er*). The possibility of the *r* having been vocal (*x*), however, appears from the next list of words.

Syllabic R. *Abb.* 477. 480.

You sent me deputy to *I-re-land* H³ 3, 2, 73 (610', 260).

And in compassion weep the *fi-re* out R² 5, 1, 4 (376', 48).

Away with him and make a *fi-re* straight TA 1, 1, 14 (689', 127).

As *fi-re* drives out *fi-re*, so pity, pity JC 3, 1, 65 (775', 171). Here I read the second *fi-re* as also dissyllabic, introducing a trissyllabic measure.

Should make *desi-re* vomit emptiness Cy 1, 6, 9 (949', 45).

We have no reason to *desi-re* it P 1, 3, 10 (980', 37).

And were they but *atti-r'd* in grave weeds TA 3, 1, 5 (698', 43).

To stab at half an *hou-r* of my life 2 H⁴ 4, 5, 31 (432', 109).

How many *hou-rs* bring about the day 3 H^o 2, 5, 1 (536', 27).

So many *hou-rs* must I, etc. 3 H^o 2, 5, 1 (536', 31-35).

If this right hand would buy two *hou-rs* life 3 H^o 2, 6, 21 (538', 80).

'Tis not an *hou-r* since I left him there TA 2, 3, 60 (696', 256).

Richly in two short *hou-rs*. Only they H³ prol. (592', 13).

These should be *hou-rs* for necessities H² 5, 1, 3 (615', 2).

One *hou-r's* storm will drown the fragrant meads TA 2, 4, 8 (697', 54).

Long after this, when *Hen-r-y* the Fifth H² 2, 5, 11 (479', 82).

But how he died, God knows, not *Hen-r-y* 2 H³ 3, 2, 29 (512', 131).

But let my sov'reign vir-tuous *Hen-r-y* 2 H² 5, 1, 8 (522', 48).

In following this usurping *Hen-r-y* 3 H³ 1, 1, 32 (527', 81).

I am the son of *Hen-r-y* the Fifth 3 H² 1, 1, 46 (527', 107).

So would you be again to *Hen-r-y* 3 H² 3, 1, 26 (539', 95).

You told not how *Hen-r-y* the Sixth hath lost All that which *Hen-r-y* the Fifth had gotten 3 H² 3, 3, 23 (542', 89).

So stood the state when *Hen-r-y* the Sixth R³ 2, 3, 13 (569', 15).

As I remember, *Hen-r-y* the Sixth R³ 4, 2, 45 (580', 98), *Abb.* 477, cited in index only.

In our sustaining corn. A *sen-tr-y* send forth KL 4, 4, 1 (870', 5), an Alexandrine, the word is spelled variously, *century* in early quartos and late folios, and *centery* in the first two folios, indicating its trissyllabic pronunciation.

Who cannot want the thought how *mons-tr-ous* M 3, 6, 1 (800', 8), *Abb.* 477.

But who is man that is not *ang-r-y*? Tim 3, 5, 9 (752', 57), *Abb.* 477.

Lavinia will I make my *em-pr-ess* TA 1, 1, 37 (690', 240).

And will create thee *em-pr-ess* of Rome TA 1, 1, 64 (691', 320).

And make proud Saturnine and his *em-pr-ess* TA 3, 1, 56 (700', 298), but in two syllables in: Our *em-pr-ess'* shame and stately Rome's disgrace TA 4, 2, 24 (703', 60), unless we venture to read the line as an Alexandrine, thus: Our *em-pr-ess-es* shame, and stately Rome's disgrace, which is, however, somewhat forced.

After the prompter for our *en-tr-ance* RJ 1, 4, 2 (716', 7).

Farewell: commend me to your *mis-tr-ess* RJ 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).

Make way to lay them by their *breth-r-en* TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 89).

Good, good, my lord; the *se-cr-ets* of nature TC 4, 2, 35 (642, 74).

Syllabic L.

Me thinks his lordship should be *hum-bl-er* H⁶ 3, 1, 16 (480', 56).

You, the great toe of this *assem-bl-y* C 1, 1, 45 (655', 159), *Abb.* 477.

While she did call me rascal *fid-yl-er* TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158), *Abb.* 477.

A rotten case abides no *han-dl-ing* 2 H⁴ 4, 1, 26 (427, 161), *Abb.* 477.

Does thoughts unveil in their dumb *cra-dl-es* TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 200), *Abb.* 487. This line has much ex-

ercised commentators, who propose to read *dumb crudities, dim crudities, dumb oracles, dumb orat'rics, dumb cradles laid, dumb radicles, dim particles, dumb characters*. The preceding and following examples shew that there is no metrical, as there is certainly no rational ground for such *dim crudities*.

Than Bolingbroke's return to *Eng-l-and* R² 4, 1, 4 (373', 17), *Abb.* 477.

And mean to make her queen of *Eng-l-and* R³ 4, 4, 74 (584, 263), *Abb.* 477.

The folios read *do intend* for *mean*, and thus avoid this resolution.

Lies rich in virtue and *unming-l-ed* TC 1, 3, 1 (626', 30).

O me! you *jug-gl-er*! you canker blossom MN 3, 2, 69 (172, 282), *Abb.* 477.

These numerous examples of un mistakeable resolutions, trissyllabic measures, and Alexandrines, will shew us that we must consider the following, which are only an extremely small sample out of an extremely large number, as trissyllabic measures, and Alexandrine verses, or lines with two superfluous syllables, arising from real, though frequently disregarded, resolutions.

Trissyllabic Measures from Resolution.

His pray-ers are full of false hypocrisy; Our pray-ers do outpray him; then let them have

That mercy which true pray-er ought to have,

R² 5, 3, 36 (379', 107, 109).

Upon the power and *pu-iss-ance* of the king 2 H⁴ 1, 3, 2 (414, 9).

The prayers of holy saints and wrong-ed souls R³ 5, 3, 61 (589', 241).

Or but allay, the fire of *passi-on*. Sir H⁸ 1, 1, 37 (594, 149).

Prithce to bed and in thy pray-ers re-member H⁶ 5, 1 23 (616, 73).

Stand forth and with bold spirit relate what you H⁸ 1, 2, 19 (596, 129).

A marriage *twixt* the Duke of Orleans and H⁸ 2, 4, 26 (605, 174).

Our *aery bullfinch* in the cedar's top R³ 1, 3, 81 (563, 264).

Your *aery buildeth* in our *aery's nest* R³ 1, 3, 82 (563, 270). Both instances are doubtful, but see *supra* p. 881, sub. *airy*.

Alexandrines with Internal Resolutions.

His eyes do drop no tears, his *pray-ers* are in jest R² 5, 3, 36 (379', 101), *Abb.* 497 or 501, cited in index only.

So tediously away. The poor *condemn-ed* English H⁸ 4, prol. (454', 22).

To wit, an indigested and *deform-ed* lump 3 H⁶ 5, 6, 12 (554', 51).

Environ'd me about, and *howl-ed* in mine ears R³ 1, 4, 8 (564, 59), *Abb.* 460, where he avoids the Alexandrine by pronouncing *'viron'd m' about*.

To base *declensi-on* and *loath-ed* bigamy R³ 3, 7, 30 (577', 189).

They vex me past my *pati-ence*! Pray you, pass on H⁸ 2, 4, 23 (605, 130).

For *depravati-on* to square the general sex TC 5, 2, 102 (649, 132).

Rome's readiest *champi-ons*, repose you here in rest TA 1, 1, 19 (689', 151).

Make me less *graci-ous*, or thee more fortunate TA 2, 1, 3 (693, 32).

The fair *Opheli-a*? Nymphs in thy orisons H 3, 1, 19 (826, 89), *Abb.* 469, cited in index only.

Alexandrines with Final Resolutions, or Five-measure Verses with two Superfluous Syllables.

Were't not that, by great *preservati-on* R³ 3, 5, 14 (575', 36).

That I have been your wife in this *obedi-ence* H⁸ 2, 4, 9 (604, 35).

Of every realm that did debate this
bus-iness H^s 2, 4, 9 (604, 52).

In the deep bosom of the ocean *buried*
R^s 1, 1, 1 (556, 4).

I that am curtail'd of this fair *propor-*
ti-on R^s 1, 1, 1 (556, 18).

And that so lamely and *unfashi-onable*
R^s 1, 1, 1 (556, 22), *Abb.* 397, for
adverbial use only.

What means this scene of rude *im-*
pati-ence R^s 2, 2, 15 (568, 38).

We come not by the way of *accusati-on*
H^s 3, 1, 14 (606', 55).

There's order given for her *coronati-on*
H^s 3, 2, 21 (608, 46).

Since you provoke me, shall be most
notori-ous H^s 3, 2, 77 (610', 287).

Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away
ambiti-on H^s 3, 2, 109 (612, 441).

But makes it much more heavy. Hec-
tor's *opini-on* TC 2, 2, 99 (632, 188).

SHAKSPERE'S RHYMES.

After the preceding examination of Spenser's rhymes, pp. 862-871, we cannot expect to find any very great regularity in a poet of nearly the same date, who was doubtless familiar with Spenser's Faery Queen. Shakspeare, however, did not allow himself quite so many liberties as Spenser, although his rhymes would be in themselves quite inadequate to determine his pronunciation. His poems are not in this respect more regular than the occasional couplets introduced into his plays. But the introduced songs are the least regular. He seems to have been quite contented at times with a rude approximation. Consonantal rhymes (where the final consonants are the same, but the preceding vowels are different,) are not uncommon. Assonances (where the vowels are the same, but final consonants different,) are liberally sprinkled. The combination of the two renders it quite impossible, from solitary or even occasional examples, to determine the real pronunciation of either vowel or consonant. It is therefore satisfactory to discover that, viewed as a whole, the system of rhymes is confirmatory of the conclusions drawn from a consideration of external authorities only in Chapter III, and to arrive at this result, the labour of such a lengthened investigation has not been thrown away. As it would be impossible for the reader to accept this statement, merely from my own impressions, I have thought it right to give a somewhat detailed list of the rhymes themselves, and I am not conscious of having neglected to note any of theoretical interest. The observations on individual rhymes or classes of rhymes will be most conveniently inserted in the lists themselves. As a rule, only the rhyming words themselves are given, and not the complete verse, but the full references appended will enable the reader to check my conclusions without difficulty.

Identical and Miscellaneous Rhymes.

me me MN 1, 1, 41 (163, 198).

mine mine MN 1, 1, 43 (163, 200).

invisi-ble sensi-ble VA 434 (1007).

The rhyme is on *-ble*.

bilber-ry slutte-ry MW 5, 5, 13 (65, 49). The rhyme is on *-ry*.

resolu-tion absolu-tion dissolu-tion RJ.

352 (1017). The first line would want a measure if we divided as above, so as to make the rhyme *-ution*, giving two superfluous syllables to each. Hence we must con-

sider the rhyme to be on *-on*, and the last two lines to be Alexandrine.

imaginati-on regi-on P 4, 4, Gower (993, 3). The versification of the Gower speech in P seems intended to be archaic, and the rhymes are often peculiar. This kind of identical rhyme is, however, not unfrequent in Shakspeare, but it has not been thought necessary to accumulate instances. See remarks on *fashi-on*, *passi-on*, *suprà* p. 949, col. 2.

extenu-ate insinu-ate VA 1010 (1012).
ocean motion RL 589 (1020). These
are both lines with two superfluous
syllables, so that the rhyme is
(oo'sian, moo'siun), the indistinct un-
accented syllable not coming into
account, compare *suprà* p. 921.

Compare also the double rhymes :
canis manus LL 5, 2, 272 (157', 592).
Almighty, fight yea LL 5, 2, 320 (158,
657).

commendable vendible MV 1, 1, 23
(182, 111).

riot quiet VA 1147 (1013').

in women H^o epil. (621', 9). This
couplet is manifestly erroneous some-
where. As it stands the second line
is an Alexandrine, thus, marking the

even measures, by italics (*suprà* p. 334, n. 2). "For this *play* at this time is only in The merciful construc-ti-on of good women," which in-troduces the common modern pro-nunciation (wim'in) with the accent thrown forward for the rhyme. This is very forced. Collier's substitution of: "For this play at this time we shall not owe men But merciful construction of good women;" intro-duces a rhyme *owe men, women*, which not even Spenser or Dryden would have probably ventured upon, and which the most modern "rhyme-ster to the eye" could scarcely con-sider "legitimate." See Gill's pro-nunciation, *suprà* p. 909.

Consonantal Rhymes, arranged according to the preceding Vowels.

A with I.

father hither LL 1, 1, 34 (136', 139).

Short A with short O.

foppish apish KL 1, 4, 68, *song* (853,
182).

dally folly RL 554 (1019').

man on MN 2, 1, 38 (166', 263), MN
3, 2, 91 (172, 348).

corn harm KL 3, 6, 16, *song* (865', 44).

Here *n* and *m* after *r* are considered
identical.

Tom am KL 2, 3, 1 (858', 20).

crab bob MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 48).

pap hop MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 303).

departure shorter KL 1, 5, 29 (855',
55). See *suprà* p. 200, l. 11, and

infra p. 973, in Mr. White's Eliza-
bethan pronunciation under -URE.

cough laugh MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 54).

heart short part, LL 5, 2, 30 (152, 55).

Short A with Long O.

man one TS 3, 2, 27, *song* (241', 86).

Short A with Short U.

adder shudder VA 878 (1011).

Long A with EA.

created defeated S 20, 9 (1033'). Com-
pare the rhyme *created seated* in the
version of Luther's hymn, "Great
God! what do I see and hear,"
usually sung in churches, and see the
remarks on *bate beat*, *suprà* p. 923.
The numerous examples of the false
rhyming of *a* must warn us against
supposing that long *a* was here (*ee*),
to rhyme with (*ea*) which was cer-
tainly (*ee*).

Short A with Short E.

wretch scratch VA 703 (1009').

AR with ER.

[It is very possible that the rhymes
in this series were rendered perfect oc-
casionally by the pronunciation of *er*
as *ar*. From the time of Chaucer at
least the confusion prevailed, and it
became strongly marked in the xviith
century, *suprà* p. 86, l. 1. Compare
deariless MA 3, 3, 5 (122', 9). And
see Mulcaster, *suprà* p. 913.]
desert part S 49, 10 (1037).
deserts parts S 17, 2 (1033).
desert impart S 72, 6 (1040).
carve serve LL 4, 1, 22 (144, 55).
heart convert RL 590 (1020).
departest convertest S 11, 2 (1032').
art convert S 14, 10 (1033).

Short E with long I, E, and U.

die he! TC 3, 1, 68, *song* (635', 131).
Benedicite me RJ 2, 3, 5 (721', 31).
enter ventures VA 626 (1009). See
suprà p. 200, l. 11, and *infra* p. 973,
in Mr. White's Elizabethan pro-
nunciation under -URE.

Long O with OU (ou).

[These rhymes may be compared
first with the rhymes Long O with
OW = (ou), and secondly with the
rhymes OW with OU (ou, ou) below.
They were not so imperfect when pure
(oo, ou) were pronounced, as they are
now when these sounds are replaced
by (oo, ou).]
sycamore hour LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 89).
Moor deflour TA 2, 3, 41 (696, 190).
down bone TC 5, 8, 4 (652', 11).

*Assonances, arranged according to the corresponding Consonants.***B, with TH, P, D.**

labour father *in the riddle*, P 1, 1, 11 (978, 66).

invisible steeple TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 141).

This rhyme is evidently meant to be quaint and absurd.

lady baby MA 5, 2, 11 (132, 37). This is also meant to be ludicrously bad.

lady may be IL 2, 1, 77 (141, 207).

This is intended for mere doggrel.

K with P, T.

broken open VA 47 (1003'); S 61, 1 (1038').

open'd betoken'd VA 451 (1007). All these three cases occur in perfectly serious verse.

fickle brittle PP 7, 1 (1053', 85).

M with N and NG.

plenty empty T 4, 1, 24 (15', 110).

Jamypenny many *in a proverbial jingle*, TS 3, 2, 27 (241', 84).

betime Valentine H 4, 5, 19, *song* (836, 49).

win him TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 212).

perform'd adjourn'd return'd Cy 5, 4, 11 (970', 76).

moons dooms P 3, *Gower* (987, 31).

run dumb P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 266).

soon doom P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 285).

replenish blemish RL 1357 (1026').

témpering venturing VA 565 (1008), *ventring* quartos.

sung come P 1, *Gower* (977, 1).

S with SH and Z.

refresh redress PP 13, 8 (1054, 176).

fashion passion LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 139);

RL 1317 (1026); S 20, 2 (1033').

See the remarks on these words *suprà* p. 949, col. 2, in proof that they should be considered assonances, and not rhymes. This assonance was almost a necessity, and may have been common. In Walker's *Rhyming Dictionary*, the only words in *-assion* are *passion* and its compounds, and the only word in *-ashion* is *fashion*. defaced razed S 64, 1 (1039).

wise paradise LL 4, 3, 14 (147, 72).

eyes suffice LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 113).

his kiss LL 2, 1, 101 (141', 247).

this is TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 314).

is amiss H 4, 5, 6 (836, 17).

Miscellaneous.

farthest harvest *in the masque*, T 4, 1, 24 (16, 114).

doting nothing S 20, 10 (1033'). See Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation, *infra* p. 971, col. 1.

heavy leafy MA 2, 3, 18, *song* (118', 73).

sinister whisper, *in Pyramus and Thisbe*, MN 5, 1, 31 (77', 164).

rose clothes H 4, 5, 19, *song* (836, 52).

leap swept MW 5, 5, 13 (65, 47). Perhaps pronounced *avep*, which is even yet not unfrequent among servant girls. The rhyme occurs in ludicrous verses.

downs hounds VA 677 (1009'). This is in serious verse. Compare *sound* from *son*, *swound* and *swoon*, and the vulgarisms *drown'd* *gown'd*.

time climb RL 774 (1021'); him limb R² 3, 2, 24 (370, 186). Both of these were probably correct rhymes, final *mò* being = (m).

*General Rhymes, arranged according to the Combinations of Letters which they illustrate.***A long or short.**

Have rhymes with cave AY 5, 4, 50

(228', 201); slave AY 3, 2, 34 (216',

161); VA 101 (1004); RL 1000

(1023'); grave R² 2, 1, 20 (363,

137); RJ 2, 3, 15 (722, 83); S 81,

5 (1041); Cy 4, 2, 104 (966, 280);

VA 374 (1006'), 757 (1010); gave

RL 1511 (1028); crave PP 10, 7

(1054, 137). Kate ha't TS 5, 1, 87

(253, 180), *suprà* p. 64, n. 2. In

all these cases of *have* and its rhymes

we have long (aa).

Haste rhymes with fast CE 4, 2, 16

(103, 29); MN 3, 2, 93 (173, 378);

KJ 4, 2, 52 (349, 268); RJ 2, 3, 18

(722, 93); VA 55 (1003'); fast

blast RL 1332 (1026). Taste

rhymes with last VA 445 (1007); S

90, 9 (1042); LC 167 (1051'); fast

VA 527 (1008). The length of the

vowel in all these cases is uncertain.

Gill has (naast'ed, naast'nd, nast'i,

last). The modern development has

been so diverse, however, (hæest,

teest, laast last last, faast fast fiast,

blaast blast blæst) that a difference

of length is presumable.

sad shade MN 4, 1, 26 (174', 100);

babe drab M 4, 1, 8 (801', 30); chat

gate VA 422 (1007); grapes mis-
haps VA 601 (1008). These are
instances of long (aa) rhyming with
short (a).

ranging changing TS 3, 1, 31 (241, 91).
granted haunted planted LL 1, 1, 38
(136', 162').

Want *rhymes with* enchant T epil. (20',
13); scant KL 1, 1, 74 (849', 281); PP
[21], 37 (1056', 409); vaunt RL 41
(1015); pant grant RL 555 (1019').

The insertion of the (u) sound be-
tween (a) and (n), seems to have
exerted no influence on these rhymes.
shall withal LL 5, 2, 48 (152', 141);
befall hospital LL 5, 2, 392 (159',
880); all burial MN 3, 2, 93 (173,
382); gall equivocal Oth 1, 3, 46
(884, 216); festivals holy-ales P 1,
Gower (977, 5); thrall perpetu-
al RL 725 (1021); fall general RL 1433
(1027'); perpetu-al thrall S 154, 10
(1049'); falls madrigals PP [20], 7
(1056', 359); shall gall RJ 1, 5, 25
(718', 93). The influence of / in in-
troducing (u) after (a), or in chang-
ing (al) to (aal), does not seem to
have been regarded in rhyming.

wrath hath MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 20); LC
293 (1052').

unfather'd gather'd S 124, 2 (1046).
place ass CE 3, 1, 22 (99, 46) = (plaas
as).

Was *rhymes with* pass WT 4, 1, 1
(317, 9); H 2, 2, 143 (823', 437);
S 49, 5 (1037) = (pas was); ass (by
implication, see next speech) H 3, 2,
89 (829', 293); grass RL 393
(1018); glass RL 1763 (1030); S
5, 10 (1031'); lass PP [18], 49
(1055', 293). The *w* exerts no
influence on the following *a* here, or
in: can swan PT 14 (1057);
watch match VA 584 (1008').

Water *rhymes with* matter LL 5, 2,
83 (153, 207); KL 3, 2, 14, in the
Fool's prophecy (863, 81); flatter RL
1560 (1028). Gill is very uncertain
about *water*, having (water, waa'ter,
waa'ter). Here it rhymes simply as
(water).

amber chamber song, WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
224). Compare Moore's rhymes,
suprà p. 859, col. 1.

plat hat LC 29 (1050). We now write
plait, but generally say (plet).

AI and EI with A and EA.

Gait *rhymes with* state T 4, 1, 21 (15',
101); consecrate MN 5, 1, 104 (179',
422); hate Tim 5, 4, 14 (763', 72);

late VA 529 (1008); state S 128, 9
(1046'). In all these cases the old
spelling was *gate*; see suprà p. 73, n.
Waist *rhymes with* fast LL 4, 3, 41
(148, 185); chaste RL 6 (1014). In
these two cases the old spelling was
wast, suprà p. 73, note.

Again *rhymes with* vein main LL 5, 2,
248 (156', 546); then LL 5, 2, 382
(159', 841); mane VA 271 (1005'),
[*maine* in quartos, see suprà p. 73];
slain VA 473 (1007). We must
remember that *again* had two spell-
ings, with *ai*, and *e*, from very early
times, and has still two sounds
(*ee*, *e*).

Said *rhymes with* read LL 4, 3, 50
(148', 193); maid MN 2, 2, 13 (167,
72); II^o 4, 7, 6 (489, 37). The
word *said* was spelled with *ai* and *e*
from very early times, suprà pp. 447,
484. It has still two sounds with
(*ee*, *e*). Gill especially objects to call-
ing *said*, *maid* (sed meed), though
he acknowledges that such sounds
were actually in use.

Bait *rhymes with* conceit PP 4, 9
(1053, 51); state CE 2, 1, 36 (96,
94). It is impossible that both of
these rhymes should be perfect. The
pronunciation of *conceit*, *state* was
then (conseet, staat). It is there-
fore possible that Shakspeare may
have pronounced (bait), as Gill did,
and left both rhymes false.

Wait *rhymes with* conceit LL 5, 2, 192
(155', 399); gate P 1, 1, 11 (978,
79). We have just the same phe-
nomenon here, as in the last case.
Smith and Gill both give (wait), the
other words were (konseet, gaat).

receive leave AW 2, 3, 43 (262', 90);
TC 4, 5, 20 (644, 35); LC 303
(1052'); deceive leave AW 1, 1, 62
(256, 243); TC 5, 3, 39 (650' 89);
RL 583 (1019'); S 39, 10 (1036);
repeat deceit P 1, 4, 15 (981, 74). In
these words Gill writes (-seev, -seet)
throughout; the pronunciation had
therefore definitely changed, and the
rhymes are all perfect.

Leisure *rhymes with* measure MM 5,
1, 135 (91, 415); treasure TS 4, 2,
23 (246', 59); pleasure S 58, 2
(1038). As the word *leisure* does not
occur in my authorities, we can only
suppose that it may have followed
the destinies of *receive* and become
(lee'zyvr).

survey sway AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 2).

key survey S 52, 1 (1037').

key may MV 2, 7, 4 (190, 59). It is not quite certain whether this last is meant for a rhyme. The only word in the authorities is *may*, which Gill writes (mai).

hair despair RL 981 (1023); S 99, 7 (1043). There is no doubt that *hair* was (heer), and Gill gives (despair).

hair fair LC 204 (1051').

fair repair there *song*, TG 4, 2, 18 (35, 44).

fair heir S 6, 13 (1032), see *suprà* p. 924, col. 1.

fore heir P 1, *Gower* (977, 21).

wares fairs LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 317). scales prevails 2H⁸ 2, 1, 106 (504', 204).

Syria say P 1, *Gower* (977, 19).

baill gaol S 133, 10 (1047), *bale* quarto.

play sea H⁸ 3, 1, 2, *song* (606, 9). For

all these rhymes, which would make *ai* sometimes (ec) and sometimes (aa), see the above observations on the rhymes to *bait*, and on similar rhymes in Spenser, *suprà* p. 867.

unset counterfeit S 16, 6 (1033).

counterfeit set S 53, 5 (1037').

AU, AW, AL.

assaults faults T epil. (20', 17).

cauf=*calf* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 25); hauf=*half* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 26). Really (HAAF KAAF) or only (haaf kaaf)?

Gill favours the former hypothesis.

chaudron cauldron M 4, 1, 8 (801', 33).

talk halt PP 19, 8 (1056, 306). This is rather an assonance.

hawk balk RL 694 (1020').

la! flaw LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 414).

This favours the complete transition of (au) into (aa), as Gill seems also to allow. Perhaps the modern pronunciation (laa) was already in use.

EA with long E.

Great *rhymes with sweat* LL 5, 2, 257 (157, 555); eat Cy 4, 2, 94, *song* (965', 264); seat P 1, *Gower* (977, 17); RL 69 (1015), *suprà* pp. 86-87; repeat P 1, 4, 5 (981, 30); defeat S 61, 9 (1038').

scene unclean RJ prol. (712, 2).

theme dream CE 2, 2, 65 (98, 183); stream VA 770 (1010).

extreme dream S 129, 10 (1046').

speak break TC 3, 3, 35 (639' 214); 4, 4, 5, *song* (642', 17); H 3, 2, 61 (829, 196); RL 566 (1019'), 1716 (1029'); S 34, 5 (1035').

pleadeth dreadeth leadeth RL 268 (1017).

These *rhymes with seas* CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 20); please LL 1, 1, 5 (135' 49); Simonides P 3, *Gower* (987, 23).

Pericles seas P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 9). displease Antipodes MN 3, 2, 8 (170, 54).

dread mead VA 634 (1009).

sweat heat VA 175 (1005).

EA with short E.

dead order-ed P 4, 4, *Gower* (993', 46).

dead remember-ed S 74, 10 (1040).

head punished RJ 5, 2, 65 (740', 306).

deal knell PP [18], 27 (1055', 271).

heat get VA 91 (1004).

eats gets *song*, AY 2, 5, 13 (213, 42).

great get RL 876 (1022).

better greater S 119, 10 (1045').

entreats frets VA 73 (1004).

steps leaps VA 277 (1005').

bequeath death MN 3, 2, 33 (171, 166).

Macbeth *rhymes with death* M 1, 2,

16 (789, 64); 3, 5, 2 (800', 4);

heath M 1, 1, 5 (788, 7).

death breath bequeath RL 1178 (1025).

deck speak P 3, *Gower* (987, 59).

oppress Pericles P 3, *Gower* (987, 29).

Bless *rhymes with increase* T 4, 1, 23

(15', 106); peace MN 5, 1, 104

(179', 424); cesse=*cease* AW 5, 3,

16 (277', 71).

confess decease VA 1001 (1012).

East *rhymes with detest* MN 3, 2, 109

(173', 432); rest PP 15, 1 (1054',

193).

Feast *rhymes with guest* CE 3, 1, 10

(98', 26); H⁴ 4, 2, 21 (402', 85);

RJ 1, 2, 5 (714', 20); Tim 3, 6, 42

(754, 109); VA 449 (1007); vcast

TS 5, 1, 67 (251, 143).

Beast *rhymes with rest* CE 5, 1, 30

(107, 83); jest LL 2, 1, 92 (141,

221); VA 997 (1012); blest VA 326

(1006); possess'd least S 29, 6

(1034').

crest breast VA 395 (1006').

congest breast LC 258 (1052).

lechery treachery MW 5, 3, 9 (64', 23).

EA, or long E with EE or IE.

[Most of the following are manifestly false or consonantal rhymes similar to those on p. 954, as there was no acknowledged pronunciation of *ea* or long *e* as (ii), except in a very few words, *suprà* p. 81. Possibly *besecech*, for which we have no orthoepical authority, retained its old sound (beseetsh'), as

leech retained the sound of (*leetsh*) beside the newer sound (*liitsh*), *suprà* p. 895.]

discreet sweet RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 199).

Crete sweet H^c 4, 6, 5 (489, 54).

up-heaveth relieveth VA 482 (1007).

leaving grieving WT 4, 1, 1 (317, 17).

teach beseech TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 318).

beseech you, teach you P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 7).

beseech thee, teach thee VA 404 (1007).

impleach'd beseech'd LC 205 (1051).

each leech (*folio* leach) Tim 5, 4, 14 (763, 83).

reading proceeding weeding breeding LL 1, 1, 15 (136, 94).

eche v. speech P 3, *Gower* (986, 13).

deems extremes RL 1336 (1026).

seems extremes VA 985 (1012).

Sleeve *rhymes with* Eve LL 5, 2, 162 (154, 321), believe CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 21). These may be perfect; the first is rather doubtful.

EE or IE with short E or short I.

sheds deeds S 34, 13 (1035).

field held S 2, 2 (1031).

field build KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 89), see *suprà* p. 136, n. 1.

Short E with short I.

[See the remarks on *civil Seville*, *suprà* p. 925.]

hild = held fulfill'd RL 1255 (1025).

mirror error P 1, 1, 8 (978, 45).

theft shift RL 918 (1022).

sentinel kill VA 650 (1009).

Yet *rhymes with* sit RJ 2, 3, 11 (722, 75); wit LL 4, 2, 10 (145, 35); VA 1007 (1012), agreeing with Smith and Gill.

ditty pretty PP 15, 7 (1055, 199).

im-pression com-mission VA 566 (1008).

spirit merit S 108, 2 (1044).

Hither *rhymes with* weather song, AY 2, 5, 1 (212, 5), RL 113 (1015); leather CE 2, 1, 34 (96, 84); together song, AY 5, 4, 35 (227, 116).

whether thither PP 14, 8 (1054, 188). Together *rhymes with* thither TC 1, 1, 37 (623, 118); whither VA 902 (1011).

Though not precisely belonging to this category, the following rhymes are closely connected with the above through the word together. See p. 129, note. either neither hither CE 3, 1, 44 (99, 66); neither together LL 4, 3, 49 (148, 191); together neither PT 42 (1057); whether neither PP 7, 17 (1054, 101).

devil evil LL 4, 3, 91 (149, 286), 5, 2, 42 (152, 105); TN 3, 4, 142 (297, 403); RL 85 (1015), 816 (1022), 972 (1023). It is probable that all these should be taken as (*div-l, iiv-l*), but Smith also gives (*diiv-il*). Compare modern Scotch *deil* = (*dil*). uneven seven R² 2, 2, 25 (366, 121). heaven even AY 5, 4, 35 (227, 114); VA 493 (1007).

never fever S 119, 6 (1045).

privilege edge S 95, 13 (1042).

Mytilene *rhymes with* then P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 50); din P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 272). See *suprà* p. 929, col. 1.

Friend *rhymes with* penn'd LL 5, 2, 192 (155, 402); end AY 3, 2, 34 (216, 142); AC 4, 15, 28 (938, 90); Cr 5, 3, 10 (969, 59); VA 716 (1009); RL 237 (1016), 897 (1022); tend II 3, 2, 61 (829, 216); intend VA 587 (1008); comprehend RL 494 (1019). These rhymes are opposed to Salesbury (*suprà* p. 80, l. 9), Bullokar, and Gill.

Fiend *rhymes with* end PT 6 (1057); S 145, 9 (1048); friend S 144, 9 (1048).—Shakspeare therefore apparently pronounced both *friend* and *fiend* with *e*. Salesbury has (*fründ, fend*), which is just the reverse of modern use.

teeth with VA 269 (1005).

sin bin = been RL 209 (1016).

give believe H^s prol. (592, 7). See *suprà* p. 891, col. 1; *give* had occasionally a long vowel.

give me, relieve me P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 268).

field gild RL 58 (1015); killed RL 72 (1015).

yielded shielded builded LC 149 (1051).

Long and Short I, -IND.

[These rhymes were "allowable," perhaps, in the same sense as poets in the xviiith and xviiith centuries allowed themselves to use, as rhymes, words which used to rhyme in preceding centuries. If I have not been greatly mistaken, the following words would have rhymed to Palsgrave and Bullokar, perhaps even to Mulcaster, though it is not likely that any actor of Shakspeare's company would have pronounced them so as to rhyme. We find Tennyson allowing himself precisely similar rhymes to this day, *suprà* p. 860, c. 1, and, as there shewn, the singularity of the present pronunciation (*wind*), leads poets to consider it to be (*wæind*), as

many always pronounce it when reading poetry. The existence of such rhymes, which could not be accounted for by any defect of ear, gives a strong presumption therefore in favour of the old sound of long *i* as (ii) or (ii), and not as (oi).]

Longaville *rhymes with* compile LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 133); mile LL 5, 2, 29 (152, 53); ill LL 4, 3, 36 (147, 123).

line Collatine RL 818 (1021).

unlikely quickly VA 989 (1012).

deprived unlied derived RL 1752 (1030).

live *v.* contrive JC 2, 3, 1 (773', 15).

lives *s.* restoratives P 1, *Gower* (977, 7).

Ilion pavilion LL 5, 2, 320 (158, 658).

grind confined S 110, 10 (1044').

Inde blind LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 222).

mind kind VA 1016 (1012).

Wind *rhymes with* behind hind CE 3, 1, 51 (99', 76); mind LL 4, 2, 9 (145, 33); find LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 105), RL 760 (1021); unkind AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 174), VA 187 (1005); Ind lined mind AY 3, 2, 25 (216, 93); kind M 1, 3, 5 (789, 11).

Final unaccented Y with long I.

[These rhymes, which are fully accepted by Gill, who generally pronounced both as (oi), are very frequent in Shakspeare as well as in Spenser, *suprà* p. 869. But final unaccented *y* also rhymes with long *ee* or as (ii), and hence we gather that the original (-c, -ii, -iie), out of which these were composed, were still in a transition state. Though they have now become regularly (-i), yet, as we have seen by numerous examples from Moore and Tennyson, *suprà* p. 861, the old licence prevails, although the rhyme (-i, -ii) is now more common than (-i, -oi), thus reversing the custom of the xvth century.]

I *rhymes with* Margery song, T 2, 2, 3 (10, 48); lie fly merrily song, T 5, 1, 10 (18 88); reportingly MA 3, 1, 26 (121, 115); loyalty MN 2, 2, 11 (167, 62).

Eye *rhymes with* the jealousy CE 2, 1, 38 (96', 114); disloyalty CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 9); merrily CE 4, 2, 1 (102', 2); perjury LL 4, 3, 14 (147, 60); majesty LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 226); infancy LL 4, 3, 71 (149, 243); dye, archery, espy, gloriously, sky, by, remedy MN 3, 2, 22 (170', 102); poverty LL 5, 2, 179 (155, 379); melody MN 1, 1, 36 (162', 188);

company MN 1, 1, 47 (163, 218); remedy R² 3, 3, 31 (372, 202); infirmity P 1, *Gower* (977, 3); justify P 1, *Gower* (977', 41); majesty satisfy RL 93 (1015'); secrecy RL 99 (1015'); dignity RL 435 (1018'); piety RL 540 (1019'); alchemy S 32, 2 (1035); prophecy S 106, 9 (1044). Lie *rhymes with* conspiracy T 2, 1, 147 (9', 301); I minstrelsy LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 175); remedy RJ 2, 3, 8 (721', 51); subtlety S 138, 2 (1047); rarity simplicity PT 53 (1057').

Die *rhymes with* philosophy LL 1, 1, 3 (135, 31); misery H^o 3, 2, 45 (483, 136); eternity H 1, 2, 12 (813', 72); testify P 1, *Gower* (977, 39); dignity S 94, 10 (1042').

dye fearfully PP [18], 40 (1055, 284).

Flies *rhymes with* enemies H 3, 2, 61 (829, 214); adulteries Cy 5, 4, 4 (970, 31).

fly destiny RL 1728 (1029').

adversity cry CE 2, 1, 15 (95', 34).

cry deity Cy 5, 4, 14 (970', 88).

try remedy AW 2, 1, 50 (260, 137);

enemy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 218).

warily by LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 93).

why amazedly M 4, 1, 42 (802', 125).

spy jealousy VA 655 (1009).

advise companies TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 246).

exercise injuries miseries Cy 5, 4, 12 (970', 82).

modesty reply TG 2, 1, 91 (26, 171).

apply simplicity LL 5, 2, 36 (152, 77).

Final unaccented Y with long EE.

See *rhymes with* enemy AY 2, 5, 1, song (212', 6); solemnity AC 5, 2, 131 (943', 368).

He *rhymes with* villag'ry MN 2, 1, 4

(164', 34); destiny M 3, 5, 2 (800',

16); be dignity Cy 5, 4, 7 (970, 53).

be cruelty TN 1, 5, 113 (286, 306).

thee honesty KJ 1, 1, 48 (334, 180);

melancholý S 45, 6 (1036').

decree necessity LL 1, 1, 37 (126', 148).

me necessity LL 1, 1, 38 (136', 154).

Long O and short O.

One *rhymes with* on T 4, 1, 29 (16, 137); TG 2, 1, 2 (24', 1) [this is (on oon)]; done R² 1, 1, 26 (358, 182) [this is (oon dun)]; Scone M 5, 8, 23 (810', 74); shoon H 4, 5, 9, song (836, 25); thrown Cy 5, 4, 8 (970', 59) [this is (throoon oon)]; bone VA 293 (1006); loan S 6, 6 (1032); none S 8, 13 (1032); bone LC 43 (1050); gone CE 4, 2, 14 (103, 23),

VA 518 (1008); 227 (1005); alone
 RL 1478 (1027'); S 36, 2 (1035');
 PP 9, 13 (1054, 129).
 Alone *rhymes with* anon S 75, 5 (1040);
 none TN 3, 1, 65 (293, 171); H^a 4,
 7, 1 (489, 9).
 None *rhymes with* stone S 94, 1 (1042');
 moan PP [18], 51 (1055', 295);
 gone CE 3, 2, 50 (101, 157); MN 2,
 2, 13 (167, 66); I will have none.
 Thy gown? as an echo TS 4, 3, 31
 (247, 85).
 Gone *rhymes with* moan MN 5, 1, 96
 (179, 340); H 4, 6, 60, *song* (837',
 197); groan R² 5, 1 17 (377, 99);
 RL 1360 (1026'); stone H 4, 5, 11,
song (836, 30); bone VA 56 (1003');
 on P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 19), Oth 1,
 3, 45 (884, 204); sun VA 188 (1005').

Long O with short O.

not smote LL 4, 3, 4 (146', 24).
 note pot LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 929).
 o'clock oak MW 5, 5, 16 (65, 78).
 wot boat H^a 4, 6, 3 (488', 32).
 m^oment c^omment S 15, 2 (1033).
 frost boast LL 1, 1, 23 (136, 100).
 most lost LL 1, 1, 36 (136', 146).
 boast lost H^a 4, 5, 6 (488, 24).
 lost coast P 5, *Gower* (995', 13).
 lost boast VA 1075 (1013); RL 1191
 (1025).
 coast boast S 91, 10 (1042).
 oath troth LL 1, 1, 11 (135', 65); 4,
 3, 38 (148, 143).
 oath wroth MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 77).
 troth oath growth RL 1059 (1024).

Long O with open OW=(oo).

[These rhymes shew that the after-sound of (u) had become faint, justifying its entire omission by the orthoepists of the xviii century. It is curious, however, to find that in the xix th century the (u) has reappeared, not merely where there was formerly (oo), but also where there was only (oo). It has no connection with either of the above sounds, having been merely evolved from (oo), which replaced both of them in the xviii century. The changes of (e, oo) into (ei, oou) are local, belonging only to the Southern or London pronunciation of English, although widely spread in America, and orthoepists are not agreed as to their reception; the further evolution into (ei, ou), or nearly (ai, au), is generally condemned. But orthoepists have a habit of condemning in one century the rising practice of the next.]

Angelo grow MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 283).
 owe Dromio CE 3, 1, 20 (99, 42).
 Go *rhymes with* know MM 3, 2, 86
 (82, 277); below H 3, 3, 10 (831',
 97); flow Cy 3, 5, 53 (961', 165);
 grow S 12, 10 (1032'); below VA
 923 (1011); so toe mow no T 4, 1,
 10 (15, 44). A writer in the *Athe-*
næum for 20 Aug. 1870, p. 253, pro-
 poses to alter the last *no* into *now*,
 stating, among other reasons, that
 "*now* enjoys the advantage of rhym-
 ing with *move*, which it was meant
 to do." But *now* in this sense was
 (moou), according to Sir T. Smith,
 and all five lines are meant to rhyme
 together.
 bow = *arcus* doe TC 3, 1, 68 (635', 126).
 No *rhymes with* blow CE 3, 1, 31 (99,
 54); show AY 3, 2, 34 (216, 134).
 So *rhymes with* crow CE 3, 1, 57 (99',
 84); P 4, *Gower* (990, 32); know
 CE 3, 2, 3 (100', 53); LL 1, 1, 11
 (135', 59); Oth 4, 3, 41 (905, 103);
 VA 1109 (1013); blow LL 4, 3, 36
 (147', 109); owe TN 1, 5, 118
 (286, 329); shew MN 3, 2, 32 (171,
 151), [hence probably Shakspeare
 said (shoon) and not (sheu); see
 Spenser's various uses, *supra* p. 871.]
 shrew TS 5, 2, 92 (253', 188). (Shroo)
 is still heard, compare also the com-
 mon pronunciation (Shrooz'heri) for
 Shrewsbury, and the rhymes: O's
 shrews LL 5, 2, 23 (151', 45); shrew
 shew TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 223); shew
 crow RJ 1, 2, 26 (715', 91).
 Woe *rhymes with* show LL 4, 3, 4
 (147, 36); flow H^a prol. (592, 3);
 show H 1, 2, 15 (813', 85).
 suppose shows P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 5).
 Rose *rhymes with* grows LL 1, 1, 24
 (136, 105); flows LL 4, 3, 4 (146',
 27); throws VA 590 (1005').
 snow foe VA 362 (1006').
 foes overthrows RJ prol. (712, 5).
 crows shews RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 50).
 Cleon grown P 4, *Gower* (990, 15).
 more four MN 3, 2, 110 (173', 437);
 LL 4, 3, 62 (148', 210).
 four door VA 446 (1007).
 foal bowl = *eup* MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 46).
 shoulder bolder LL 5, 2, 42 (162',
 107); poll = *head* soul H 4, 5, 60,
song (837', 196). These two in-
 stances only apparently belong to
 this category, (u) being developed
 by (l) in *bold*, *poll*, unless we are to
 assume that Shakspeare did not de-
 velop this (u), and also left out the
 u in *shoulder*, *soul*.

Long O = (oo) or open OW =
(oou) with close OU = (ou).

[Such rhymes are strongly opposed to the notion that Shakspeare recognized Palsgrave and Bullokar's antiquated pronunciation of (uu) for (ou).] low cow MA 5, 4, 22 (133', 48).

four hour LL 5, 2, 177 (155', 367').

Gill pronounces (foour), and provincially *four* is frequently pronounced so as to rhyme with *hour*, as here.

bowl = *cup* owl LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 935').

fowls controuls CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 18).

souls fowls CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 22').

brow grow VA 139 (1004').

glow brow VA 337 (1006').

growing bowing T 4, 1, 24 (15', 112').

allowing growing WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 15').

known town H^s prol. (592, 23).

coward froward VA 569 (1008').

toward coward VA 1157 (1013').

Rhymes in OVE.

Love *rhymes with* move CE 3, 2, 1

(100, 22); 4, 2, 9 (103, 13); MN 1,

1, 39 (163, 196); TN 3, 1, 66 (293,

175); H 2, 1, 37 (820, 118); PP

[20], 15 (1056', 367'); [20], 19

(1056', 371); remove RJ prol. (712,

9); S 116; 2 (1045); PP [18], 11

(1055', 255); prove LL 4, 2, 34 (146,

109); 4, 3, 88 (149', 282); TN 2, 4,

36 (289', 120); S 116, 13 (1045);

117, 13 (1045'); 153, 5 (1049'); 154,

13 (1049'); PP [20], 1 (1056,

353); reprove S 142, 2 (1048);

approve S 147, 5 (1049); Jove LL

4, 3, 36 (147', 119); RL 568 (1019'); 9

grove MN 2, 1, 38 (166, 259); T

4, 1, 16 (15', 66); dove PT 50

(1057'); above AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 1).

moreover lover LL 5, 2, 211 (156, 446').

discover lover TG 2, 1, 91 (26, 173).

move prove R² 1, 1, 9 (356', 45').

Long O with long OO.

shoot do't LL 4, 1, 11 (143', 26').

doing wooing TS 2, 1, 26 (237', 74').

do too Cy 5, 3, 10 (969', 61').

to't foot LL 5, 2, 50 (152', 145').

to't root Tim 1, 2, 15 (744', 71').

Woo *rhymes with* move MV 2, 9, 9 (191,

75); unto VA 307 (1006); LC 191

(1051'); ago RJ 3, 4, 1 (730, 8);

know MN 5, 1, 28 (177', 139').

choose lose CE 4, 3, 27 (104', 96);

MV 2, 9, 10 (191, 80).

propose lose H 3, 2, 61 (829, 204').

Come *rhymes with* tomb S 17, 1 (1033);

doom S 116, 10 (1045); 145, 5 (1048'); 9

roam TN 2, 3 17 (287', 40); master-

dom M 1, 5, 9 (791', 70').

moon fordone MN 5, 1, 101 (179', 379).

doth tooth TC 4, 5, 113 (646', 292).

look Bolingbroke R² 3, 4, 23 (373, 98).

store poor LL 5, 2, 178 (155', 377);

RJ 1, 1, 88 (714', 221').

Where *rhymes with* more TC 4, 1, 19

(641, 65), 5, 2, 92 (649, 113); poor

KL 2, 4, 19, *song* (859, 52).

do woe P 1, 1, 8 (978, 47).

no man, woman TG 3, 1, 18 (31, 104).

moon Biron LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230).

OO.

Blood *rhymes with* good LL 2, 1, 58

(141, 186); MN 5, 1, 83 (178',

287); AW 2, 3, 47 (262, 102); H^s

2, 5, 18 (479', 128); Tim 4, 2, 7

(755, 38); M 4, 1, 10 (801', 37);

VA 1181 (1013'); RL 1028 (1023'); 9

S 109, 10 (1044'); LC 162 (1051);

mood MN 3, 2, 13 (170, 74); stood

VA 1121 (1013), 1169 (1013'); un-

derstood mood LC 198 (1051'); 9

wood = *mad* H^s 4, 7, 5 (489, 35);

wood VA 740 (1010).

Flood *rhymes with* wood VA 824

(1010'); stood PP 6, 13 (1053', 83).

Foot *rhymes with* boot H^s 4, 6, 4 (489,

52); root RL 664 (1020').

groom doom RL 671 (1020').

should cool'd VA 385 (1006'). Com-

pare Spenser's rhyme as (shoould),

supra p. 871, and p. 968, under L.

Short O or OO with short U.

[See the puns depending on the

identity of these sounds, supra p. 925.]

crum some KL 1, 4, 74, *song* (853', 217).

Come *rhymes with* some LL 5, 2, 381

(159', 839); sum S 49, 1 (1037),

LC 230 (1052); dumb TG 2, 2, 9

(26', 20); drum H^s 4, 3, 71 (400',

229); M 1, 3, 11 (789', 30); thumb

LL 5, 2, 42 (152', 111); M 1, 3, 10

(789, 28).

tomb dumb MA 5, 3, 3 (132', 9); MN

5, 1, 96, *Pyramus and Thisbe* (179,

334); AW 2, 3, 57 (263, 146); RL

1121 (1024'); S 83, 10 (1041); 101,

9 (1043').

sun won LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 84).

done won sun M 1, 1, 2 (788, 4).

sun done Cy 4, 2, 93, *song* (965', 258),

VA 197 (1005).

begun done R² 1, 2, 8 (358', 60).

nuns sons VA 752 (1010).

under wonder VA 746 (1010).

wonder thunder LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 117).
 good bud PP 13, 1 (1054', 169).
 flood mud LC 44 (1050).
 wolf gulf M 4, 1, 8 (801', 22).
 trouble bubble M 4, 1, 5 (801', 10).

Short O rhyming as short U.

son done T 4, 1, 20 (15', 93); M 3, 5, 2
 (800', 10).
 noon son S 7, 13 (1032).
 took provoke P 1, *Gower* (977, 25).
 forage courage VA 554 (1008).

-ONG, with -OUNG, -UNG.

[The following list of words in *-ong* = (oq, uq), now (oq, uq), shews with what laxity this termination was used for convenience, so that consonantal rhyme is constantly employed. See Spenser's rhymes, *suprà* p. 870.]

Young rhymes with long LL 5, 2, 386
 (159', 845); RJ 1, 1, 64 (714, 166);
 RJ 4, 5, 21 (735', 77); KL 1, 4, 76,
song (853', 235); 5, 3, 124 (878',
 325); PP 12, 10 (1034, 166);
 strong VA 419 (1007); RL 863
 (1022); belong AW 1, 3, 35 (258,
 134).

Tongue rhymes with belong LL 5, 2,
 181 (155, 381); 4, 3, 71 (148', 238);
 long 5, 2, 117 (153', 242); MN 5,
 1, 105 (180', 440); TS 4, 2, 25 (245',
 57); wrong MA 5, 3, 3 (132', 1);
 LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 167); 4, 2, 34
 (146, 121); MN 2, 2, 2 (166', 9).
 2H⁺ ind. (409', 39); VA 217 (1005).
 329 (1006); 427 (1007); 1003
 (1012); RL 78 (1015'); S 89, 9
 (1042); throng KL 3, 2, 14 (863,
 87); strong MM 3, 2, 65 (81, 198);
 song LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 403); VA
 775 (1010); S 17, 10 (1033); stung
 MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 72).

sung among KL 1, 4, 70, *song* (853', 192).
 belong among strong LC 254 (1052).
 along sung VA 1094 (1013).

Short U.

us thus guess? LL 5, 2, 43 (152', 119).
 ridiculous us LL 5, 2, 155 (154', 306).
 bush blush LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 137).
 touch much MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 70).
 Antiphoch ruinous CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 2).
 does glorious P 2, *Gower* (981', 13).
 fullness dullness S 56, 6 (1038).
 pull dull AW 1, 1, 62 (256, 233).
 begun sun KJ 1, 1, 42 (333', 158).
 shun you, on you T 4, 1, 24 (16, 116).

Long U, UE, EW, IEW, and YOU.

[The following examples shew, that whatever was the pronunciation, Shakspeare found these rhymes sufficiently good for his purposes. According to Gill, he must have rhymed (yy, eu, juu). The modern pronunciations are (iu, uu, juu) in various words, and are generally held to rhyme. But the rhymes in Shakspeare can no more justify us in supposing that he pronounced them identically, than the universal custom of German poets in rhyming *ö, ü, eu* with *e, i, ei*, would admit of us supposing that they would endure the former vowels, received as (æ æ, yy y, ay oy oi), to be reduced to the second, which are received as (*ee e, ii i, ai*). This is a most instructive example, because this custom of rhyming is universal among German poets. The corresponding pronunciation is extremely common, and it is as much shunned by all who have any pretence to orthoepical knowledge, as the omission or insertion of the aspirate in English speech. We may, therefore, well understand Shakspeare using rhymes and making puns due to a perhaps widely spread pronunciation, while he would, as manager, have well "wigg'd" an actor who ventured to employ them on the stage in serious speech,—a fate impending on any German actor who should "assist" his author's rhymes by venturing to utter *ö* as (*ee*), *ü* as (*ii*), or *eu* as (*ai*).]

You rhymes with adieu LL 1, 1, 25
 (136, 110); 2, 1, 83 (141, 213); 5,
 2, 116 (153', 240); MN 1, 1, 48
 (163, 224); H⁺ 4, 4, 21 (488, 45);
 VA 535 (1008); S 57, 6 (1038);
 new CE 3, 2, 2 (100, 37); S 15, 13
 (1033); grew S 84, 2 (1041); view
 LL 4, 3, 40 (148, 175); true T epil.
 (20', 3); S 85, 9 (1041'); 118, 13
 (1045'); true sue LL 5, 2, 197 (155',
 426); untrue LL 5, 2, 217 (156,
 472); view true new MV 3, 2, 14
 (193', 132).

True rhymes with adieu MA 3, 1, 26
 (121, 107); RJ 2, 2, 32 (720', 136);
 Montague RJ 3, 1, 54 (726', 153);
 view RL 454 (1018'); new S 63,
 10 (1039'); grew LC 169 (1051');
 subdue LC 246 (1052).
 viewing ensuing VA 1076 (1013).
 blue knew RL 407 (1018).
 hue Jew MN 3, 1, 32 (163', 97).
 beauty duty RL 13 (1014'); VA 167
 (1001').

excuses abuses sluices RL 1073 (1024).
pollute fruit RL 1063 (1024).
suit mute LL 5, 2, 133 (154, 275);
VA 205 (1005); 335 (1006).
suitor tutor TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 143);
KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 83).
youth ruth PP 9, 9 (1054, 125); S 37,
2 (1035').

Long U with Long OO.

[These examples, though few in number, are instructive. There can be no question that the first two are not rhymes, and that if the third *do you* is a rhyme, the common *you adieu* in the last list, is not.]
suing wooing VA 356 (1006').
lose it, abuse it H^o 4, 5, 13 (488, 40).
do you M 3, 5, 2 (800', 12).

Long I with EYE and AY.

Eye rhymes with by LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 81); VA 281 (1005'); ay LL 2, 1, 60 (141, 188); buy LL 2, 1, 101 (141', 242); I LL 4, 3, 41 (148, 183); why TS 1, 1, 16 (232', 79); die RJ 1, 2, 7 (715, 50); lie RJ 1, 3, 23 (716', 85).

Eye rhymes with shine LL 5, 2, 82 (153, 205); mine TS 5, 1, 56 (250', 120); vine AC 2, 7, 66, *song* (924, 120).

die ay R² 3, 3, 21 (372, 175).
fly perdy KL 2, 4, 27, *song* (859, 84).

OY with UI, and long I.

noise boys CE 3, 1, 39 (99, 61).
eyes = *oyez* toys MW 5, 5, 12 (65, 45),
in ludicrous rhymes.
moi *Fr.* destroy R² 5, 3, 39 (379', 119).
joy destroy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 206).
voice juice VA 134 (1004'). This
rhyme is somewhat obscure. But
Hodges, 1643, gives *juice* and *joice*,
meaning *joist*, as identical in sound;
he probably said (dzhois), a pronunciation
still common among carpenters.
swine groin VA 1115 (1013). Here
possibly (grein) may have been said.

Close OU (ou),

with especial reference to the word
wound, called (wound) by Smith, and
(wuund), in accordance with the present
general use, by Gill, who gives (waund),
or perhaps (waund), as a Northern pro-
nunciation.

Wound rhymes with ground MN 2, 2,
18 (167', 100); R² 3, 2, 18 (369',
139); RL 1199 (1025); confound
MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 300); TC 3, 1,

68 (635', 128); found RJ 2, 1, 10,
and 2, 2, 1 (719', 42 and 1); sound
RJ 4, 5, 40 (736, 128); P 4, *Gower*
(990, 23); bound VA 265 (1005');
round VA 368 (1006'); hound VA
913 (1011').

swounds wounds RL 1486 (1027').
profound ground M 3, 5, 2 (800', 24).
crown lawn Oth 2, 3, 31, *song* (889, 93).

GH with F.

Macduff enough M 5, 8, 9 (809', 33).
laugh draff MW 4, 2, 41 (60, 104).
laugh staff CE 3, 1, 26 (99, 56).
hereafter laughter TN 2, 3, 20 (287', 48).
after daughter TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 244).

This may be meant as ludicrous.
daughter after WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 27).
In the speech of Time, as chorus,
caught her, daughter, slaughter, halter,
after KL 1, 4, 101 (854', 340). In a
Song of the Fool. These last three
examples are very remarkable, espe-
cially the last, including the word
halter. When this rhyme occurs in
modern ludicrous verse it is usual
to say (aarta) daarta). Whether any
such ludicrous pronunciation then
prevailed is not clear, but (—aater)
would save every case, as *halter*
might well sink to (haaater).
oft nought PP 19, 41 (1056, 339).
Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth, says that
he has heard *higher lower* pronounc-
ed in that neighbourhood as (haif-a
loof-a), and that (thaaf, saif)
are common in Devonshire for *thought*,
sigh. See p. 212.

GH written as TH.

mouth drouth P 3, *Gower* (986', 7);
VA 542 (1008). See Jones's pro-
nunciation, *suprà* p. 212.

GH mute.

[This is entirely comparable to the
disregard of (u) in the rhymes (ouu, ou),
suprà p. 961, col. 1. It by no means
proves that the *gh* (kh) was not still
lightly touched. The sound was con-
fessedly gentle, and not so harsh as
the Welsh *ch*, *suprà* pp. 210, 779.
But it favours Gill's (raikht), etc., for
Salesbury's (rikht).]

Light rhymes with bite R² 1, 3, 57,
(361, 292); white VA 1051 (1012);
spite VA 1133 (1013'); smite RL
176 (1016).

Right rhymes with appetite RL 545
(1019'); spite H 1, 5, 64 (819, 188);
CE 4, 2, 2 (102', 7).

might rite MA 5, 3, 5 (132', 21).
 Night *rhymes with* quite Oth 5, 1, 78
 (906', 128); despite VA 731 (1009').
 sprite knight MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 281).
 Delight *rhymes with* quite LL 1, 1, 13
 (135', 70); white LL 5, 2, 404 (160.
 905); sprite M 4, 1, 42 (802', 127).
 sight white VA 1166 (1013').
 sleights sprites M 3, 5, 2 (800', 26).
 Nigh *rhymes with* try CE 2, 1, 16 (95',
 42); immediately MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
 155); sky AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 184);
 fly Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 153); eye VA
 341 (1006).
 high *rhymes with* eye AW 1, 1, 62
 (256, 235); dry VA 551 (1008).

sighs eyes RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 196).
 nebour = *neighbour* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 27).
 fray weigh MN 3, 2, 27 (170', 129).
 weigh'd maid RJ 1, 2, 28 (715', 101).
 straight conceit CE 4, 2, 33 (103', 63).
 paying weighing MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 279).
 so though MN 2, 2, 20 (167', 108);
 KJ 1, 1, 45 (333', 168).
 bough now VA 37 (1003').
 vows boughs AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 141).

-ED = T after S, K.

kissed whist T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).
 deck'd aspect LL 4, 3, 75 (149, 258).
 breast distress'd VA 812 (1010').

Effect of R final.

Unaccented final ar, er, or.

ne'er Jupiter T 4, 1, 17 (15', 76).
 worshipper fear cheer RL 86 (1015').
 appear murderer P 4, *Gower* (990, 51).
 characters tears bears LC 16 (1050).
 stomachers dears WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
 226).
 harbinger near PT 5 (1057).
 character where AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 6).
 conspirator ravisher RL 769 (1021').
 orator harbinger CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 10).
 orator singular publisher RL 30 (1015').
 progenitors ours RL 1756 (1030).

AR, ARE.

Are *rhymes with* star LL 1, 1, 14 (136,
 89); prepare 5, 2, 39 (152, 81);
 care R² 2, 3, 40 (367', 170); 3H⁶ 2,
 5, 14 (537', 123); S 147, 9 (1049).
 dare M 3, 5, 2 (800', 2); compare VA
 8 (1003); care snare RL 926 (1022);
 car S 7, 9 (1032); prepare S 13, 1
 (1032); compare S 35, 6 (1035');
 war TC prol. (622, 30).
 War *rhymes with* star MN 3, 2, 101
 (173, 407); P 1, 1, 7 (978, 37); jar
 VA 98 (1004); bar S 46, 1 (1036').
 warp sharp AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 187).
 reward barr'd AW 2, 1, 51 (260', 150).
 warm harm VA 193 (1005).
 warm'd charm'd LC 191 (1051'). The
 above rhymes shew, either that (w)
 did not affect the following (a), or
 that the effect was disregarded. Gill
 authorizes the first conclusion.
 vineyard rocky hard T 4, 1, 16 (15', 68).
 start heart MW 5, 5, 20 (65, 90).
 athwart heart LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 135).
 Heard *rhymes with* reward P 5, 3,
Gower (999', 85); regard RL 305
 (1017').

EAR, -ERE.

[These seem to have been in a transi-
 tional state between (iir) and (eer),
 (p. 81), probably for this reason the
 rhymes are rather confused. But the
 general pronunciation was evidently
 (eer).]

Ear *rhymes with* there R² 5, 3, 40
 (379', 125); PP 19, 26 (1056, 324);
 dear RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 48); hair
 VA 145 (1004'); tear s. RL 1126
 (1024'); bear hear RL 1327 (1026);
 swear bear RL 1418 (1027); bear
 S 8, 6 (1032).

Hear *rhymes with* chanticlear T 1, 2,
 101 (5', 384); swear LL 4, 3, 38
 (148, 145); tear fear LL 4, 3, 55
 (148', 200); fear MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
 153); bear Oth 1, 3, 46 (884, 212);
 VA 428 (1007); tear v. bear RL
 667 (1020'); cheer PP [21], 21
 (1056', 393).

Here *rhymes with* were CE 4, 2, 4
 (102', 9); swear ear LL 4, 1, 23
 (144, 57); ear appear LL 4, 3, 4
 (147, 44); there 4, 3, 45 (148,
 189); MV 2, 7, 5 (190, 61); dear
 LL 4, 3, 82 (149, 274); swear LL
 5, 2, 173 (155, 357); wear MN 2,
 2, 13 (167, 70); spear R² 1, 1, 24
 (357', 170); tear s. H⁸ prol. (592,
 5); gear TC 3, 2, 54 (637', 219);
 where RJ 1, 1, 80 (714, 203); hier
 RJ 3, 2, 9 (727', 59); clear M 5, 3,
 20 (807', 61); deer VA 229 (1005);
 bear dear RL 1290 (1026).

There *rhymes with* bear T 1, 2, 99
 (5', 381); near MN 2, 2, 23 (167',
 135); S 136, 1 (1047'); spear VA
 1112 (1013); RL 1422 (1027); ap-
 pear fear RL 114 (1015'); tear v.

fear RL 737 (1021); tear *s.* RL 1373 (1026').
 Where *rhymes with* sphere MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 6); clear S 84, 10 (1041);
 sere CE 4, 2, 13 (103, 19); near S 61, 13 (1038'); were beer Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 159).
 Wear *rhymes with* dear LL 5, 2, 45 (152', 130); deer AY 4, 2, 6 (223, 11); bear VA 163 (1004'); year 506 (1007'); fear 1081. (1013); bear S 77, 1 (1040').
 Year *rhymes with* peer WT 4, 3, 1 (318, 1); R² 1, 3, 18 (359', 93); cheer dear there 2H¹ 5, 3, 6 (435', 18); deer KL 3, 4, 34 (864', 144); wear KL 1, 4, 68, *song* (853, 181); forbear VA 524 (1008).
 Dear *rhymes with* wear ware WT 4, 4, 92 (322, 324); peer R² 5, 5, 3 (380', 67); there S 110, 1 (1044'); year KJ 1, 1, 38 (333', 152).
 Tear *s.* *rhymes with* hair CE 3, 2, 2 (100', 46); VA 49 (1003'); 191 (1005); her MN 2, 2, 18 (167, 92); wear LC 289 (1052').
 Appear *rhymes with* bear CE 3, 1, 4 (98', 15); TG 1, 2, 139 (826, 320); bear hair dear near MN 2, 2, 4 (166', 30); here MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 73); R² 5, 6, 2 (381', 9); there KL 1, 4, 62, *song* (853, 159); wears P 6, 3, *Gower* (999', 93); tear *s.* VA 1175 (1013'); fear RL 456 (1018'); 1434 (1027); were 631 (1020); pioneer 1350 (1026'); where S 102, 2 (1043'); wear dear LC 93 (1050').
 Fear *rhymes with* there MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 30); 3, 2, 2 (170, 31); H 3, 2, 56 (828', 181); VA 320 (1006); RL 307 (1017'); swear TN 5, 1, 61 (301', 173); H^o 4, 5, 6 (488, 28); PP 7, 8 (1053', 92); bear M 3, 5, 2 (800', 30); RL 610 (1020); near H 1, 3, 5 (815', 43); forbear AC 1, 3, 8 (914, 11); clear P 1, 1, 15 (978', 141); ear VA 659 (1009); RL 307 (1017'); deer VA 689 (1009'); severe VA 993 (1012); 1153 (1013'); hear cheer RL 261 (1017); there swear 1647 (1029).
 Bear *rhymes with* severe MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 275); fear MN 2, 2, 18 (167', 94); bear MN 5, 1, 2 (176, 21); near Cy 4, 2, 102, *song* (966, 278); tear *v.* P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 29); hair tear RL 1129 (1024'); were S 13, 6 (1032'); there S 41, 9 (1036).
 clear sphere MN 3, 2, 9 (170, 60).
 swears hairs P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 27).
 pierce rehearse R² 5, 3, 40 (379', 127).

fierce=*fearce* in quartos H 1, 1, 50 (812', 121).
 weary merry T 4, 1, 29 (16, 135).
 herd' beard S 12, 6 (1032'). This favours J. P. Kemble's pronunciation of *beard* as *bird*, *supra* p. 82, l. 13 and note, and p. 20.
 heard beard LL 2, 1, 74 (141, 202). This is not so favourable to Kemble as the last, because *heard* was often *hard*, *supra* pp. 20, 964.

AIR.

despair prayer T epil. (20', 15).
 prayer fair RL 344 (1017'). As we have fully recognized *prayer* as a dissyllable, *supra* p. 951, we must apparently make *r* syllabic in *despair* and *fair*.

IR.

first worst TS 1, 2, 6 (234, 13).
 curst first VA 887 (1011).
 first accurst VA 1118 (1013).
 earth birth MW 5, 5, 17 (65, 84).
 birds herds VA 455 (1007').
 stir spur VA 283 (1005'), *stur*, quartos.
 stir incur RL 1471 (1027').

IRE.

aspire higher MW 5, 5, 25 (65', 101).
 briar fire MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 3).
 fires liars RJ 1, 2, 27 (715', 94).
 aspire higher P 1, 4, 2 (980', 5).
 relier retire RL 639 (1020).
 In all these the *r* is evidently syllabic, p. 951.

ORE, OR.

before door MV, 1, 2, 29 (183', 146).
 abhor thee, adore thee PP 12, 9 (1054', 165).
 court sport LL 4, 1, 29 (144', 100).
 short sport H¹ 1, 3, 54 (387', 301).
 forsworn born LL 1, 1, 38 (136', 150).
 form storm KL 2, 4, 27, *song* (859, 80); LC 99 (1050').
 force horse S 91, 2 (1042).
 accurst worst TG 5, 4, 18 (40, 71).
 Turk work Oth 2, 1, 40 (886', 115).
 forth worth AW 3, 4, 2 (267', 13); H 4, 4, 17 (835', 65); VA 416 (1007); S 38, 9 (1035'); S 72, 13 (1040); S 103, 1 (1043').
 Word *rhymes with* Ford MW 5, 5, 76 (66', 258); afford CE 3, 1, 8 (98', 24); S 105, 10 (1044'); 79, 9 (1040'); 85, 5 (1041'); board CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 18); LL 2, 1, 85 (141, 215); lord LL 4, 1, 30 (144', 102); MN 2, 2, 24 (167', 151); P 2, *Gower* (981',

3); RL 1609 (1028'); sword LL 5, 2, 138 (154, 274): MN 2, 2, 19 (167', 106'); RL 1420 (1027'); ford RL 1329 (1026).
re-worded accorded LC 1 (1050).
afford Lord LL 4, 1, 13 (143', 39).

OUR.

hours flowers LL 4, 3, 99 (150, 379).
power hour Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 65).
flower devour RL 1254 (1025'). These
are evidently cases of syllabic *r*,
suprà p. 951.

MR. RICHARD GRANT WHITE'S ELIZABETHAN PRONUNCIATION.

The following is an abstract of Mr. White's *Memorandums on English Pronunciation in the Elizabethan Era*, which forms an appendix to the 12th Vol. of his *Shakespeare*, suprà p. 918, n. 1. Passages in inverted commas are nearly in the words of the original; those in brackets, and all palaeotypic symbols, are additions.

A.

A was generally (æ) as in *ale, make, tame*; sometimes (aa) as in *awe, saw, fall*; the Italian (aa) and short (æ) are rarely indicated.

A final was almost always (æ.) This is shewn by the rhymes: say Seneca, Drayton's *Élegies*, 1627, p. 197; Remora delay, *Pastor Fido*, 1647, p. 215; from height of Idey = Ida, Seneca's *Ten Tragedies*, 1681, fol. 115. [See suprà p. 912, under A1. In a note on MV 3, 1, 23 (192, 84), Mr. White observes that both folios and quartos spell *Genova* or *Genoway*, and thinks this indicates the pronunciation *Geno'a* or *Geno'ay*, a position of the accent now common among the illiterate. But if we remember that the Italian is *Genova*, we may suppose *Gen-o-ua* to have been intended, or apply the suggestion, suprà p. 133, note. According to the Cambridge editors, the quartos and first three folios have *Genova*, and the fourth *Geneva*, a mistake for *Genova*. None end the word with *ay*. He adds:] "I am convinced that the final *a* of proper names had then almost always the pure sound of the vowel; and the more, because such a pronunciation still pervades New England, where even the best-educated men, who have not had the advantage of early and frequent intercourse with the most polite society of Boston and the other principal cities, say, for instance, Carolinay for Carolina, Augustay for Augusta, and even Savannay for Savannah—the last syllable being rather lightly touched, but being still unmistakably *ay* (æ) instead of *ah* (aa). If told of this, they would probably be surprised, and perhaps deny it; but it is true; and the pronunciation, although somewhat homely, is merely a

remnant of Shakespearian English." [Say rather of English of the xviith century, and that peculiar, if we may trust orthoepists at all. Compare the observations on German *e* final, suprà p. 119, note, col. 2.]

In *angel, stranger, danger, manger*, *a* = (æ) or (A), shewn by the co-existence of the spellings *an, am* [no instance of *aungel* is cited].

In *master, plaster, father*, *a* = (æe). In *Pastor Fido*, v. 6, p. 202, ed. 1647, we find the rhyme: father either. Also in *have*, *a* = (æe). "He [the painter West] also pronounced some of his words, in reading, with a puritanical barbarism, such as *haive* for *have*." Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography*, p. 85, ed. 1860. "My mother, who both read and spoke remarkably well, would say *haive* and *shaul* (for *shall*) when she sang her hymns." *Ibid.* [Both xviiith century sounds, (heev) being the late form of (hææv). The modern (hæv) shortened the vowel, without altering its quality. We have (feedh.r) now as a provincialism, see suprà p. 750, n. 8.]

CH

had more frequently than now the sound *k*. [The instances cited—*beseech, belch, stinch, roches*, for *beseech, belch, stink, rocks*,—are only cases of old *k* not changed into (tsh). The *ch* can hardly be supposed to represent *k*; yet Mr. White observes that *chaste* is cast in the first and second folios of WT 3, 2, 19 (315, 133), which might have been a misprint, and suggests that we should read, "he hath bought a pair of *chaste* lips of Diana, for "*cast* lips," in AY 3, 4, 10 (219', 16), which would spoil the joke of comparing Dian's lips to cast-off clothes. It cannot be supposed that there was any

variation between (tsh) and (k) in this and similar words. In LL 5, 1, 10 (150', 35), he supposes *chirrah* to represent *shirrah*.]

E.

The *-ed* was "rigorously pronounced," unless the contraction was indicated. Thus *purpled*, *shuffled*, were *purp-l-ed*, *shuff-l-ed*. [See *suprà* p. 952.]

EA.

Generally *ea* = *ee*. [Here Mr. White recants a hasty opinion that *ea* = (ii), made in a note on LL 4, 1, 60 (145', 148), on finding that Mr. Collier's folio supplied *declare* as a rhyme to *swear* in that passage, thus:

To see him kiss his hand! and how
most sweetly 'a will swear,
*Looking babies in her eyes, his passion
to declare.*]

But in *thread*, instead, *ea* was (ii), as inferred from the very frequent misspellings *threed*, *threde*, instead, *insteade*. [The inference is unsafe, because the spelling *ea* was not well fixed, see *suprà* p. 77.] In *heart*, *heard*, *earth*, *dearth*, *hearth*, *ea* appears to have had "the broad sound of *a*," [this "broad sound" should mean (aa), but (aa) is probably intended, as he spells] *hart*, *hard*, *arth*, etc. "The first and last are still preserved, and the others linger among the uncultivated. But *heard* and *earth* were conformed to analogy by some speakers and writers, and pronounced *haird* and *airth*; and this usage is not yet extinct in New England. *Beard* appears to have had four sounds, *beerd* (rarely), *baird* (the most usual), *bard* and *burd*—the sound of the same letters in *heard* at this day." In *creature*, *e-a* were two sounds [*suprà* p. 947]. See the rhyme: began ocean, Milton's *Hymn on the Nativity*, st. 5, and: ocean run; Browne's *Pastorals*, 1, 25, ed. 1772. [See: ocean motion, *suprà* p. 954, col. 1, and: physician incision, *suprà* p. 949, col. 2.] *Ea* was short (e) in *leap'd*, *heap'd*.

EAU.

[In a note on H⁴ 1, 2, 7 (383', 28), Mr. White conceives that "squires of the night's body" and "thieves of the day's beauty," contained a pun on *body*, *beauty*, by giving the latter its modern French sound *beauté*. But *eau* in the English pronunciation of that time was not the French, as we have seen, *suprà*

p. 138, and the French sound of that time was not the modern one, *suprà* p. 822 and p. 922.]

EI

was probably always (*ee*).

EW

was often (*oo*), as it is now in *shew*, *strew*, as shewn by rhymes, and spelling *shrow* = shrew, *Albion's England*, 1602, p. 41; *tew* = tow, *Ib.* p. 144; *shewres* = showers, *Ib.* p. 193, [*suprà* p. 960, col. 2, under the rhymes to *So*.] But *ew* was also (*uu*), "and even *shew*, the preterite, had that pronunciation, which it still preserves in New England." In *sue*, *vne*, *true*, *Louis*, *ew* was "very commonly used" for (*uu*).

GH

was more frequently *f* than at present. Compare the rhymes: daughter after, *Pastor Fido*, 1647, p. 150, *Romeus and Juliet*, ed. Collier, p. 65; taught soft, Browne's *Pastorals*, 1, 68; and the spelling: *raughter* = rafter, Lilly's *Galathea*, act 1, sc. 4. But *gh* was also silent. The following rhymes are cited from Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare, 1860: oft naught, *Passionate Pilgrim*; taught aloft, Surrey's *Forsaken Lover*; shaft caught, Chapman's *Hero and Leander*; aloft thought, Chapman's *Hesiod*; after manslaughter, Barclay's *Eclogue II*. [See Shakespeare's rhymes, *suprà* p. 963, col. 2.]

H.

Probably more often dropped than at present.

I

had the sound (ii) in monosyllables and many other places, as shewn by the misspellings in the folio 1623: the world to *weet* (= wit) AC 1, 1, 11 (911', 39); *spleets* (= splits) what it speaks AC 2, 7, 67 (924, 129); the *breeze* (= brize) upon her AC 3, 10, 6 (928', 14); a kind of *weeke* (= wick) or snuffe H 4, 7, 29 (839, 116), quarto 1604; At whose abuse our *flying* (= fleeing) world can winke, Churchyard's *Charity*, 1595; Doth neither church, *queer* (= quire, choir), court, nor country spare, *Ibid*; In David's Psalms true *miter* (= metre) flows, Churchyard's *Praise of Poetry*, 1595. The spelling *spreet* for *spirit*, *sprite*, or *spright*, is very common. "Which the *High* goat (= he-goat) as one

seeing, yet reserving revenge, etc.," Braithwaite's *Survey of History*, 1638, p. 342. [See *Wheson*, *suprà* p. 930.]

IE

was generally (ii), but *pierce*, *fierce*, were "very generally pronounced *purse* and *furse*" [meaning (pis, fis), or (peis, fers)], but the xvth century sounds were professedly, (pers, fers)].

L

was more often silent than now, as shewn by the spellings *fautes* = faults, *haully* = haughty, *Ralph*, *Rafe* = Ralph; but was heard in *could*, *should*, *would*, down to past the middle of xvth century. [In a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), Mr. White mentions that *l* in *could*, *would*, is heard in the old pronunciation of the eastern United States, see *suprà* p. 871, col. 2, and p. 961, col. 2, under OO.] The spelling *jelious* (*Albion's England*, c. 84, p. 349, ed. 1606) may indicate the sound still retained in *rebellious*, *stallion*.

O, OA.

There was great irregularity in the spelling. "Some well-educated old-country folk (Mrs. Kemble for instance) pronounce *toad* with a broad dissyllabic utterance of both vowels, the first long, the second short—tō-ād. The same pronunciation obtains in a less degree with regard to *throat*, *road*, *load*, and other like words." But Shakspeare used "the simple sound of *o*" [meaning perhaps (oo), but see *suprà* p. 94]. *One* was the same as *oven*. The modern prefixed *w* is like the Dorsetshire *whot*, *wold*, *whome*, *dwont*, *pwint*, *cwot* = hot, old, home, don't, point, coat.

OI

was simple *i* in *join*, *point*, *boil*, etc., down to Pope's time, *suprà* p. 134.

OO.

Early in the Elizabethan era *oo* expressed "those sounds of *u*—as in *cut* and *blood*, *intrude* and *brood*—for which it now stands," that is (ə, uu?). The use of *o-e*, was meant perhaps to indicate the old sound (oo). "Although we often find *room* spelled *rome*, we never find *Rome* spelled *Room*, or either word *rume* or *run*." The sound (Ruum) was one "of the many affectations" of the xviii th century. *Moon*, frequently spelled *mone*, rhymes with

Birone LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230), and probably had the long *o* sound. [In a note on the passage, he repudiates the notion that *Birone* should be read (Biruun'), apparently because the name here rhymes with *moon*, or because Mr. C. J. Fox said *Touloun* in the House of Commons; but see *suprà* p. 961. In a note on MN 5, 1, 28 (177', 139), the rhyme: know woo, makes him suppose that *woo* and *woe* had the same sound. But see rhymes to *woo*, *suprà* p. 961, and Salesbury, p. 785. And on KJ 5, 7, 1 (354', 2), reading 'poor brain,' instead of 'pure brain,' he observes: "The original has *pore*, the commonest spelling of 'poor' in the folio, and in other books of the time, representing the old pronunciation of that word, which is still preserved in some parts of the United States." The Cambridge editors say that in all the copies known to them the reading is *pure*, and not *pore*.]

OU

had either the sound (ou) or (uu).

QU

was (k) in **banquet*, *quality*, *quantity*, **quay*, *quern*, *quintain*, **quoif*, *quod*, **quoit*, **quote*, and perhaps *quart*, and *quit*. [Those words marked * are still frequently so pronounced.] LL 5, 2, 142 (154, 279), perhaps contained the pun *qualm*, *calm*; as also 2 H⁴ 2, 4, 11 (419, 40), where the Hostess has *calm*, meaning *qualm*, and Falstaff takes the word as *calm*. [Price, 1668, gives "*qualm* sudden fit, *calm* still quiet," among his list of differences between words of like sound.]

S

"before a vowel had often the sound of *sh*, as it has now in *sugar* and *sure*. Such was its sound in *sue*, *suit*, and its compounds, and I believe in *super* and its compounds, and in *supine* and *supreme*. *Sewer* was pronounced *shore* in the Elizabethan era. Hence, too, *shekels* was spelled *sickels*" in the fo. MM 2, 2, 64 (74', 149). [The Cambridge editors quote from *Notes and Queries*, vol. 5, p. 325, the observation that *shekels* is spelled *sickles* in Wycliffe's Bible. This is not an instance of *s* and *sh* interchanging in sound, but of different transcriptions of a Hebrew word (shekel) which Jerome Latinized into *siclus*, of course the im-

mediate origin of Wycliffe's spelling, and hence probably of the folio reading. Referring to LL 4, 1, 37 (144', 109), see *supra* p. 215, note, he says that in LL 3, 1, 77 (143, 191), *sue* is printed *shue*. It is not so in the fo. 1623, and the Cambridge editors do not note the form.]

TH

probably more frequently had the sound of (t) than at present. Compare the common spellings: *nostrils* *noethrills*, *apotecary* *apothecary*, *authority* *authori*, *t'one* the one, *t'other* the other [*t'one*, *t'other*, are thought to have been *that one*, *that other* = 't one 't other], *trill* *thrill*, *swarty* *swarthy*, *fift* *fifth*, *sixt* *sixth*, *eight* *eighth* [the last three are quite modern spellings and sounds], *Sathan* *Satan*, *stalworth* *stalwart*, *quot*, *quote*, *quod*, *quoth*. Less usual examples: *whats* *tys* *this*, twice in *Wyt and Science*, Shak. Soc. ed. p. 21 [compare the change of *ð* to *t* after *d*, *t* in Orrmin, *supra* p. 490, l. 22, and p. 444, n. 2, but here *tys* may be simply a misprint]; a pytheous *piteous* crye, *Robert the Devyll*, p. 6; in golden throne *throne*, Seneca's *Ten Tragedies*, 1581, p. 124 [compare Salesbury, *supra* p. 760, n. 3]; *th'* one autentique *authentick*, Daniel's *Rosamond*, 1599, sig. Cc 2; *dept* *depth* of art, Browne's *Pastorals*, 2, 52; Be as cautherizing *cauterizing*, Tim 5, 1, 48 (761', 136), ed. 1623 [it is really misprinted as a *Cantherizing* in that folio, the other three folios read as a *catherizing*, *cauterizing* was Pope's conjecture, other editors read *cancerizing*, the instance is therefore worthless]; the Thuskan *Tuscan* poet, Drayton's *Nymphidia*, 1627, p. 120; with amatists *amethysts*, *Arcadia*, 1605, p. 143; call you this gamouth *gamut*, four times, TS 3, 1, 24 (240', 71), ed. 1623 [the other folios have *gamoth*, the derivation is obscure]. Observe the interchange of *t*, *th*, in Japhet, Batseba, Hithite, Galathians, Loth, Pathmos, Swethen, Goteham, Gotes, Athalanta, Protheus, Antony, Anthenor, "throughout our early literature." See also in Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *Interpreter of the Academie for Forrain Languages and all Noble Sciences and Exercises*, 1648, 4to., where the writer, a Fleming, whose "associations were with the highest-bred English people of his day, . . . intended to ex-

press with great particularity the English pronunciation of the day, and it specially became him to give the best." Thus he spells *leftenant*, *Nassow*. "In this singular book, which is printed with remarkable accuracy, we find words spelled with *th* in which we know there was only the sound of *t*, and, what is of equal importance, words written with *t* which were then, as now, according to received usage, spelled with *th*, and which have been hitherto supposed to have been pronounced with the *θ* (th) sound." The examples are *With Sundayes* = *Whit Sundays*, may *seth* = *set*, will *theach* = *teach*, *strenckt* = *strength*, *yought* = *youth*, *anathomie* = *anatomy*, *fourthy* = *forty*, *seventhy* = *seventy*, *seuentheen* = *seventeen*, *dept* = *depth*, *hight* = *height*, *sigth*, *sighted* = *sight*, *sighted*, *rethorike* = *rhetoric*, *brought* = *broth*, the French is *potage*.

To this refer the puns "that most capricious [punning on *eaper* = a goat] poet Ovid among the *Goths*," AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9); and "Note, notes, forsooth, and *nothing*," MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 59). Compare "no hearing, no feeling, but my sir's *song*, and admiring the *nothing* of it," WT 4, 4, 164 (324', 625). Let the reader "discover if he can what this means, if *nothing* was not pronounced *noting*. Let him explain too, if he can, the following passage (which no one has hitherto attempted to explain), '*Armado*.—But to have a love of that colour, methinks Samson had small reason for it. He surely affected her for her wit. *Moth*.—It was so, sir, for she had a green wit,' LL 1, 2, 51 (138', 91), except on the theory that the *th* was pronounced as *t*, and that the Page puns, and alludes to the green withes which Dalilah vainly used as bonds for Samson. And here compare Gerbier's [here misspelled *Bergier*'s in the original work] spelling *With-Sundayes*, and conversely the frequent spelling of the preposition 'with' *wit* in writings of an earlier date." Notice *d* for *th*, and conversely, in *murder*, *further*, *fathom*, *hundred*, *tether*, *quoth*. "I believe that in the Elizabethan era, and, measurably, down to the middle of the seventeenth century, *d*, *th*, and *t*, were indiscriminately used to express a hardened and perhaps not uniform modification of the Anglo-Saxon *ð*, a sound like which we now hear in the French pronunciation of

meurtre, and which has survived, with other pronunciations of the same period, in the Irish pronunciations of *murder*, *further*, *after*, *water*, in all of which the sound is neither *d*, *th*, nor *t*." [He alludes to the very dental *t*. *d*=(tʃ, dʃ) common on the Continent, still heard in some combinations in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and the Peak of Derbyshire, and probably much more widely; the Irish seems to be complicated with a post-aspiration (tʰ, dʰ). In Yorkshire *water* is sometimes (waa'tʰer) and almost (waa'tʰer), and Southerners, in trying to imitate it, call it (waa'tʰu). In the following notes, Mr. White pursues this subject further.] LL 1, 2, enter Moth (137'). "I have not the least doubt that the name of *Armado's* Page is not *Moth*, but *Mote*—a 'congruent epitheton' [LL 1, 2, 9 (138, 14)] to one whose extremely diminutive person is frequently alluded to in the play by phrases which seem applicable only to Tom Thumb. That 'mote' was spelled *moth* we have evidence twice in one line of this play [LL 4, 3, 39 (148, 161)], which stands in the original [in the quartos and folios]: 'You found his *Moth*, the King your *Moth* did see;' also in the following from KJ 4, 1, 29 (346', 92): 'O heaven, that there were but a *moth* in yours;' and, in fact, in every case in which the word appears in the first folio, as well as in all the quartos. Wicliff wrote in Matthew vi.: 'were rust and mought distryeth' [in Forshall and Madden's ed., Matt. vi. 19, older version, "wher rust and moughte distryeth," later version, "where ruste and moujte destrieth," where we have the very same diversity of *th* and *t*]. Indeed, it seems far from improbable that the two words were originally one, and that 'mote' is not, as Richardson supposes, from 'mite.' For both 'mite' and 'mot[e]' are found in Anglo-Saxon, in which language 'moth' is *moghte* [mogðe, mohðe, or moððe, according to Ettmüller, p. 232, who refers the word to the root *mûgan*, *mûhan*, to be able, to cover, to heap up; this accounts for the *g* so often found in old writings, and the two sounds (moot, mooth) are similar to the two sounds (draat, drauth), see *supra* p. 963; *mite*, ags. *mîte*, from *mitan*, to eat; *mote*, ags. *mot*, is of very uncertain origin]. But whether the name is *Moth* or *Mote*, it is plain

that the pronunciation was *mote*." In a note on the fairy's name, Moth, MN 3, 1, 49 (169, 165), Mr. White notes that the Moth of the old editions means *mote*, and quotes from Withal's *Shorte Dictonarie for Young Beginners*. London, 4to., 1568. "A moth or motte that eateth clothes, *tinea*. A barell or great bolle, *Tina*, *nce*. *Sed tinea, cum e, vermiculus est, anglicè, A mought;*" and from Lodge's *Wits Miserie, or the World's Madnesse*, "They are in the aire like *atomi* in *sole*, mothes in the sun." On TS 2, 1, 16 (237, 43), he remarks that 'Katharina,' had the *th* sounded as *t*, as shewn by the abbreviation Kate. [So also Jones, *supra* p. 219.] On *pother*, KL 3, 2, 9 (862', 60), he remarks: "This word was spelled *powther*, *pother*, *podther*, and *pudder*. In the first three cases it seems to have been pronounced with the *th* hard; and I believe it to be no more nor less than the word 'potter,' which is used in this, but not, I believe, in the mother country." [But the modern (pəðr̩) favours an old (puðr̩), which, with the interchange of (d) and (dh), explains everything.] *Bernmothes*, T 1, 2, 53 (4, 229), is the same as *Bermudas*. In the introduction to MA, vol. 3, p. 227, Mr. White very ingeniously shews that if we read *Nothing* as *Noting*, the title becomes intelligible, "for the much ado is produced entirely by noting. It begins with the noting of the Prince and *Claudio*, first by *Antonio's* man [overheard MA 1, 2, 4 (113', 9)], and then by *Borachio*, who reveals their conference to *John* [heard MA 1, 3, 19 (114', 64)]; it goes on with *Benedick* noting the Prince, *Leonato*, and *Claudio* in the garden [the fowl sits MA 2, 3, 26 (119, 95)]; and again with *Beatrice* noting *Margaret* and *Ursula* in the same place [Beatrice runs to hear MA 3, 1, 3 (120', 25)]; the incident upon which its action turns is the noting of *Borachio's* interview with *Margaret* by the Prince and *Claudio* [see me MA 2, 2, 14 (118, 43); you shall see MA 3, 2, 51 (122, 116); saw MA 3, 3, 57 (123', 160); did see MA 4, 1, 41 (126, 91)]; and finally the incident which unravels the plot is the noting of *Borachio* and *Conrad* by the Watch [act 3, sc. 3]. That this sense, 'to observe,' 'to watch,' was one in which 'note' was commonly used, it is quite needless to shew by reference to the literature and lexicographers of Shake-

speare's day; it is hardly obsolete; and even of the many instances in Shakespeare's works, I will quote only one, 'slink by and note him,' from AY 3, 2, 77 (217, 267)." [Compare also LL 3, 1, 6 (142, 25), "make them men of note—do you note me?" Mr. White then quotes the *assonance*, which he regards as a rhyme: doting—nothing S 20, 10 (1033'), see *suprà* p. 955].

[The whole of this ingenious dissertation apparently arose from the passage:—

"*Balthazar*. Note this before my notes;

There's not a note of mine that's worth the noting.

D. Pedro. Why, these are very crotchets that he speaks;

Note, notes, forsooth, and nothing."—

MA 2, 3, 15 (118', 57).

This is the reading of the Quarto and Folios, for which Theobald proposed *noting*, a correction which seems indubitable. *Nothing* is given as (noth'iq) with a short vowel, the precursor of our (noth'iq), by both Bullokar and Gill, and although the shortness of the vowel did not stand in the way of Shakspeare's assonance, just quoted, nor would have stood in the way of such distant allusions as those among which it is classed, *suprà* p. 922, yet it is opposed to its confusion with (noot'iq). Still I have heard a Russian call *nothing* (noot'iq), with the identical (oo) in place of (oo) as well as (t) for (th). Acting upon this presumed pun, *noting*, *nothing*, Mr. White inquires whether the title of the play may not have been really "Much ado about *noting*," and seeks to establish this by a wonderfully prosaic summary of instances, all the while forgetting the antithesis of *much* and *nothing*, on which the title is founded, with an allusion to the great confusion occasioned by a slight mistake—of Ursula for Hero—which was a mere nothing in itself. The Germans in translating it, *Viel Lärm um Nichts*, certainly never felt Mr. White's difficulty. It seems more reasonable to conclude that in MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 59), and WT 4, 4, 164 (324', 625), *nothing* was originally a misprint for *noting*, which was followed by subsequent editors. It is the only word which makes sense. In the first instance, it is required as the echo of the preceding words; in the second, Autolycus says: "My clown . . . grew

so in love with the wenches' song that he would not stir his pettitoes till he had both *tune* and *words*; which so drew the rest of the herd to me, that all their other senses stuck in ears; . . . no hearing, no feeling, but my sir's *song*, and admiring the *noting* of it;" where *song* and *noting* correspond to *words* and *tune*; and this serves to explain the joke in MA, where Balthazar, by saying that "there's not a note of his that's worth the noting," having already punned on *note* = observe, and musical sound, puns again on *noting* = observing and putting into music; and in D. Pedro's remark, the only pun is on *crotchets*, i.e., either the musical notes or the puns which Balthazar is uttering. The joke on *noting*, and *nothing*, supposing the jingle to answer, is inappreciable in both cases. But dismissing all reference to *nothing* and *noting* as perfectly untenable, there is no doubt that Mr. White has proved *Moeth* in LL to mean *Mote* or *Atomy*, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717, 57), and in all modernized editions the name should be so spelled, as well as in the other passages where *moeth* means *note*. Again, in the passage LL 1, 2, 52 (133', 91), there can be no doubt that *green wit* alludes to Dalilah's green withe. This interpretation is also accepted by the Cambridge editors. But how should *wit* and *withe* be confused? Have we not the key in that false pronunciation of the Latin final -t and -d as -th, that is, either (th) or (dh), which we find reprobated by both Palsgrave and Salesbury (*suprà* p. 844, under D and T, and p. 759, note 4)? There is no reason to suppose that *wit* was even occasionally called (with); we have only to suppose that *Mote*—who is a boy that probably knew Latin, at least in school jokes, witness "I will whip about your Infamie Vnum cita," LL 5, 1, 30 (150', 72) [the Latin in this play is vilely printed, by-the-bye, and this *vnum cita* is sufficiently unintelligible; Theobald reads *circum circa*; another conjecture is *manu cita*; perhaps *intra extra* may have been meant, compare Liv. 1, 26, "*verbera, vel intra pomoerium . . . vel extra pomoerium*," but it was, no doubt, some well-known school urchin's allusion to a method of flogging]—would not scruple, if it suited his purpose, to alter the termination of a word in the Latin school fashion, and make (wit) into (with) or (width) or to merely add

on the sound of (th), thus (witth), as we now do in the word *eighth* = (eetth). We find him doing the very same thing, when, for the sake of a pun, he alters *wittoll*, as the word is spelled in the fo. MW 2, 2, 83 (51', 313), into *wit-old*, LL 5, 1, 26 (150', 66). But the word *withe*, ags. *wiðig*, with a long vowel, is otherwise remarkable. It is now called (with) by most orthoepists, Perry giving (widh) and Smart (wæidh). The long ags. *i* would make us expect (oi), but it is one of the words which has remained unchanged. Even Smart gives (widh*i*), which is the complete word, though Worcester writes (with*i*). These varieties are due to its being a word which orthoepists are probably not in the habit of hearing and using. The Scotch say (wid*i*, wæd*i*). Could *withe* have ever been called (wit)? It is possible, just as *afst*, *sixt*, cited by Mr. White, had (t) in ags. and as late as Gill, but have now (th). That *th*, *t*, were used in a very haphazard way in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew words in the xvth and even xvith century is well known (suprà p. 219), and probably there was great uncertainty of pronunciation in such words, partly through ignorance, and partly perhaps, because, notwithstanding what Bullokar says, suprà p. 842, l. 19, *th* in Latin and Latinized words may have been by a large section of scholars called (t). To this category may be referred the pronunciation of *Goth* as (goot), AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9), which is certainly intended. The usages of the Fleming Gerbier are not entitled to much weight. He probably could not pronounce (th), and identifying it with his own (tʃ), which was also his pronunciation of (t), became hopelessly confused. In his own Flemish, *th* and *t* had the single sound (tʃ). His *With-Sunday* may be a mere printer's transposition of letters for *Whit-Sunday*. There does not appear to be any reason for concluding that the genuine English *th* ever had the sound of (t), although some final *t*'s have fallen into (th).—As regards the alternate use of *d* and *th* in such words as *murther*, *further*, *father*, etc., there seems reason to suppose that both sounds existed, as they still exist, dialectically, vulgarly, and obsolescently. But we must remember that (b, d, g) between vowels have a great tendency in different languages to run into (bh, dh, gh). Thus in German, *aber*,

schreiben, become dialectically (*aa*-bher *shrai*-bhen). See examples in Pennsylvania German, suprà p. 557. In Danish *d* medial and final is generally (dh), though not distinguished in writing, and similarly *g* in the greater part of Germany becomes (gh, gʃh) in the same positions. In Hebrew the pairs (b bh, d dh, g gh) had only one letter a piece. Hence (d, dh) forms no analogy for (t, th). The upshot of Mr. White's researches seems, therefore, to be that writers of the xvth and xvith centuries were very loose in using *t*, *th*, in non-Saxon words. That this looseness of writing sometimes affected pronunciation, we know by the familiar example *author* and its derivatives. Thus Mätzner notes, *Eng. Gram.* 1, 132: "In words derived from ancient languages," observe the limitation, "*th* often replaces *t*: *Anthony* (*Antonius*), *author* (*autor*), *prothonotary* (*protonotarius*); we also find *lanthorn* as well as *lantern* (*lanterne*, lat. *laterna*, *lanterna*)." Could this last spelling have arisen from a false etymology, arising from the common employment of transparent horn in old lanterns? The *h* does not appear to have ever been sounded. "Old English often writes *t* in this way: *rethor* (*rhetor*), *Sathanas* (*Satanas*), *Ptholomee*, etc. The modern English *anthem*, old English *antem*, ags. *antifon*, arose from *antiphona*."]

U.

"*U*, when not followed by *e*, had very commonly that sound (very unfitly indicated by *oo*) which it has in *rude*, *crude*, and the compounds of *lude*, and of which the 'furnitoor, literatoor, matoor,' of old-fashioned, though not illiterate, New-England folk is a remnant. Such phonographic spellings as the following, of which I have numerous memorandums, leave no doubt on this point: ugly *ougly*, gun *goon*, run *roon*, clung *cloong*, spun *spoon*, curl *coorle*, and conversely poop *pup*, gloom *glum*, gloomy *glumy*." [In all but the last two instances the sound was (*u*), and they are corroborations of the statement that short *u* was (*u*) or (*u*) in the xvth century. See suprà p. 167. In a note on *Puck*, MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 18), vol. 4, p. 101, Mr. White says that previously to Shakspeare it was always spelled *powke*, *pooke*, or *pouke*; and in vol. 5,

p. 143, in a note on "muddled in Fortune's mood," AW 5, 2, 1 (276, 4), he notices the pun, *mood*, *mud* (see *suprà* p. 926), spoiled by Theobald's correction into *moat*, adopted by Warburton. Probably we have the same pun, or error spelling, 2H⁴ 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), where "muddy rascal" is probably a joke on "moody rascal."]

URE.

"That *ure* final was generally, if not universally, pronounced *er* among even the most polite and literate of our Elizabethan ancestors, no observant reader of the books of their day, or even those of the latter part of the seventeenth century, need be told." [The usage was not general, or con-

firmed till the xviith century. The transition was (-tyr, -tuur, -tør), compare Mr. White's remarks on U.] Compare the spellings *venter* venture, Milton's *Comus*, v. 228, ed. 1673, also in other books, *nurter* nurture, *futer* future, *tortor* torture, *vutter* vulture; *joynter* jointure TS 2, 1, 127 (239', 372). in fo. 1623; *rounder* roundure KJ 2, 1, 52 (337, 259), in fo. 1623, *wafter* wafture JC 2, 1, 63 (771', 246) in fo. 1623; also *monsture* monster, *Albion's England*, ed. 1602, p. 162. [See *suprà* p. 200, l. 11, and the rhymes: departure shorter, enter venture, *suprà* p. 954. Thomas Gray, 1716-42, in his *Long Story*, rhymes: satire nature, ventured enter'd.]

Mr. White adds: "Some readers may shrink from the conclusions to which the foregoing memorandums lead, because of the strangeness, and, as they will think, the uncouthness, of the pronunciation which they will involve. They will imagine *Hamlet* exclaiming:—

—'A *baste* that wants *disecourse* of *rayson*
Would haive *moorn'd* longer!
'O, *me* prophetic *sowl*! *me* *ooncle*!
'A broken voice, and his whole *foonetion* shooting
Wit forms to his *consayt*, and all for *noting*!

and, overcome by the astonishing effect of the passages thus spoken, they will refuse to believe that they were ever thus pronounced out of Ireland. But let them suppose that such was the pronunciation of Shakespeare's day, and they must see that our orthoepy would have sounded as strange and laughable to our forefathers, as theirs does to us." Of these pronunciations we have no authority for *haive*, *me*, *shooting*, *wit*, *noting*, as representatives of *have*, *my*, *suiting*, *with*, *nothing*, — (hæv) or (hææv), (mæi) or (mæi'), (sytt'iq, with, noth'iq), being the only pronunciations which external authorities will justify. The example is, however, quoted, as the first attempt which I have seen to give complete sentences in Shaksperian pronunciation, the un-Italicized words being supposed to have their present sounds.

SUMMARY OF THE CONJECTURED PRONUNCIATION OF SHAKSPERE.

It now remains from these indications to draw up a scheme of Shaksperian pronunciation, sufficiently precise to exhibit specimens in palaeotype. Shakspeare was born in 1564, became joint proprietor of Blackfriars Theatre¹ in 1589, and died in 1616. He was a

¹ This is the usual belief. Mr. Halliwell, in a letter in the *Athenæum* of 13 Aug., 1870, p. 212, col. 3, says that he had recently discovered a series of documents concerning the establishment

of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, which dissipate a mass of conjecture and throw much light on the history of the Elizabethan stage. "It is now certain," he says, "that Shakspeare,

Warwickshire man, and our chief authority for the pronunciation of the time, Dr. Gill, a Lincolnshire man; but such local and personal peculiarities must be disregarded. What we want to assign is the pronunciation in which his plays were acted, during the last decade of the xvith and the first of the xviith century. This pronunciation may be fairly assumed to be that determined by the preceding quarter of a century, during which the actors must have acquired it, and, judging from stage habits in the xixth century, it will probably have been archaic.

CONSONANTS do not present the slightest difficulty, except in respect to syllabic R (p. 951) and L (p. 952), the guttural or mute GH, and S, T. Although we have much reason to suspect a use of vocal R (= ɹ) similar to that now in vogue (p. 196), especially from the influence of final *r* on the pronunciation of the preceding letters, as in the rhymes pp. 964-6, yet we have absolutely no authority for such a conclusion. Even Cooper's words (p. 200), which seem to convey the distinctest intimation, are not decisive. Hence no attempt will be made to distinguish R into (ɹ, r), but the modern Scotch (r) will be assumed in all cases. Syllabic R and L will, therefore, be written (er, el). Thus—

Juu sent mi dep'pyti for Eierland H³ 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).
 Az fei'er dreivz out fei'er, so pit'i pit'i JC 3, 1, 65 (775', 171).
 Az ei remem'ber Hen'eri dhe Sikst R³ 4, 2, 45 (580', 98).
 But whuu iz man dhat iz not aq'eri? Tim 3, 5, 9 (752', 57).
 Faarwel', komend' mi tu jur mis'teres RJ 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).
 Juu, dhe greet too ov dhis asem'beli C 1, 1, 45 (655', 159).
 Wheil shii did kaal mi ras'kal fid'eler TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158).
 Dhan Bul'iqbruks return' tu Eq'geland R³ 4, 1, 4 (375, 17).

As respects GH, there seems to be no doubt that it was still indicated in speech. The interpretation of Salesbury's words, cited on p. 210, was slightly modified by Dr. Davies in revising p. 779, and it is evident that we must assume the (kh) to have been very lightly touched. All those who are familiar with the various local pronunciations of German, know well that there are extreme differences in the force with which the breath is expelled when pronouncing (kh). Shakspeare certainly did not find his utterance of this sound sufficiently strong to debar him from disregarding it altogether in rhymes (p. 963), which however does not shew that it was not pronounced; compare the analogous rhymes (oo, oou), p. 961, and the assonances, p. 955. But we should probably be more justified in following the example of Smith and Hart, who wrote (ɣ) or (ɣ'), p. 210, than that of Gill, who identified the sound with the Greek x

who is more than once alluded to by name, was never a proprietor in either theatre. His *sole* interest in them consisted in a participation, *as an actor*, in the receipts of 'what is called the house.'" And in the *Athenæum* of 24 Sept., 1870, p. 398, col. 1, he explains that "this does not mean what is now implied by the ordinary expression of an actor sharing in the receipts of the

house. In Shakspeare's time, the proprietors took absolutely the entire receipts of certain portions of the theatre. 'The house' was, therefore, some other part or parts of the theatre, the receipts of which were divided amongst Shakspeare and other actors, and in which a proprietor had no share, unless, of course, he was an actor as well as a proprietor."

=(kh), *ibid.* Hence (π) will be adopted in the examples.¹ See also *suprà* p. 477, and note 1.

The S was apparently often (z) under the same circumstances as at present. T, S, were also often (s) where they are now so pronounced in French. The numerous examples of "resolutions," pp. 947-950, must be held to prove conclusively that in these cases the modern (sh) sound was unknown or at least unrecognized. See the remarks on *fashion*, p. 949, col. 2, last entry, and p. 955, and on *resolution, imagination*, p. 953.²

Initial K, G, in *kn, gn*, was certainly pronounced, and initial WR was probably (rw), but may have been (w'r). There is, however, no internal authority for this conclusion, but on the other hand no puns such as: *knave nave, write rite*, against it.³

VOWELS present greater difficulties, and must be considered more in detail.

A was certainly either (aa, a) or (aah, ah). It could not have passed into (ææ, æ), and still less into (ec, æ). The puns with A, p. 923, and the rhymes on A, p. 955, independently of external testimony, can leave no reasonable doubt on this point.⁴

AI, AY, present much ground for hesitation. They must now be distinguished from *ei, ey*, with which Salesbury confounds them, while Smith makes the difference slight. After Gill's denunciation of Hart's pronunciation of *ai, ay*, as (ee), p. 122, we cannot admit that sound as general in Shakspeare's time, notwithstanding the presumption in favour of Sir Philip Sidney's use of (ee), p. 872, and the obscurity of Mulcaster, p. 912. Wallis and Wilkins, who are both later, and both apparently said (æi), confirm this opinion. We see by puns that the pronunciation (ee) was well known to Shakspeare, but we cannot fix it in more than two or three cases. The remarks on p. 924 justify the retention of (ai) for general purposes, that is, the acceptance of Gill's practice.⁵ See also *suprà* p. 474, note, col. 2.

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (*suprà* p. 917, n. 1) say, "The sound of this guttural must have been atonic and faint, for Barret, Smith and Jonson make it equivalent to *h* . . . Its sound must have been disappearing in Shakspeare's time, for in 1653 it was a provincialism (Wallis, p. 31). . . It is probable that *f* was frequently substituted for *gh*." See *suprà* pp. 963, 967.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce "conclude, —1st that *-tion, -sion*, are dissyllabic, but could be contracted to one syllable; and, 2nd, that they had nearly, if not quite, the modern French sound."—See Gill's remarks on *synæresis*, *suprà* p. 937, and n. 3.

³ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say "*k* before *n*, and *w* before *h*, would seem to have been invariably sounded."

⁴ The short *a* is considered to have been (æ) by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, relying principally on Wallis, say that "in this case, it is a defect in Gill's system, that it does not distinguish between the *a* in 'cat,' and that in 'cart.'" But as regards *a* long, they consider it had "a sound nearly like *ale*," and then stating that this *a*, "as now sounded, ends with a very short *i* sound," conclude that this was not the case then, and seem, on the authority of Wallis, to make it (ææ). The case of long *a*=(aa) they consider under AU, see the next note but one.

⁵ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce conclude that "*ai* was a true diphthong, more resembling our *a* long than our *i* long," meaning probably (æai), which would not be quite the same as our *a* long, which they consider to be (eai).

AU, AW, ought to be (au) if *ai*=(ai). But the usage of language is independent of such analogies, and changes may be complete in one case, but not in the other. Hart finds no difficulty in pairing (ee, au), and Gill, though he wrote (au), apparently meant (AA), p. 145. But he evidently hesitated at times between (au) or (AU) and (AA), for he says, referring to "HALL Henriculus, HALE trahere, et HALL aula," that "exilius est *a* in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertiâ fere est diphthongus." Compare a similar expression respecting the undoubtedly diphthongal long *i*, *suprà* p. 114, l. 10 from bottom. The (au, au, au) have the true archaic stage twang, and each of them may be occasionally heard, at least before (l), from modern declaimers. Still as I have felt constrained to accept (AA) as the most probable representative of Dr. Gill's use, and as Ben Jonson, the friend and contemporary of Shakspeare, seems to have had no notion of any diphthongal sound (*suprà* p. 146), I have adopted (AA) in Shakspeare. There is at least one rhyme, *la' flav*, p. 957, which favours this supposition, though it would be quite inadequate to establish it. Puns give no results, p. 923.¹

E, followed the rule of (ee, ii, e) given *suprà* pp. 225, 227. There was, however, occasionally a tendency to mince it into (i) when short, compare the puns: *clept clipt, civil Seville*, p. 925, and the rhymes p. 958. This mincing became very prevalent in the xviith and xviiith centuries, but is inadmissible as an acknowledged pronunciation in stately verse.²

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, after a long investigation, say: "We must endeavour to explain our facts on the presumption that its sound [that of *au*] underwent no change. Now this can only be done by supposing that the French *a*, from 1620 to 1690, represented such a sound as might at once be described as 'dau't' and be made equivalent to 'dawn.' Such a sound is, perhaps, given to 'balm' in Georgia and Alabama." By *dau't*, *dawn*, I suppose these writers mean (aa, AA); by the last-mentioned sound of *balm*, they possibly mean (aa). They proceed thus: "Soon after 1690 it took another step in the same direction as that which was taken after the wars of the Huguenots, perhaps, and now bore no resemblance to the *a* in *father*. It appears, however, that this change had not struck completely into the provinces; for, as the Revolution gradually passed off, this orthoëpy also died out, and left the pronunciation as it was during the reign of Francis I. If we accept this theory, our conclusion respecting the English *aw* will be that it was always pronounced as at present," that is (AA). They incidentally

call the pronunciation of *dance* as (dæns), which is thought refined by many English speakers, "a prevalent vulgarity" in America. On the sound of French *a*, see *suprà* p. 820, and on the English conception of the sound so late as the end of the xviiith century, see Sir William Jones's English spelling of French, *suprà* p. 835. At present there is a great tendency in French to make the sound very thin. The use of (aa) is disliked, and the short sound has dwindled from (a) to (ah), on its road, apparently, to (æ), precisely as in older English. See Tito Pagliardini's *Essays on the Analogy of Language*, 1864, p. 6.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that *e* short "has undergone no perceptible change." And of the sound of *e* long, as in *Eve*, *deer*, they say: "There can be no doubt that this sound was heard in almost all the words where it now occurs, including 'people' and 'shire' in combination, for Gill gives to all these words the long sound of the short *i*. The principal exceptions were words in *ea*, several in *ei*, *Cæsar*, *cedar*, *equal*, *fierce*, *Grecian*, *interfere*, *these*, etc., which had the peculiar sound of *ea*," explained in the next note.

EA was mostly long (ee) and occasionally short (e). We must here accept the external testimonies, which are clear and distinct. The rhymes, p. 957, are singularly inconclusive as respects the length of the vowel. The rhymes of *ea* with *ee*, pp. 957-8, are all clearly false. A few words had the sound of (ii), p. 81. The vocabulary must be consulted for the authorities. All such usages were clearly orthographical mistakes or disputes, the appropriation of *ea* to long (ee) at the close of the xvth century not having been universally recognized. In *heart*, *heard*, the sound of (a) prevailed, see the puns p. 925, but see also the rhymes p. 964, col. 1, and p. 965, col. 2. For the interchange of the sounds (iir, eer) in the terminations *-ear*, *-ere*, see the rhymes p. 964, col. 2. In these cases there is no choice but to follow external authorities.¹

EE must be regarded as always intentionally (ii).²

EI, EY, ought to have followed the fortunes of *ai*, *ay*, with which we have seen they were once interchangeable. Gill is not consistent. He marks *prey* as (prai), *suprà* p. 900, but in *they* he uses (ei, eei), and in *receive*, *conceive* simple (ee). The rule that where *ei* is now (ii) it was then (ee), and where it is now (ee, eei) it was then (eei), will not be far wrong. Neither rhymes nor puns help us here. Hart's ordinary orthography, as shewn by his own MS., *suprà* p. 794, note, proves that *ei* was to him identical with (ee).³

EO had become (ii) in *people*, and perhaps in *yeoman*, of which the modern sound (joo'men) is clearly erroneous. We find *leopard* trissyllabic, H^o 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), *suprà* p. 947. The combination is very rare, and there is nothing to be gleaned from rhymes or puns.

EU, EW, if we believe external testimony, were clearly (eu) or (yy), and this view will be adopted. See the observations on the rhymes which apparently militate against this conclusion, p. 962.⁴

I, Y, long will be assumed as (ei). Smith and Shakspeare identify *I*, *eye*, *aye*, pp. 112, 926, 963. For Gill's sound Wallis's (oi) has been adopted, but the more indeterminate (ei) has been retained in Shakspeare. The short I was of course (i). But rhymes present difficulties. We have a few cases of long I and short I rhyming in closed syllables, pp. 958-9, some of which must be esteemed false, but in

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that "Mr. Marsh, looking at the grammars, at once discovered that it [the sound of *ea*] was neither the one [long *a*] nor the other [double *ee*], but an intermediate sound, like *e* in *met* prolonged. [This gives (ee) exactly.] . . . When *ea* is found rhymed with *ai*, it is owing to a common mispronunciation of the latter diphthong noticed by Gill." Shakspeare's rhymes of *ea* with *ai*, are so rare as to be quite valueless, coming under the category of consciously imperfect rhymes, *suprà* p. 956. Even Sidney's, were not frequent, p. 872.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not

treat this combination independently of long *e*.

³ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say, "the *ei* in *receive*, *deceive*, etc., was a diphthong in Gill's time,"—these two words are, however, exceptionally pronounced with monophthongal (ee) by Gill,—"it was used interchangeably with *ai*, as both Smith and Mulcaster observe." See *suprà* p. 120 for Smith, and p. 912 for Mulcaster.

⁴ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that "*eu* differed from *u* in 'use' apparently in beginning with the vowel 'end' instead of the consonant *y*." See below p. 980, n. 2.

others there may have been a variety of pronunciation. The termination *-ind* seems to have been generally (eind), corresponding to the modern pronunciation. The final *-Y*, however, offers the same varieties of rhyme as in Spenser, p. 869, and in modern verse, p. 861. There are occasional rhymes with *(-ii)*, p. 959, col. 2, but many more numerous examples of rhymes with *(-ei)*, p. 959, col. 1, without any reference to the origin from French *-é*, *-ie*, or Anglo-saxon *-ig*. As Gill constantly adopts the pronunciation *(-ei)* in such cases, I shall follow his lead. Compare the puns on *noddy*, *marry*, p. 926.¹

IE, when not final, was probably (ii), according to the external authorities. When medial, it was still a rare form, and had not regularly replaced *ee*, p. 104; *friend*, *fiend*, were probably (frend, fend), see the rhymes, p. 958. When final, it was generally (ei) accented, and (i) unaccented, see Mulcaster's remarks, *suprà* p. 913, col. 2.

O long and short must be generally assumed as (oo, o), compare the rhymes, pp. 959, 960, and the puns, p. 925. Before *l*, long *o* becomes (oou), according to Gill. Shakspeare in his rhymes disregards the difference (oo, oou), p. 960. We must, therefore, follow external authorities. Long O was also occasionally (uu), compare the puns,

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say of *i* in *in*, that "words to which we now give this sound had in general the same pronunciation in Shakespeare's day." On the long *i*, they first remark on the gliding characteristic of diphthongs, referring to Mr. J. Jennison in Hildard's Reader: "None of our diphthongs are combinations of two vowels, but run from the first sound to the last through an infinite number of gradations. 'Ice,' according to this view, instead of being *ah-ee*, is more nearly *ah, up, err, end, in, eve*," that is, instead of (ai), is more nearly (aæœi). "But it is not to be supposed that any abrupt change was made from the Saxon *i* long to this very complex combination. It is more rational to suppose that the sound grew up by insensible gradations somewhat in this manner," translating the symbols, they become (1. i, 2. ai, 3. eii, 4. œai, 5. æœi, 6. aæœi). Then quoting Palsgrave as *suprà* pp. 109, 110, they say: "The unmistakable drift of these citations is to the effect that 'ice' was pronounced like *i* in 'wind,' or perhaps 'end-in-eve,' that is, as (i) ? or (eii) ? Further on they say, "the Palsgravian pronunciation of 'ice' in words where the *i* is now sounded long, appears to have been confined with Mulcaster to a few words ending in *nd*. 'Wind, frind, bind,' he laconically re-

marks, 'and with the qualifying *e*, kinde, finde,' etc. (Elementarie, p. 133). [*Suprà* p. 913.] So Coote, who, however, like Gill, preferred the longer pronunciation in all words of this class, not excepting 'wind.' 'And some pronounce these words blind, find, behind, short: others blinde, finde, behinde, with *e* long.' (Coote, p. 19)." They adopt (œi) as Gill's *j* or long *i*. These conclusions are not sensibly different from mine. In this relation, the following observation of Ben Jonson, alluded to by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, shewing apparently that he recognized both sounds (*mais mees*; *lois lees*), is noteworthy: "Many words ending in *Diphthongs*, or *Vowells*, take neither *z*. nor *s*. [in the plural,] but only change their *Diphthongs* or *Vowells*, retaining their last *Consonant*: as *Mouse*. *Mice*, or *Mece*. *Louse*. *Lyce*, or *Leece*. *Goose*. *Geece*. *Foot*. *Feet*. *Tooth*. *Teeth*." B. Jonson, *Gram.* Chap. xiii. But from the same writer conjugating "Pr. *Lye*. Pa. *lay*. Par. pa. *lyne* or *layne*," we cannot conclude that *layne* was pronounced by any one like *lyne*, but that *lyne* was a form which he preferred, as one may see from his conjugating: "Pr. *Fly*. Pa. *flew*. Par. pa. *flyne* or *flowne*," where *flyne* could never have been the pronunciation of *flowne*. B. Jonson, *Gram.* Chap. xix.

p. 925, and the rhymes in *-ove*, and of long *o* with *oo*, both on p. 961. On the other hand, short *o* often rhymed with (u), and was frequently so pronounced (compare the puns, p. 926), though some of the rhymes, especially those in *-ong* (p. 962), are undoubtedly false.¹

OA seems to have been regularly (oo).

OE is only (oo).

OI, OY will be taken as (oi) or (ui), according to Dr. Gill's usage. When there is no immediate authority, the pronunciation (ui) or (oi) in the xviith or xviiith century, may be held to imply a xvith century (ui) or (uii), *suprà* p. 134, l. 1, and p. 473, note, col. 2, and *infra* p. 992, note 2, and p. 995, note 3. The rhymes, p. 963, are not at all conclusive, but seem to indicate an unsettled pronunciation.²

OO was regularly (uu), but there are a few rhymes with long *u*, see p. 963.

OU, OW, had of course the two sounds (ou, ouu), but Shakspeare quite disregarded the difference between these two diphthongs in rhyme, p. 961, and also the difference between (oo, ouu), p. 960. In a few instances he has even rhymed (oo, ou), p. 961. It would of course be wrong to conclude from these rhymes that he did not differentiate the sounds (oo, ou), which have been so carefully distinguished in speech down to the present day; and even, though (oo) and (ou) are now beginning to coincide, in an unrecognized pronunciation of long *o*, the cases of (oo, ou) are kept apart as (oou, ou) or (ou, au). Hence I shall here follow my external authorities.³

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to be acquainted with the common English provincial and Scotch sounds (oo, o), although they know (oo, o), the short (o) being the "Yankee pronunciation of 'whole' and 'coat'." Finding that in Wallis the pronunciation of short *o* was (A) or nearly (o), they leave the point in doubt whether Gill may not really have paired (oo, A) in error, and have meant those sounds by his *o*, *o*. The long *o* they take without any aftersound or "vanish," that is, as (oo) not (oon). But the diphthongal *o* before *l*, and *ou*, *ow*, which are now professedly (oo), they assume "must have been the same with which the Irish now pronounce the word *bold*." I have not had an opportunity of strictly analyzing the Irish sound, but it appears to me to be rather (ou), or (ou), with a short first element, than (oou), or (oou), with a long first element. It is probably the same sound as orthoepists in the xviiith century analyzed as (Au, ou), *suprà* p. 160. But if so, it is more nearly the closed sound of *ou* than the open sound, that is, nearer (ou) than (oou). Messrs.

Noyes and Peirce do not seem to notice the (uu, u) sounds of *o*.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce recognize the double sound of *oi*, and quote the passage from Mulcaster, *suprà* p. 915.

³ These distinctions are recognized by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, however, infer from the passages quoted from Mulcaster, *suprà* p. 914, that he agreed with Bullokar and Palsgrave in pronouncing *ou* as (uu), where most writers gave (ou), just as when *i* preceded *nd* he at least occasionally pronounced (i), and not (ei, oi), *suprà* p. 913. They also imagine that Shakspeare may have occasionally played on the pronunciation of *fovl* as *fool*. Mr. Noyes, in a private letter, thinks that the reading *foule* found in three quartos in H⁴ 4, 2, 7 (402, 21), which is *foole* or *fool* in all the other authorities, arose from this source, and that *fool* is the better reading. The words would then thus run: "such as fear the report of a caliver worse than a struck fool or a hurt wild duck," where this sound would create an obvious pun. But we have no examples of indisputable puns of this sort.

U long must be taken on external authority as (yy). See remarks on the pun *you, u*, p. 926, and on the rhymes, p. 962. There is of course just the chance of an (iu) pronunciation, which we know existed, not only from Holyband's express assertion (suprà p. 228, note, col. 1, and p. 838), but from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for Wilkins's ignorance of (yy), p. 176. Still the testimony of Gill and Wallis is so distinct that we should not be justified in assuming any but (yy) to be the received pronunciation.¹ But U short was either (u) or (u). The puns or allusions *moody, muddy*, p. 926, strongly confirm this. None of the rhymes, p. 962, are convincing.²

UI receives no light from the rhyme *voice juice*, even when supplemented by Hodges's confusion noted on p. 963, col. 1, and the conclusions of p. 136 will be adopted.

¹ The possibility of Wallis's (yy) and Wilkins's (iu) coexisting, without either noticing the difference of pronunciation in the other, though both were in frequent communication, is established by the following fact. In Norfolk *two, do*, are constantly called (tuy, duy), as I know from personal experience, and much concurrent information. The gentleman who supplied Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte with a specimen of the dialect, repudiated this sound, and only allowed the existence of (tiu, diu), sounds of which I am ignorant. But I have noticed a confusion between (yy, æ) here as elsewhere. Again, it is generally asserted that in Devonshire they call *moon* (myyn); but Dr. Weymouth, a Devonshire man, denies the fact, and his pronunciation is (mæon), as nearly as I could judge. The sounds (æ, yy) are constantly confused. See remarks on the Devonshire pronunciation of *oo*, suprà p. 636, note. Kenrick, in his Dictionary, 1773, p. 39, identifies a quickly spoken *u* with the French sound. Even as late as 1775, Joshua Steele heard French *u* or (yy) in *superfluous, tune*, supreme, credulity, though he states it to be "very rare in English," and "seldom or never sounded . . . except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words." *Prosodia Rationalis*, pp. x. and xii. See below Chap. X. I heard (yy) pronounced in *purify* in 1870, from the pulpit. Attention should also be paid to an extremely difficult provincial diphthong, common in the Peak of Derbyshire, Westmoreland, and Cum-

berland, and probably in many parts of the north of England, which replaces long *u*. At first a Southerner takes it for (iu), then he is apt to consider it simply (yy) or (æ) or (uu), according to his familiarity with these sounds. I have not yet been able to analyze it satisfactorily, but it appears to me to partake of such characters as (yu, yu, uu). The first element of diphthongs is notoriously difficult to seize, even when the diphthongs are extremely familiar (suprà p. 108), and hence the uncertainty of this sound, which may perhaps be provisionally received as (yu). Yet Mr. Thomas Hallam (suprà p. 473, n. 1, col. 2), from whose pronunciation I endeavoured to analyze the sound, himself analyzed it as (æu), which did not satisfy my ear, although the corresponding diphthong (ii) for (iu) seemed, after much observation, sufficiently established. It is possibly to some such intermediate diphthong that all the confusion between (yy) and (iu) is to be traced.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say: "the pronunciation of 'use' is described with some unanimity as that of the French *u*, as indeed it may well have been once; but that certainly was not its sound in Shakespeare's day, for Baret describes it in terms of more than ordinary clearness as being a diphthong compounded of *e* and *u*." But see the passage quoted and remarks on it, suprà p. 168. The short *u* Messrs. Noyes and Peirce fully recognize as (u) or (u), which of course they do not distinguish.

These considerations give the following results:—

A=(aa a).	-Y final, generally=(ei).
AI=(ai), and rarely=(ee).	IE medial=(ii), final=(ei) or (i).
AU=(AA).	O long, generally=(oo), oc-
E long=(ee), rarely=(ii).	asionally=(uu).
E short=(e).	O short generally=(o), oc-
EA generally=(ee), rarely=(ii),	asionally=(u) or (u).
and more rarely=(a), oc-	OA=(oo).
asionally=(e).	OE=(oo).
EE=(ii).	OI=(oi), but occasionally=(
EI=(eei) or=(ee), rarely=(ai).	uii).
EO=(ii) or (ee).	OO=(uu).
EU=(eu) or (yy).	OU=(oou, ou).
I long=(ei).	U long=(yy).
I short=(i).	U short=(u) or=(u).

Any deviations from these customs must have special external authority; and when any combination has two values, either the same authority must be sought, or its place supplied by analogy, derived from observing the direction of change in similar words (pp. 225-240). The usual variations in the orthography of the xvth and early part of the xvth century must of course be allowed for. We have no specimens of Shakspeare's own orthography except his own signature, and no reason to suppose that it would have been more systematic or regular than that of the other literary men of his time.¹

¹ For the printed orthography of Shakspeare's works, the remarks of Salesbury (suprà p. 752 and note 3) should be borne in mind. We have seen that Sir John Cheke attempted a systematic orthography in MS. (suprà p. 877, note). Mr. Francis Fry, F.S.A., author of an elaborate *Description of the Great Bible of 1539*, &c., &c., and editor of a fac-simile reproduction of Tyndale's first edition of the New Testament, 1525 or 1526, and other works, has recently called special attention to a curious and very rare edition of Tyndale's New Testament, of which a mutilated copy will be found in the British Museum (press-mark C. 36. a, described in the Catalogue of Bibles, part 13, fo. 1384), and a nearly perfect copy at Cambridge, of which the second title (the first is wanting) runs thus, according to Mr. Fry: "THE NEWE TESTAMENT, dyligently corrected and compared with the Greke by WILLIAM TYNDALE: and fynnesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God A.M.D. and .XXXV." While this sheet was passing through the press, I received Mr. Fry's printed alphabetical list of nearly 300 words in

this edition, whose orthography differs so materially from that used for the same words in the edition of 1534, that Anderson (according to Mr. Fry), in his *Annals of the English Bibles*, 1, 456, says, it is supposed to be Gloucestershire dialect, and that the Testament was intended by Tyndale (who was born in Gloucestershire, about 1477), for the ploughboys of that county, whom he said, about 1520, he would make to know the Scriptures better than the priests. On examining the list of words furnished by Mr. Fry, and comparing the spelling with the older pronunciations in the preceding Vocabulary (pp. 881-910), we find the following results, neglecting a few doubtful cases.

AE=(aa) in: aegge, baebes, braeke, cagge, caeke, caese, chaest, desolact, fiere, faese faece, faether, gaesinge, gaevs, gracee, haest haestily, haet, hach, haev, haeven, laede, laeke, laeme, laetely, maede, maeke, mack-inge, nacked, naeme, parttaeker, plaeco, plaetes, raegge, raeted, ruerher, snelt, saeke, sneme, saeved, saevour, scaepe, shaeke, shaeme, shaep, spaece, spaeke, tacke, taeme, taest, awaeke, waere, waest, waested.

AEL=(aul) in: aaelinge, faele, faelsly, shaell, taeked, waelke.

AE=(a) in: accompaenyng, aengell, maed, maesters, paert, rewaecke, sacter

The pronunciation founded on these conclusions, and realized in the following examples, may at first hearing appear rude and provincial. But I have tried the effect of reading some of these passages

tacklynge, vyneyaerde, waetch, wraeth (all probably errors).

AEY = (ai) in : abstaeyne, afracyde, agaejne, captaeyne, certaeyne, chaene (an error for *chaeyne*), elacy, complaeyners, consaeytes (possibly an error for *conscates*), contaeyned, daey, dekaeyne, faelye (an error for *faeyle*), faeynt (also by error *faeont*), faeyr, faeyth, fountaeyne, gaeyne, haeyne, laey, laeyde, laeyne, maeyntayne, maeyste, marvaeyle, mountaeyne, naeyne, obtacynd, paeyed, paeyer, pueyne, paeynted, plaeyne, pracyed, praeyer, praeyse, racigne (an error for *raeygne*), racylinge, raeyment, raeyne, raeyse, eae (an error for *saey*), saeyde, saeylinge, saeyled, saeynetes, straeyte, taeyles, trevaeyle, unfaeyned, vaele (an error for *vaeyle*), vitacyles, waele (an error for *waeyle*), waeyght, waeyte.

AE = (ee) or (e) is probably an error for EA in : aete, concaevd, decaevable, decaevre, hear (= *her*), naedeth, paerle, percaevre, swaerdes, ware (= *where*, an error for *waer* ?), waepens.

EE, EA, present no peculiarities, but EAE = (ee) is used, perhaps by error, in : greeat, and EY in agreymnt may be an error. IE, YE, are rarely, probably by error, = (ei) in : abyede, blend.

OE, sometimes alternating with OO, OA, = (oo) in : aboede, abroed, accoerde, almoest, aloene alone, aroese, cloeke, attonement, boet, boethe boothe, cloethe, coele, coete cootes, docar (= *door* ?), hoeme hoome, hoepe (*moane* is probably an error for *moene*, *moone*), noene noane, oethe, poele, roebe, roese, smoete, soelyke, spoken, stoene stoone, thoese thoone, toekens, troede, whom whom, wroete.

OEL = (ooul) in : behoude, boeldely booldly, coelde, foere, hoeld.

OE, sometimes alternating with OU, = (uu, u) in : anoether, boeke, broekes, broether, doeth, doeyng, foede, foelishness, foerth, foete, loeke louke, moeche, moene, moeringe, moether, mouny, oether, roete, shoeld, shoes, stoeble, stoede, stoele, toeke, touth, woeld (= *would*), woerd (*woere* = *where*, is probably an error).

OEEY = (aui, ui) in : anoeynate, apoeynted, and = (oi) in voeyee.

UE = (yy) in : crueses, ruele, ruelers, truethe.

Now the first inspection of such a list leads to the notion that a systematic spelling was attempted (failing of course occasionally), by which long *a, e, i, o, u* were to be expressed by *ae, ee, ie, oe, ue*, exactly in accordance with Mr. E. Jones's most recent attempt at improving English spelling (supra pp. 590-1 and notes), and hence that Tyndale's and Cheke's spellings should be placed in the same category. There could have been no attempt at exhibiting rustic pronunciation, because of the close agreement with the accepted literary pronunciation of the time. But an

inspection of the book itself leads to a very different conclusion. Had the author had any systematic orthography in view, it would certainly have predominated, and examples of the ordinary orthography would have appeared as misprints. But the book presents just the opposite appearance. The curious orthographies do not strike the eye on reading a page or two, except as occasional *errata*, and Mr. Fry's list is the result of a laborious search. The word *maester* is said to be nearly the only one which is used with tolerable uniformity, and this might have been used for *maister*, a common form (p. 993, n.). But the systematic character of the spelling, which is clear from the above arrangement, renders it impossible to consider these spellings as merely accidental errors of the press. That they are errors which had been only occasionally committed, and had probably been very frequently corrected in the first proofs, is palpable, but there must have been some special reason for the compositor's committing them. Now the book was most probably printed at Antwerp, and Tyndale was then a prisoner in Flanders. One of the compositors employed on this particular edition may have been a Fleming, with a good knowledge of English, but apt not seldom to adopt his own orthography in place of the English, to represent his own English pronunciation. This supposition would be sufficient to account for his frequently using the Flemish *ae, oe, oo, ue*, for (aa, uu, oo, yy). That he occasionally used *oe* for (oo), notwithstanding its Flemish use for (uu), may have been due to erroneous pronunciation, to which also must also be ascribed the use of *ae* for (a) and of *ael, oel*, for (aul, ooul). We must suppose that his errors were generally seen and corrected at press, but were not unfrequently overlooked, as they might be by the best press readers, and were sure to have been by such careless ones as those in the xvth century. This hypothesis seems sufficient to account for the phenomenon, though its establishment would require a more laborious examination of the printed text than it seems to be worth.

to many persons, including well-known elocutionists, and the general result has been an expression of satisfaction, shewing that the poetry was not burlesqued or in any way impaired by this change, but, on the contrary, seemed to gain in power and impressiveness. Yet, though every real lover of Shakspeare will be glad to know how the grand words may have sounded to Shakspeare's audience, how he himself may have conceived their music, how he himself may have meant them to be uttered and win their way to the hearts of his audience, it is, of course, not to be thought of that Shakspeare's plays should now be publicly read or performed in this pronunciation. The language of the xvth century stands in this respect on a totally different footing from that of the xivth. Chaucer's verse and rhyme are quite unintelligible, if he is read with our modern pronunciation.¹ Hence the various "translations" or rather "transformations" of Chaucer perpetrated by Dryden, Pope, Lipscombe, Boyce, Ogle, Betterton, Cobb, etc., and more recent attempts at a "transfusion of Chaucer into modern English," in which the words of the original are preserved so far as the exigencies of rhyme and metre, according to xixth century notions, permit.² But even then the effect of the new patches on old garments is painfully

The one point of importance to the present investigation is that the orthographies were not due to Tyndale's, or any English system. As due to a Fleming's involuntary system, they would, so far as they go, confirm contemporary English authorities, and hence are so far useful to us.

¹ Mr. Payne, in his paper on "The Norman Element in the Spoken and Written English of the xii th, xiii th, and xiv th Centuries, and in our Provincial Dialects," just published in the Transactions of the Philological Society, has many criticisms on the theories of pronunciation here adopted, which have been partly noted, *suprà* pp. 581-588, and will have to be further considered in Chap. XII.; but as he has given a specimen of the pronunciation of Chaucer which results from his researches, it is convenient to reproduce it here, without comment, for comparison with that on p. 681, and Rapp's on p. 676. The original is also in palaeotype. Mr. Payne has obligingly revised and corrected the proof of this copy.

whan dhat aprīl | with -is shuur'es swoot
dhe druot of marsh | hath pers'd te dhr root
and baadh v'd evri veen | in swīth likuur
of whīth vertuu | endzhen d'ed is dhe flaur
whan zefīrus | eek with -is sweet'z breeth
ensplīr'ed hath | in evri noit and neeth
dhe ten der krop'z | and dhe ru'z sun
hath in dhe ram | -is halfz knur'z run
and smaale fuul'z | maak'un mel'odii
dhat sleepen alr dhr nīit | with oop'un ii
soo prik'eth -em nētur' | in hōr kuraadh'z
dhan loq'en folk | te goon on pilgrimaadh'z

and pal-mers | for te seek'en strauvndzh's
strand'us
to fern'v nāl'vus | kuuth in sun'dri lond'vz
and spes'ialī | from ev'ri shīr'us end
of Eng'elond | to Kan'tarber'i | dhe wend
dhr hool'i blīful mar'ter | for te seek
dhat nem nath holp'en | whan dhat dhe
wōr seek.

² The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer modernized, London (Whitaker), 1841, 8vo. pp. cxlvii, 331.—The modernizers are various. The Prologue, Reve's and Franklin's Tales by R. H. Horne, the Cuckoo and Nightingale and part of Troilus and Cresida by Wm. Wordsworth, Complaint of Mars and Venus by Rob. Bell, Queen Annelida and the false Arcite by Elizabeth B. Barrett, the Manciple's, Friar's, and Squire's Tales by Leigh Hunt, etc.

The initial lines of the Prologue are thus rendered by Mr. R. H. Horne, the italicized words being introduced for the sake of "modernization," see the revised text, *suprà* p. 680.

When that *sweet* April showers with down-
ward shoot
The drought of March have pierc'd unto the
root,
And bathed every vein with *liquid power*,
Whose virtue rare engendereth the flower;
When Zephyrus also with his *fragrant*
breath
Inspired hath in every *grove* and heath
The tender shoots of *green*, and the young
sun
Hath in the Ram *one half* his journey run,
And small birds *in the trees* make melody,
That sleep and dream all night with open
eye;
So nature stirs all energies and ages
That folks are bent to go on pilgrimages,

apparent. The best of them breathe a modern spirit into the dead giant, and by a crucial instance shew the vanity of attempting to represent the thoughts of one age in the language of another.

Shakspere's metre only rarely halts in our present utterance,—although it does halt occasionally from not attending to “resolutions” (see remarks on *banished*, *suprà* p. 948, col. 1),—and his rhymes are so far from being perfect, as we have seen, that the slightly greater degree of imperfection introduced by modern utterance is not felt. His language, although archaic enough in structure to render the attempts of imitators ludicrous, is yet so familiar to us from the constant habit of reading his plays, and the contemporary authorized version of the Bible, that it does not require a special study or a special method of reading, by which silent letters are resuscitated. As essentially our household poet, Shakspere will, and must, in each age of the English language, be read and spoken in the current pronunciation of the time, and any marked departure from it (except occasional and familiar “resolutions,” sounding the final *-ed*, and shifting the position of the accent, which are accepted archaisms consecrated by usage,) would withdraw the attention of a mixed audience or of the habitual reader from the thought to the word,

And palmers for to *wander thro'* strange
strands,
To sing the holy mass in sundry lands;
And more especially, from each shire's end
Of England, they to Canterbury wend,
The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
Who hath *upheld* them when that they were
weak.

Mr. Horne's introduction gives an account, with specimens, of former paraphrases, and an “examination of the versification and rhythm adopted by Chaucer,” (pp. xxxvii–xc) written by a man who has evidently a fine sense of rhythm and a sacred horror of mere scansionists. It is well worth perusal, as antidotal to Mr. Abbott's theories, *suprà* pp. 940, 944. Thus on Prologue v. 184–5 (*suprà* p. 690) he remarks: “The words ‘study and’ are thus to be pronounced as two syllables instead of three; and the four syllables of ‘cloister alway’ are to be given in the time of three syllables. Yet, be it again observed, this contraction is not to be harshly given; but all the words of what we may term the *appoggiatura* [a most happy expression, giving to a musician the whole theory of the usage,] fairly and clearly enunciated, though in a more rapid manner. One of the best general rules for reading such passages, especially when of such vigour as the foregoing, is to read with an unhesitating and thorough-going purpose, to the utter defiance of old metrical misgivings, and that thrumming of fingers' ends, which is utterly de-

structive of all harmonies not comprised in the common chord. This rational boldness will furnish the best key to the impulse which directed the poet in writing such lines,” p. lxxxiii.

The following examples of trissyllabic measures in modern heroic verse are borrowed from this introduction, such measures being italicized.

From Wordsworth.

By the unexpected transports of our age
Carried so high, that every thought, which
looked
Beyond the temporal destiny of the kind,
To many seem'd *superfluous*: as no cause,
&c.—
Now seek upon the heights of Time the
source
Of a Holy River, on whose banks are found,
&c.—
His prominent feature like an eagle's beak—
Which the chaste *Voluntaries* seek beyond the
grave—
Slowly the cormorant aims her heavy
flight—
Ah, when the *Body*, round which in love we
clung.

From Keats.

Charm'd magic casements, opening on the
foam
Of perilous seas, in *faëry lands* forlorn—
Bastion'd with pyramids of glowing gold—
Were pent in regions of laborious breath—
Blazing Hyperion on his orb'd fire.

From Tennyson.

Smiling a god-like smile, the innocent light—
Reign thou above the storms of sorrow and
ruth—
Full many a wondrous grot and secret cell—
And showering down the glory of lightsome
day.

would cross old associations, would jar upon cherished memories, and would be therefore generally unacceptable. Hence all recent editions of the English Bible of 1611 and of Shakspeare's Plays and Poems (when not avowedly facsimiles), adopt the current orthography of the time, into which has slipped the change of *whan*, *than*, *then* into *when*, *then*, *than*. A similar attempt has been recently made with Chaucer,¹ but it is not so easy, many of the words having no modern spelling (supra p. 403, note), and the necessity for adding on and sounding final *e*'s, and shifting the place of the accent, for no apparent purpose but to make the lines scan, has a traitly weakening effect, which maligns the fine old rhythms.

¹ The Riches of Chaucer; in which his Impurities have been Expunged, his Spelling Modernized, his Rhythm Accentuated, and his Terms Explained. Also have been added Explanatory Notes and a New Memoir of the Poet. By Charles Cowden Clarke, crown 8vo., pp. xvi, 625, London (Lockwood), 2nd edition, 1870. The difficulty arising from words having no modern form is evaded by retaining the old form, and giving an explanation in footnotes. The spelling is occasionally not modernized at all. The Prologue commences thus: Whenné that April, with his showrés sote,¹ The drouth of March hath piercéd to the rote,² And bathéd every vein in such lēdour,³ Of which virtde engendred is the flow'r; When Zephirus eké, with his sote¹ breath Inspiréd hath in every holt³ and heath The tender croppés: and the youngé sun Hath in the Ram his halfé course yrun, And smalle fowls maken melody, That sleepep allé night with open eye, So pricketh them natdre in their courages,⁴ Then longen folk to go on pilgrimages, And palmers for to seeken strangé strands, To servé hallowés couthe⁵ in sundry lands; And specially from every shiré's end Of Engeland to Canterbury they wend,⁷ The holy blissful martyr for to seek That them hath holpen when that they were sick.

¹ Sote—sweet. ² Rote—root. ³ Holt—grove, forest. ⁴ Courages—hearts, spirits. ⁵ Hallowés—holiness. ⁶ Couthe—known. ⁷ Wend—go, make way.

As part of his justification for changing Chaucer's spelling (or rather that of the numerous scribes) into a modern form, Mr. Clarke says that Chaucer "would even, upon occasion, give a different termination to them [his words], to make them rhyme to the ear in the first instance. An example of this, among others, occurs in the *Clerk's Tale*, line 1039" of his version, Tyrwhitt's and Wright's editions, v. 8915, "where the personal pronoun *me* is altered into *mo*, that it may rhyme with *also*," p. v. This charge is taken from

Tyrwhitt's note, and is absurd on the face of it, for those who have dabbled in rhyme know that the first word in a rhyme is generally chosen to rhyme with the second, and not conversely. In the present case the weak *also*, which is not in the Latin original, was evidently inserted for this reason. On reading the context, every one will see that Griseldis, though she meant herself, was careful not to name herself, and hence used *moo* = *more, many, others*, as an indefinite. The passage, as contained in the Univ. Camb. MS. Dd. 4 24, runs as follows, with Petrarch's Latin annexed, in which also an indefinite *alteram* is used, and not *me*, although there was no stress of rhyme.

O thyng byseke I þow | and warne also
That þe ne pryke | with no turmentynge
This tendre Mayde | as þe han don moo.

Latin—

Vnum bona fide precor ac moneo ne hanc illis
aculeis agites quibus alteram agitasti.

So much importance had to be attributed to Chaucer's rhymes in this work, that it was necessary to point out the error of Tyrwhitt and Clarke in this instance. The limits of Chaucer's habits of varying forms for the sake of rhyme are given, supra p. 254.

The objections to modernizing the spelling do not apply to prose works, such as Sir Edward Strachey's Globe edition of "*Morte D'Arthur*," 1870, because there is no occasion to insert the final *e*, or change the position of the accent, and there is no rhyme to be murdered. It was also possible in this case to insert a more usual for a less usual word, without sacrificing the metre. This book is a favourable specimen of what can be done to modernize the appearance without modernizing the spirit of an old prose writer, and bring him into many hands which would have never taken up the original.

SPECIMENS OF THE CONJECTURED PRONUNCIATION OF SHAKSPERE, BEING EXTRACTS FROM HIS PLAYS, FOLLOWING THE WORDS OF THE FOLIO EDITION OF 1623, WITH MODERN PUNCTUATION AND ARRANGEMENT.

I.—Mar'tshaunt ov Ven'is.

Akt 4, Scen 1, Spiitsh 50. Kom'redeiz, p. 179.

50. Por'sia.

Dhe kwal'it'i of mer'si iz not straind,
It drop'eth az dhe dzhen't'l rain from hev'n
Upon dhe plaas beneedh. It iz tweis blest,
It bles'eth him dhat giivz and him dhat taaks.
-T iz mein'tiest¹ in dhe mein'tiest. It bikumz
Dhe throon'ed² mon'ark bet'er dhan hiz kroun.
Hiz sep'ter shoouz³ dhe foors of tem'poraal pou'er,⁴
Dhe at'ribbyt tu aau and madzh'estei,⁵
Wheerin' duth sit dhe dreed and feer of kiqz.
But mer'si iz abuy' dhis sep'terd swai,
It iz enthroon'ed in dhe harts of kiqz,
It iz an at'ribbyt tu God himself;
And eerth'lei pouer duth dhen shoou leik'est Godz,
When mer'si see'z'nz dzhust'is. Dheer'foor,⁶ Dzheu,⁷
Dhooun dzhust'is bii dhei plee, konsid'er dhis,
Dhat in dhe kuurs of dzhust'is, noon of us
Shuuld sii salvaa'siun. Wii dun prai for mer'si,
And dhat saam prai'er duth teetsh us aal tu ren'der
Dhe diidz of mer'si.

II.—Az juu leik it.

Akt 2, Scen 7, Spiitsh 31. Kom'redeiz, p. 194.

31. Dzhaa'kez.

:Aal dhe world -z a staadzh,
And aal dhe men and wim'en miir'lei plai'erz.
Dheei haav dheir ek'sits and dheir en'traansez
And oon man in hiz teim plaiz man'i parts,

¹ Gill's pronunciation of *igh* as (*eikh*) is adopted, so far as the vowel is concerned, in place of Salesbury's (*ikh*), on account of the rhymes *light bite*, *right spite*, *might spite*, etc., *suprà* p. 963. For the same reason, the (*kh*) has been reduced to (*n*), *suprà* p. 975.

² Gill's (throon) is accepted in place of Salesbury's more archaic form (truun).

³ (Shoouz) is preferred to the older (sheuz) on account of the rhymes *shew so*, *woe shew*, *suppose shews*, p. 960, under *So*.

⁴ (Tem'poraal) is due to the rhymes *fall general*, etc., p. 956. (Pou'er) is written to shew the syllabic *r*, p. 951.

⁵ (Madz'estei) after Gill, and on account of the frequent rhymes of -*y* with

(ei), p. 959.

⁶ Cheke and all modern orthoepists write a long vowel in the second syllable. Bullokar's short vowel is probably due to a mistaken etymology. The word is not ags., (*suprà* p. 394.) Orrmin always writes it with a long vowel, *-fore*, and *forr* with a short vowel. Mätzner, *Eng. Gram.*, 2³, 370, quotes it frequently in the divided form, *per foren*, meaning evidently, *that being before*, i.e. *in consequence of that*. The old *for'pi* split up into the two modern forms *because*, and *therefore*.

⁷ This is conjectural. Smith apparently said (Dzhyyz), but there is unfortunately a misprint in his book where the word is cited.

Hiz akts biir'iq sev'n aadzhez. At ferst, dhe in-faant
 Myy'liq and pyy'kiq in dhe nur'sez armz :
 Dhen,¹ dhe whein'iq skuul'bwoi with hiz satsh'el
 And shein'iq morn'iq faas, kriip'iq leik snail
 Unw'il'iqlei tu skuul. And dhen dhe luv'er,
 Sein'iq leik furnas, with a woo-ful bal'ad
 Maad tu hiz mis'tres ei'brou. Dhen, a soul'dier
 Ful of straindzh oodhz, and berd'ed leik dhe pard,
 Dzhee-lus in on'ur, sud'ain, and kwik in kwar'el,
 Siik'iq dhe bub'l repytas'siun
 Ii-v'n in dhe kan'unz mouth. And dhen, dhe dzhust'is,
 In fair round bel'i, with guud kaa'p'n leind,
 With eiz seveer, and berd of formaal kut,
 Ful of weiz sAAUZ, and mod'ern in'staansez,
 And soo hii plaiz hiz part. Dhe sikt aadzh shifts
 Intu dhe leen and slip'erd pan'taluun,
 With spek'tak'lz on nooz, and poutsh on seid,
 Hiz juuth-ful rooz wel saavd, a world tuu weid
 For hiz shruqk shaqk, and hiz big man'lei vois,
 Turn'iq again' tourd tsheild'ish treb'l, peips
 And whis't'lz in hiz sound. Last seen of aal
 Dhat endz dhiz straindzh event'ful his'torei,
 Iz sek'und tsheild'ishnes, and miir oblii-viun,
 SAANZ tiith, SAANZ eiz, SAANZ taast, SAANZ ev'erei thi'q.

III.—Dhe Sek'und Part of Kiq Hen'erei dhe
 Foorth.

Akt 3, Seen 1, Spiitsh 1. His'toreiz, p. 85.

1. Kiq.

Hou man'i thou'zand of mei puur'est sub-dzhekts
 Aar at dhiz ou'er asliip? Oo Sliip, oo dzhen't'l Sliip,
 Naa'ttyrz soft nurs, hou naav' ei freint'ed dhii,
 Dhat dhon noo moor wilt wain² mei ei'lidz down,
 And stiip mei sens'ez in forget'fulnes?
 Whei raadher, Sliip, leist dhon in smook'i kr'ibz,
 Upon uneez'i pal'adz³ stretsh'iq dhii,
 And huisht⁴ with buz'iq neint'flei'z tu dhei slum'ber,
 Dhen in dhe per'fyymd tsham'berz of dhe greet,
 Under dhe kan'opeiz of kost'lei staat,
 And luld with soundz of swiit'est mel'odei?
 Oo dhon dul God! Whei leist dhon with dhe veil
 In looth'sum bedz, and leevst dhe kii'lei kuutsh
 A watsh-kaas, or a kom'on lar'um-bel?
 Wilt dhon, upon dhe hein and gid'i mast,

¹ Deficient first measure, see *suprà* p. 927, and p. 928, n. 2.

² Gill always uses (ai), but as he writes (waiz, waikht) for *weighs, weight*, he is not certain of the guttural.

³ *Pallads* may have been the old form and not a misprint. *Pallets* is modern.

⁴ *Huish* in the folio may have been intentional. Compare *whist* = *huisht*, = *hushed*, T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).

Seel up dhe ship·bwoiz eiz, and rok hīz brainz
 In kraad·l of dhe ryyd imper·ius surdzh,
 And in dhe vizitaa'siun of dhe weindz,
 Whuu taak dhe ruf·ian bil·oouz bei dhe top,
 Kurl·iq dheer mon·strus hedz, and haq·iq dhem
 With deef·niq klaam·urz in dhe slip·ri kloudz,
 Dhat, with dhe hurl·ei, Deeth itself· awaaks·?
 Kanst dhou, oo parsial Sliip, giiv dhe repooz·
 Tu dhe wet see·bwoi in an ou·er soo ryyd:
 And in dhe kaalm·est and moost stil·est neht,
 With aal aplei·aanses and meenz tu buut,
 Denei· it tu a kīq? Dhen, nap·i Loou, lei doun!
 Uneez·i leiz dhe hed dhat weerz a kroun.

IV.—Dhe Faamus Historei of dhe Leif of Kīq
 Hen·eri dhe Feiht.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitsh·ez 92-111. Historeiz, p. 222.

92. Norfolk.

Soo faar juu wel, mei lit·l gud lord kar·dīnaal.

[Eks·e,unt aal but Wul·zei.

93. Wul·zei.

Soo faar·wel· tu dhe lit·l gud juu beer mii.
 Faarwel·? A loq faarwel· tu aal mei· greet·nes!
 Dhis iz dhe staat of man; tudai· nii puts foorth
 Dhe ten·der leevz of hoops, tumor·oou blos·umz,
 And beerz hīz blush·iq on·urz thi·k upon· him:
 Dhe thi·rd dai kumz a frost, a kil·iq frost,
 And when nii thi·qs, gud eez·i man, ful syyr·lei¹
 Hīz greet·nes iz a reip·niq, nīps hīz ruut,
 And dhen nii faalz, az ei du. Ei haav ven·terd,²
 Leik lit·l wan·tun bwoiz dhat swim on blad·erz,
 Dhis man·i sum·erz in a see of gloo·ri,
 But far bi·yond· mei depth: mei hein·blooun preid
 At leqth brook un·der mii, and nou haz left mii
 Wee·ri and oould with scr·vis, tu dhe mer·si
 Of a ryyd streem, dhat must for ev·er heid mii.
 Vain pumps and gloo·ri of this world, ei haat jii!
 Ei fiil mei hart nyy oop·nd! Oo, nou rwetsh·ed
 Iz dhat puu·er man dhat haqz on prin·sez faa·vurz!
 Dheer iz bitwiin· dhat smeil wii wud aspei·er tu,
 Dhat swiit aspekt· of prin·sez, and dheer ryy·in,
 Moor paqz and feerz, dhen warz or wim·en haav!
 And when nii faalz, nii faalz leik Lyy·sifer,
 Nev·er tu hoop again·.

[Enter Krum·wel stand·iq amaazd·.

Whei hou nou, Krum·wel?

¹ See suprà p. 760, note 6.

² See the rhyme: enter venture, suprà p. 954, col. 2, and p. 973.

94. Krum·wel.

Ei haav noo pou'er tu speak, sir.

95. Kar·dīnAAL.

What? Amaazd.

At mei misfor·tyynz? Kan dhei spir·it wun·der
A greet man shuld deklein·? Nai, an juu wiip,
Ei -m faal'n indiid.

96. Krum·wel.

Hou duuz jur graas?

97. Kar·dīnAAL.

Whei, wel.

Nev·er so tryy·lei nap·i, mei gud Krum·wel.
Ei knoou meiself· nou, and ei fiil wīthīn· mii
A pees abuv· AAL certh·lei dīg·nīteiz,
A stīl and kwei·et kons·siens.¹ Dhe kīq haz kyyrd mii,
Ei um·blei thaqk nīz graas, and from dheez shoould·erz,
Dheez ryy·ind pīlarz, out of pīt·i, taak'n
A lood, wuuld sīqk a naa·vī, 'tuu mutsh on·ur.
Oo -t īz a burd·en, Krum·wel, -t īz a burd·en
'Tuū hev·i for a man, dhat hoops for hev·n.

98. Krum·wel.

Ei -m glad jur graas haz maad dhat reīnt yys of īt.

99. Kar·dīnAAL.

Ei hoop ei haav. Ei -m aa·bl nou, mithīqks,
Out of a for·tītyyd of sooul ei fiil,
Tu endyyr· moor mīz·ereiz and greet·er far
Dhen mei week·hart·ed en·emeiz daar of·er.
What nyyz abroad?

100. Krum·wel.

Dhe hev·iest and dhe wurst
Iz juur displeez·yyr wīth dhe kīq.

101. Kar·dīnAAL.

God bles hīm!

102. Krum·wel.

Dhe nekst īz, dhat Sīr Tom·as Muur īz tshooz'n
Lord Tshaan·selur, īn juur plaas.

103. Kar·dīnAAL.

Dhat -s sum·what sud·ain.

But nīi -z a leern·ed man.² Mai nīi kontīn·yy
Loq īn nīz Heīrn·es faa·vur, and duu dzhust·is

¹ An Alexandrine from resolution (p. 952), unless (kons·siens) be contracted to (kons·yens), (see Gill, *supra* p. 937), which would give a trissyllabic measure, produced also by the modern (kon·shens).

² Gill gives both (lern) and (leern). Possibly (leern) was intended for *teach*, as a form of ags. laeren, and (lern) for *learn*, as a form of ags. leornigan. Hence (leern·ed) is here adopted for *doctus*.

For tryyths saak and hiz kon'siens, dhat hiz boonz,
When hii haz run hiz kuurs and sliips in bles'iqz,
Mai haav a tuumb of or'fanz teerz wept on him.
What moor?

104. Krum·wel.

Dhat Kran·mer iz retuend· with wel·kum,
Instaald· lord artsh·bishop of Kan·terberi.

105. Kar·dinaal.

Dhat's nyyz indiid·.

106. Krum·wel.

Last, dhat dhe laa·di An,
Whuum dhe kiq nath in see·kresi loq mar'ied,
Dhis dai was vyyd in oop·n az hiz kwiin
Goo·iq tu tshap·el, and dhe vois iz nou
Oon·lei abuut· her koronaa·siun.

107. Kar·dinaal.

Dheer waz dhe waint dhat puld me doun. Oo Krum·wel,
Dhe kiq naz gon biyond· mii. :Aal mei gloo·riz
In dhat oon wum·an ei hav lost for ev·er.
Noo sun shal ev·er ush·er foorth mein on·urz,
Or gild again· dhe noob·l truups dhat wait·ed¹
Upon· mei smeilz. Goo, get dhii from mii, Krum·wel!
Ei am a puur faaln man, unwurth·ei nou
Tu bii dhei lord and mast·er. Siik dhe kiq!
Dhat sun ei prai mai nev·er set! Ei -v toould him
What, and hou tryy dhou art; hii wil advaans· dhii
Sum lit·l mem·orei of mii, wil stir him—
Ei knoou hiz noob·l naa·tyyr—not to let
Dhei hoop·ful serv·is per·ish, tuu. Gud Krum·wel
Neglekt· him not; maak yys nou, and proveid·
For dhein ooun fyy·tyyr² saaf·ti.

108. Krum·wel.

Oo mei lord,
Must ei dhen leev dhii? Must ei niidz forgoo·
Soo gud, soo noo·b'l, and soo tryy a mast·er?
Beer wit·nes, aal dhat haav not harts of ei·ern,
With what a sor·oou Krum·wel leevz hiz lord.
Dhe kiq shaal haav mei serv·is, but mei prai·erz
For ev·er and for ev·er, shaal bii juurz!

109. Kar·dinaal.

Krum·wel, ei did not thiik tu shed a teer
In aal mei miz·ereiz; but dhou hast foorst mii,
Out of dhei on·est tryyth, tu plai dhe wum·an.

¹ The folio prints *weighted*, shewing the confusion then existing between *wait, weight*, *suprà* p. 987, n. 2.

² Or (fyy·ter).

Let -s drei our eiz; and dhus far heer mii, Krum·wel,
 And when ei am forgot'n, az ei shal bii,
 And sliip in dul kooold mar·b'l, wheer noo men·s'iun
 Of mii moor must bii hard of: sai, ei tAAHT dhii;
 Sai, Wul·zei, dhat oons trood dhe waiz of gloo·ri
 And sound·ed AAL dhe depths and shoolz of on·ur,
 Found dhii a wai, out of níz rúak, tu reiz in,
 A syyr and saaf oon, dhooun, dhe mast·er mist it.
 Mark but mei fAAL, and dhat dhat ryy·ind mii.
 Krum·wel, ei tshardzh dhii flíg awai ambis'iun!
 Bei dhat s'in fel dhe an·dzhelz: nou kan man dhen,
 Dhe im·aadzh of níz maak·er, hoop tu win bei -t?
 Luv dheiself last, tsher·ish dhooz harts dhat naat dhii.
 Korup'siun winz not moor dhan on·estei.
 Stál, in dhei reínt hand, kar·i dzhen·t'l pees
 Tu sei·lens en·vius tuqz. Bii dzhust and feer not;
 Let AAL dhe endz dhou eemst¹ at, bii dhei kun·treiz,
 Dhei Godz, and Tryyths. Dhen if dhou fAALst, oo Krum·wel,
 Dhou fAALst a bles·ed mart·er. Serv dhe kíq,
 And—príd·h·ii leed mii in—
 Dheer—taak an in·ventri² of AAL ei naav,
 Tu dhe last pen·i; -t iz dhe kíqz; mei roob,
 And mei integrátei tu hev·n, iz AAL
 Ei daar nou kAAL mei ooun. Oo Krum·wel, Krum·wel!
 Had ei but servd mei God with HAAF dhe zeel
 Ei servd mei kíq, nii wuold not in mein aadzh
 Haav left mii naak·ed tu mein en·emeiz!

110. Krum·wel.

Gud sir, naav paarsiens.

111. Kar·di·nAAL.

Soo ei naav. Faarwel.

Dhe hoops of kuurt, mei hoops in hev·n du dwel.

V.—Dhe Tradzh·edi of Ham·let, Prins of Denmark.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitsh·ez 1-5. Tradzh·edeiz, p. 266.

1. Ham·let.

Speek dhe spiitsh, ei prai juu, az ei pronounst it tu juu, tríp·iqlei on dhe tuq. But if juu moudh it, az man·i of juur plai·erz duu, ei had az liiv dhe toun·krei·er had spook mei leinz. Nor duu not sAAU dhe aair tuu mutsh with juur hand, dhus, but yyz AAL dzhent·lei. For in dhe ver·i tor·ent, tem·pest, and, az ei mai sai,

¹ For this word there is no external authority; I have adopted (eemz) for the reasons on p. 451, note, col. 2, l. 18.

² The contraction is harsh, but the full pronunciation would be harsher,

and the position of the accent seems established by: Forsooth an inventory, thus importing H⁸ 3, 2, 49 (609, 124); would testify, to enrich mine inventory Cy 2, 2, 6 (952, 30).

dhe wherl-weind of pas'iun, juu must akwei'er and biget a tem-peraans dhat mai giiv it smuudh'nes. Oo! it ofendz mi tu dhe soul, tu sii a robust'us perwig¹-paated fel'ou teer a pas'iun tu tat'erz, tu ver'i ragz, tu split dhe eerz of dhe ground'liqz, whuu, for dhe moost part, aar kaa'pab'l of noth'iq, but ineks'pl'kab'l dum shoouz, and nuiz.² Ei kud naav sutch a fel'ou whipt for oorduu'iq Ter'magaunt; it out'herodz Herod: prai juu, avoid it.

2. First Plai'er.

Ei war'aant juur on'ur.

3. Ham'let.

Bii not 'tuu taam neeidh'er; but let juur ooun diskres'iun bii juur tyy'tur. Syyt dhe ak'siun tu dhe wurd, dhe wurd tu dhe ak'siun, with dhis spes'iaal obzer'v'aans, dhat juu oorstep not dhe mod'estei of naa'tyyr. For an'i thi'q soo overdun iz from dhe pur'pus of plai'iq, whuu end booth at dhe first and nou, waz and iz, tu hoould az tweer dhe mir'ur up tu naa'tyyr; tu shoou ver'tyy her ooun fee'tyyr, skorn her ooun im'aadz, and dhe ver'i aadz and bod'i of dhe teim, niz form and pres'yyr. Nou, dhis overdun, or kum tar'di of, dhooun it maak dhe unskil'ful laan kan'ot but maak dhe dzhydis'i'us griiv, dhe sen'syyr of whitsh oon, must in juur alou'ans oorwain a nool thee'ater³ of udherz. Oo, dheer bii plai'erz dhat ei naav siin plai, and nard udherz prai, and dhat heir'lei,—not tu speek it profaan'lei—dhat neeidh'er naav'iq dhe ak'sent of krist'ianz, nor dhe gaat of krist'ian, paa'gan, or Norman,⁴ naav soo strutted and bel'ooud, dhat ei naav thoount sum of naa'tyyr dzhur'neimen had maad men, and not maad dhem wel, dheei im'itaated nyyma'n'iti soo abhom'inablei.⁵

¹ This is adopted, in place of the modern *periwig*, because the quartos generally read *perwig*, and Miège, 1688, gives the pronunciation (pær-wig), which shews that the *i* in the *periwig* of the quarto of 1676 was not pronounced. The first and second folios have *pery-wig*, the third and fourth have *perriwig*. The pronunciation (*periiig*) given by Jones, 1700, seems, however, to be really still older, as compared with French *perruque*, and the orthography *peruke*. The order of evolution seems to have been (*peryyk*, *periiig*, *perwig*, *periwig*, *wig*); compare modern *bus* from *omnibus*, and the older *drake*, Old Norse *andriki*, Mätzner, 1, 165; Stratmann, 158.

² Price seems to give (*noiz*), *suprà* p. 134, a xviith century pronunciation confirmed by a xixth century vulgarity, and indicating a xvith century (*nuiz*), which is therefore adopted in the absence of direct authority (p. 979).

³ Notwithstanding the vulgar (*thi-er*), which would imply an older

position of the accent, this place is settled by Shakspeare himself, see AY 2, 7, 30 (214', 137), KJ 2, 1, 83 (338, 374), R² 5, 2, 6 (377', 23).

⁴ All the folios read *or Norman*, but the quartos have *nor man*, which is adopted by the Cambridge editors. Both are manifestly erroneous. As Denmark in this play is at war with Norway, it is possible that Hamlet may have meant to put his enemies into the position of being neither Christian nor pagan, and that the right reading may have been *or Norwéyan*, a Shaksperian word, see M 1, 2, 5 (788', 31); 1, 2, 13 (789, 49); 1, 3, 35 (790, 95), and easily confused by a compositor with the better known word *Norman*, which however occurs in its usual sense in this same play, H 4, 7, 20 (839, 91).

⁵ On the insertion of the aspirate in this word, see *suprà* p. 220. There is evidently a play on *humanity* and the old false derivation *ab-homine*, so that *abominably* = *inhumanly*.

4. First Plai'er.

Ei hoop wii haav reformd' dhat indifferentelei with us, sir.

5. Ham·let.

Oo, reform it aaltugedher. And let dhooz dhat plai juur klounz, speek noo moor dhen iz set down for dhem. For dheer bii of dhem, dhat wil dhemselyz' laan, tu set on sum kwan'titi of barren spektaa'turz tu laan 'tuu, dhooen in dhe meen teim sum nes'esari kwes'tiun of dhe plai bii dhen tu bii konsid'erd. Dhat -s vil'anus, and shoouz a most pit'iful ambis'iun in dhe fuul dhat yyz'ez it. Goo maak juu red'i.

VI.—Dhe Taam'iq of dhe Shroou.¹

Akt 4, Seen 1, Spiitsh'ez 1-47. Kom'edeiz, p. 220.

1. Gruu'mio.

Fei, fei on aal tei'erd dzhaadz, on aal mad mast'ertz, and aal foul waiz! Waz ev'er man soo beet'n! Waz ev'er man soo raied! Waz ev'er man soo wee'ri! Ei am sent bifoer' tu maak a fei'er, and dheei ar kum'iq aft'er tu warm dhem. Nou, weer ei not a lit'l pot, and suun hot, mei ver'i lips meint friiz tu mei tiith, mei tuq tu dhe ruuf of mei mouth, mei hart in mei bel'i, eer ei shuuld kum bei a fei'er tu thoou² mii; but ei with bloou'iq dhe fei'er shal warm meiself: for konsid'eriq dhe wedher, a taal'er man dhen ei wil taak koould. Holaa! hoo'aa! Kurtis!

2. Kurtis.

Whuu iz dhat kaalz soo koould'lei?

3. Gruu'mio.

A piis of eis. If dhou dout it, dhou maist sleid from mei shoould'er tu mei hiil, with noo greet'er a run but mei hed and nek. A fei'er, gud Kurtis!

4. Kurtis.

Iz mei mast'er and hiz weif kum'iq, Gruu'mio?

5. Gruu'mio.

Oo, ei, Kurtis, ei, and dheerfoor fei'er! fei'er! kast on noo waat'er.

6. Kurtis.

Iz shii soo hot a shroou az shii -z repoort'ed?

7. Gruu'mio.

Shii waz, gud Kurtis, bifoer' dhis frost. But dhou knoooust wint'er taamz man, wum'an, and beest; for it hath taamd mei could master, and mei nyy mis'tris, and meiself, fel'ooou Kurtis.

¹ Constantly spelled *shrow* in the first folio, and compare the rhymes, p. 960, under *So*.

² This is Smith's pronunciation, the only authority I have found. It is a

legitimate form, from ags. *þawan*, comparable to (*knoou*), from ags. *enawan*. The modern (*thaa*) implies an older (*thaa*u, *thau*), which, however, is more strictly a northern form.

8. Kur'tis.

Awai! juu thrii-ínsh fuul! Ei am noo beest.

9. Gruu'mio.

Am ei but thrii ínsh'ez? Whei dhei horn iz a fuut, and soo log am ei at dhe leest. But wilt dhou maak a fei'er? or shaal ei komplain on dhii tu our mis'tris, whuuz hand, shii bii'iq nou at hand, dhou shalt suun fiil, tu dhei koould kum-furt, for bii'iq sloou in dhei not of'is?

10. Kur'tis.

Ei pridh'ii, gud Gruu'mio, tel mii, nou gooz dhe world?

11. Gruu'mio.

A koould world, Kur'tis, in ev'erei of'is but dhein, and dheer-foor, fei'er! Duu dhei dyt'i, and haav dhei dyt'i, for mei mast'er and mis'tris aar aal'moost frooz'n tu deeth.

12. Kur'tis.

Dheer-z fei'er red'i! and dheer-foor, gud Gruu'mio, dhe nyyz!

13. Gruu'mio.

Whei—Dzhak bwoi, noo bwoi!—and az mutsh nyyz az dhou wilt.

14. Kur'tis.

Kum, juu are soo ful of kun'ikatsh'iq!

15. Gruu'mio.

Whei, dheer-foor, fei'er! for ei haav kaaht ekstreem koould. Wheer-z dhe kuuk? iz super red'i, dhe hous trind, rush'ez strooud, kob'webz swept, dhe serv'iqmen in dheir nyy fust'ian, dhe wheit stok'iqz, and ev'erei of'iser niz wed'iq garment on? Bii dhe Dzhaks fai'er within', dhe Dzhilz fai'er without,¹ dhe karpets laid, and ev'erei thi'q in order?

16. Kur'tis.

:Aal red'i, and dheer-foor, ei prai dhii, nyyz!

17. Gruu'mio.

Fírst knoou, mei nors iz tei'erd, mei mast'er and mis'tris faaln out.

18. Kur'tis.

Hou?

19. Gruu'mio.

Out of dheir sad'lz in'tu dhe durt; and dheerbeir naqz a taal.

¹ Hanmer transposes *within* and *without*, but the result is not very intelligible. All will be clear if we suppose Grumio to have been struck by an unsavoury pun as soon as he uttered *Jacks fair*, thinking of *a jakes*, so notoriously foul '*within*.' The similarity of pronunciation is gua-

ranteed by Sir John Harrington's "New Discourse on a stale subject, called the Metamorphosis of *Ajax*," meaning *a jakes*, 1596. The *Jacks* and *Gills* came pat, compare *The Babees Book* of the Early English Text Society, p. 22, v. 90, "and iangylle nether with Iak ne Iylle," A.D. 1480.

20. Kurt's.

Let -s haa -t, gud Gruum'io.

21. Gruum'io.

Lend dhein eer.

22. Kurt's.

Heer.¹

23. Gruum'io.

Dheer!

24. Kurt's.

Dhis iz tu fiil a taal, not tu heer a taal.

25. Gruum'io.

And dheer'foor -t iz kaald a sen'sibl taal. And dhis kuf waz but tu knok at juur eer, and biseetsh² a list'niq. Nou ei big'in. Im-prei-mis, wii kaam doun a foul hyl, mei mas'ter reid'iq bineind mei mis'tris.

26. Kurt's.

Booth of oon hors?

27. Gruum'io.

What -s dhat tu dhii?

28. Kurt's.

Whei—a hors.

29. Gruum'io.

Tel dhou dhe taal! But nadst dhou not krost mii, dhou shuuldst haav hard hou her hors fel, and shii un'der her hors: dhou shuuldst haav hard in hou mei'erei a plaas; hou shii was bimuild³: hou nii left her with dhe hors upon her; hou nii beet mii bikaaz her hors stum'b'ld; hou shii waad'ed thruu dhe durt tu pluk hem of mii; hou nii swoor; hou shii praid, dhat never praid bifoer; hou ei kreid; hou dhe hors'ez ran awai; hou her breid'l waz burst; hou ei lost mei krup'er—with man'i thi'qz of wur'dhei mem'orei, whitsh nou shaal dei in oblii'viun, and dhou return unekspeer'ienst tu dhe graav.

30. Kurt's.

Bei dhis rek'niq nii iz moor shroou dhan shii.

31. Gruum'io.

Ei, and dhat dhou and dhe proud'est of juu aal shaal feind when nii kumz hoom. But what taak ei of dhis? Kaal foorth Nathan'iel, Dzhoosef, Nik'olaas, Fil'ip, Waal'ter, Syg'gersop, and dhe rest. Let dheir hedz bii sliik'lei koombd, dheir blyy koots brusht, and dheir garterz of an indif'erent kni; let dhem kurt'si with dheir left legz, and not prezyym tu tutsh a heer of mei mas'terz hors-tail, til dheei kis dheir handz. Aar dheei aal red'i?

¹ Here is pronounced (heer) for the play of sound in ear, here, there, hear. Compare the pun here, heir, suprâ p. 80, note, and p. 924, col 2.

² See suprâ p. 957, col. 2, at bottom.

³ Compare Smith's (tor'muil) = tur-moil, and Cooper's (mail) =moil, becoming (moil) in Jones, suprâ p. 134.

32. Kur'tis.
Dhee! aar.
33. Gruu'mio.
KAAL dhem foorth.
34. Kur'tis.
Duu ju neer, hoo! Juu must miit mei mais'ter¹ tu koun'tenaans mei mis'tris!
35. Gruu'mio.
Whei, shii hath a faas of her ooun.
36. Kur'tis.
Whuu knoous not dhat.
37. Gruu'mio.
Dhou, it siimz, dhat kaalz for kum'panei tu koun'tenaans her.
38. Kur'tis.
Ei kaal dhem fuurth tu kred'it her. [Enter fouor or feiv serv'iqmen.
39. Gruu'mio.
Whei, shii kumz tu bor'oo noth'iq of dhem.
40. Nathan'iel.
Wel'kum hoom, Gruu'mio!
41. Fil'ip.
Hou nou, Gruu'mio!
42. Dzhoosef.
What, Gruu'mio!
43. Nik'olaas.
Fel'oo Gruu'mio!
44. Nathan'iel.
Hou nou, ould lad?
45. Gruu'mio.
Wel'kum, juu; hou nou, juu; what, juu; fel'oo, juu; and dhus mutsh for griit'iq. Nou mei spryys kumpan'iunz, iz aal red'i, and aal thiqz neet?
46. Nathan'iel.
Aal thiqz iz red'i. Hou niir iz our mas'ter?
47. Gruu'mio.
Iin at hand, aleint'ed bei dhis, and dheer'foor bii not—koks pas'un! sei'lens! ei neer mei mas'ter.

¹ Spelled *maister* in the folio. Two pronunciations (maister, mas'ter) may have prevailed then, as (meest'it) is still heard in the provinces, (p. 982, n. c. 2).



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